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Rules of Engagement: Art, Commerce, and Diplomacy in Golden-Age Antwerp

by

Jessica Abigail Stevenson-Stewart

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History of Art

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:
Professor Elizabeth Honig, Chair
Professor Todd Olson
Professor Timothy Hampton

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Abstract

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Foreign merchants were the lifeblood of ‘golden-age’ Antwerp. Already in the fifteenth century, the city promoted itself as the ‘*Mercatorum Emporium*’, a meeting place for worldly merchants. It was not until global trade networks expanded during the sixteenth century that Antwerp truly earned its moniker. As contact with Asia, Africa, and the New World intensified, merchants looked to Antwerp as a place to exchange their exotic cargo for other goods. By organizing themselves into various trading nations, merchants improved their access to Antwerp’s relatively unrestricted commerce, and in the process, to the cultural riches of Flanders. Strong domestic luxury industries in paintings, tapestries, and other crafts counterbalanced the foreigner-lead commodities trade. For so long as foreigners profited from wholesale, they spent small fortunes on artworks readily available in Antwerp, which they purchased for personal use and resale abroad. Because art historians have traditionally studied producers rather than consumers, a distorted and oddly localized image of Antwerp’s golden age has emerged. By repositioning the function of Flemish art within early modern international relations, my dissertation seeks to revise this picture.

Drawing upon the methodologies of Michael Baxandall, my dissertation studies how artistic patronage satisfied the social and political needs of foreign merchant communities—and how Antwerp’s artistic culture responded to its international audiences. Antwerp’s success as an international hub during its greatest commercial era depended not only on sustaining a diverse pool of trading partners, but also on the city’s manifold efforts to forge an inclusive, outward-looking civic culture. For nearly a century, this literary and pictorial branding of Antwerp as the merchant’s metropolis was promulgated not just by Brabantine burghers but also by travelers, fair-time traders, and expatriate merchants. While the first half of the dissertation explores the city’s self-fashioning as an encompassing marketplace for merchants, considering how the city conscripted foreigners into furthering these messages, the second half tells a story about the kinds of artworks individual merchants commissioned for themselves and for others, and the cultural connections they facilitated between Antwerp and the wider world. Even as I explore the social function of artworks in mediating community and international relations, I attend to the practical experiences of merchants, that is, how their knowledge of specific commodities shaped their connoisseurial habits as collectors.

Underlying the inquiry that draws my dissertation together is an interest in exploring the incipient topologies of mobility that shaped the visual and textual representations of Antwerp as a commercial metropolis. From the experience of traveling as form of socio-spatial connectivity to the transcultural communicativeness of artworks produced in Antwerp, artists and cultural producers in Antwerp set themselves upon the task of giving discernible visual form to the commercial and cultural mobility that was reshaping their city. One of the overarching theses of this study is that the responsiveness of Antwerp artists to the transformational dynamics of global trade engaged foreign merchants as patrons, offering them alternative ways of imagining or perceiving their experiences of both spaces and places.

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Prelude.

I. Dislocation and Cultural Mobility in the City of Merchants

In describing his experiences working the seasonal fairs of the Southern Netherlands, the English Merchant Adventurer Stephen Vaughan once lamented, “I am never at rest. I am now at Bergen op Zoom, now at Bruges, now at Ghent, now here, now there, so that not without exceeding trouble can I satisfy all those to whom I minister.”¹ Like many other foreign nationals stationed in the Low Countries, Vaughan traveled to these periodic markets from his offices in Antwerp, where along with his colleagues and countrymen he resided at the headquarters of the English merchants (*Engelse Pand*) on Bullinckstraat.² One of the more prominent players in early sixteenth-century Anglo-Netherlandish relations, Vaughan spoke as a reputable London mercer who had weathered the many trials of living abroad.³

Vaughan’s anxiety about appeasing “all those to whom [he] ministered” was compounded by the fact that he catered to the most discerning clients. Thanks in no small part to his personal service to Thomas Cromwell and Cardinal Wolsey in the 1520s, Vaughan was appointed to the office of the King’s Royal Agent in the Netherlands, a position that demanded competencies as a financier, ambassador, and connoisseur.⁴ In addition to negotiating Henry VIII’s debts with the foreign merchants at the Antwerp Bourse and handling the occasional diplomatic assignment, Vaughan’s responsibilities included the sourcing of luxuries, predominantly crafted goods and cloth, which were widely available at the Flemish and Brabantine fairs, but were not as yet so readily procurable in London.⁵

Like many successful businessmen and courtiers of the period, Vaughan had powerful enemies, and his physical removal from London made him vulnerable to their intrigue. Amongst his most ardent adversaries was John Hutton, the Governor of the Merchant Adventurers Company, who conspired to bring charges of heresy against Vaughan in 1529. Using Vaughan’s ties with Antwerp’s German merchants to further substantiate evidence of his reformist sympathies, Hutton sought to destroy Vaughan’s credibility by rendering suspect his recurrent association with foreign ‘strangers.’⁶ Even though several members of the tribunal, who heard Vaughan’s case, including the Bishop of London Cuthbert Tunstall and Sir Thomas More, had also traveled extensively in the Low Countries, their domestic policies were emphatically protectionistic. Only four years earlier, in a notorious effort to uncover and eradicate the smuggling operations responsible for the influx of reformist literature from the Continent, More devised the raids against the Hanseatic merchants’ enclave at the London Steelyard. That Hutton cited Vaughan’s relationships with German merchants thus resounded within the broader xenophobic religious politics of early to mid sixteenth-century London—an escalating confessional schism inflected through and embedded in commercial rivalries foreign and domestic.⁷

Thanks in no small part to the interventions of his patron, Vaughan was lucky enough not only to survive the inquisition with his professional standing in tact, but to continue rising in prominence. A few years after his trial, he was elected as the Head of the English trading colony (*Engelse natie*) in Antwerp, and soon thereafter, he succeeded his rival Hutton as the Governor of the Merchant Adventurers. His diplomatic career was also unimpeded by the taint of heresy. During a series of clandestine meetings, which took place just outside Antwerp in 1531, Vaughan was assigned, with no small amount of irony, to the futile task of convincing the infamous reformist William Tyndale to repatriate England and to recant his ‘heretical’ Protestant beliefs.⁸

The vicissitudes of Vaughan's career as a cultural intermediary, though remarkable, were not all that unusual for men of his stature in the early to mid sixteenth century. Many of the merchants who traversed the confessional and imperial fault lines that threatened to fragment Christendom after the Reformation found that fortune could be an unpredictable mistress. While integration within an international commercial network brought ample opportunity for social and professional advancement, influential merchants recognized not only the instability of their social promotion and the precariousness of their exposure to foreign ways, but also that their personal and financial risks could just as likely result in ruination as in reward.

The merchant protagonists of this dissertation had much in common with Vaughan. Each belonged to that significant demographic in Antwerp succinctly described in Carolus Scribanus's census of 1568 as the roughly ten thousand "foreign traders coming and going daily" (*den vremden handelsman dagelycx gaende ende comende*).⁹ Antwerp, as these men knew it, was a metropolis more worldly than their native cities, a vibrant commercial hub and harbor city that had developed a reputation for religious and cultural tolerance and for fostering connections between merchants of all nations. Their travels within the Low Countries and between Antwerp and their respective homelands gave them exceptional and much-coveted access to information, people, and things. In Antwerp, they bought art, domestic crafts, and exotic things for themselves and for others; at these highly innovative markets they observed the latest vogues and retailing trends that were reshaping luxury consumption across Europe.¹⁰ In learning how to move between cultures effectively, they developed unique skills and knowledge sets—proficiencies that made them valuable human resources for their less mobile clients on both the upper and lower registers of the social scale. As members of well-organized merchant collectives, these intermediaries orchestrated exchanges that altered not just the commercial, but also cultural fabric of Europe; they contributed importantly to the transmission of novel ideas, trends, and technologies both within Europe and between Europe and newly discovered trading zones in Africa, Asia, and the Americas.¹¹ And even while these businessmen acted as individuals, they were entangled in webs of mutual dependence: their entrepreneurial spirits were tempered by obligations to clients, their commercial negotiations predicated upon finding willing trading partners, and the success of their business operations often depended on having loyal, well-positioned factors, that is, buying and selling agents stationed abroad.¹² Although none of these men would have identified with, let alone understood the epithet 'merchant capitalist,' they nevertheless contributed to the development of the financial instruments, commercial laws, and modes of distribution that were evolving the Western economic system during the sixteenth century.¹³

And like Vaughan, their experiences as go-betweens were fraught with particular dangers. In addition to becoming socially detached from their cultures of origin, their livelihoods entailed speculating on commodities with uncertain futures, underwriting risky transoceanic expeditions, financing massive loans to fickle, capricious kings, and operating within markets whose behaviors had been neither theorized nor rationalized. Amongst their merchant colleagues, honorable conduct was not simply a Christian ethic; it was a transactional imperative.¹⁴ For on the floor of the Bourse, deception, delinquency, and default could have mortal consequences for the trader whose credibility was on the line.¹⁵ Incessant traveling also took a physical toll, subjecting these early modern businessmen not only to the perils endemic to road, river, and sea, but to the epidemic diseases that regularly plagued port cities.

And even though each of the merchants considered in this dissertation may have been domiciled in Antwerp for years at a time, they were always on the go. Although something

resembling a permanent market had emerged in Antwerp by the early decades of the sixteenth century, many merchants continued to work other, more seasonal markets in the region throughout the year, as Vaughan's statement indicates.¹⁶ Perhaps because their livelihoods did not permit geographical stasis, more often than not their personal records—their letters, business ledgers and journals—communicate a sense of being unmoored. Vaughan's lamentation expresses this aspect of merchants' experience more laconically than most. While his short litany of major markets in Bergen-op-Zoom, Bruges, and Ghent conveys the freneticism of his itinerary, reducing these cities to mere spatial coordinates, the shift from the specificity of these famous markets to the generic "here and there" implies topological disaggregation—the disarticulating, disorienting experiences of continuous travel.

The overtness of Vaughan's exacerbation thus brings to the fore a vexation that historians who focus on the pure agency of merchants tend to overlook.¹⁷ Insofar as merchant itineraries had been predetermined since the Middle Ages by the cyclical availability of specific commodities at successively occurring regional fairs, the temporariness of these seasonal markets fostered neither integration nor acculturation.¹⁸ And while the fair cycle lent a distinct, celebratory rhythm to the cultural life of Netherlandish cities, binding seasonal production to religious feast days and making acutely visible the reciprocal exchanges of goods that drew the urban community together, even in the most internationally prominent cities of the southern Netherlands the resolutely regional flavor of these fairs asserted itself not only in the qualities of the goods produced but in the communicative aspects of transactions—from the dialects spoken to the standards of measurement and the currencies used.¹⁹ As periods that permitted, indeed necessitated, the participation of foreign merchants, seasonal fairs also tended to reinforce the boundaries that encircled urban communities, rendering nevertheless perceptible the existence of broader networks within which the domestic economy was embedded.²⁰ For the foreign traders continually adapting to local standards, such regionalism could perpetuate confusion, if not contention. These dynamics forced foreigners, at least initially, to rely upon the kindnesses of strangers—a labyrinthine and protean professional network that included already established colleagues and competitors as well as local businessmen, notaries, and hosteliers.²¹ So even while the markets and *kermesse* of the fair cycle promoted civic cohesion for the artisans and townsfolk of the Low Countries, for the foreigners learning to navigate the multi-layered social and informational spheres of these markets, regional particularism could at times intensify feelings of estrangement and dislocation.

Although the establishment of merchant colonies in Antwerp, as in other important commercial cities, sought to mitigate the disorientation that accompanied being a stranger in a strange land, these entities alleviated only some of the difficulties of acclimatization, and then again for only some of the city's merchants.²² Antwerp officially recognized several foreign merchant groups, conferring upon them status as '*naties*,' a term that registered not just quasi-nationalistic distinctions but legal guild standing.²³ The attainment of guild status was especially significant, for it rendered the economic function of foreigners analogous to local merchants and artisans, all of whom had to join the merchants' guild (*meerseniers*) in order to ply their wares at the city's markets.²⁴ Operating through the Chamber of Privileges (*privilegiekamer*) the town council offered trading privileges tailored to the specifications of the foreign group—usually some combination of extraterritorial rights, real estate subsidies, and tax exemptions. As an enticement to trade, Antwerp's exceptional willingness to enter into collective bargaining with foreign merchants contributed importantly to the plurality of its merchant communities. However, it wasn't simply public-spiritedness that compelled the Antwerp town council to offer

such concessions. The organization of foreign merchants into colonies was an administrative expedient: it created centralized, self-governing mechanisms for regulating the large populations of resident aliens who regularly moved through the city, and thus provided both a means of monitoring the activities of existing foreign residents and a system of vouching for newcomers.²⁵

By connecting visitors to an immediate community of compatriots such measures undoubtedly expedited merchants' transition to the city, but the extension of privileges to some and not others also fueled discord.²⁶ Insofar as the Chamber of Privileges relied on the foreign merchants themselves to enunciate the terms of their collective bond, the city's process of ratifying merchant colonies was rather unsystematic.²⁷ While some of the more corporate-minded, hierarchically organized groups—including the English Merchant Adventurers, the Hanseats, and the Portuguese—leveraged the conciliatory policies of the Antwerp town council to benefit their entire rank and file, other groups had no inclusive structure and negotiated as bodies bound in allegiance to particular families—as was the case with the Italian 'city-states' of Florence, Genoa, and Lucca.²⁸ Spanish merchants were similarly factionalized into regional companies under the leadership of prominent family corporations from Biscay, Burgos, and Aragon.²⁹ Still other foreign groups, notably the French and South German merchants, never even sought recognition or privileged status as trading nations, despite being amongst the most important and substantial merchant demographics in the city. As a matter of economic policy, the institutionalization of merchant colonies therefore created a somewhat arbitrary and uneven playing field, engendering asymmetries both within and between 'national' companies.³⁰ Such inequalities became particularly salient when contemporary events pitted the commercial interests of any one 'nation' against any other, and the formation of such artificial, quasi-national collectives tended to fuel intragroup antagonism and competitiveness. Local businessmen also resented foreigners being given the upper hand, and on occasion petitioned the town council to dissuade them from giving such preferential treatment to aliens.³¹

Rather than glossing over the discontents that so often accompanied the multifaceted processes of cultural readjustment, this introduction uses them as a starting point for understanding how Antwerp's urban culture anticipated and accommodated the dislocatedness of foreign merchants. For just as Antwerp's markets adapted to support the co-mingling of foreign and domestic goods, the city and its residents developed strategies for containing and rendering legible the heterogeneity of the merchants who contributed to the vitality and commercial prosperity of the city—ways of incorporating these discrete communities of foreigners both materially and visibly into the life of the city. In flaunting its cultural permeability—its openness to and curiosity about foreign ideas and aesthetics—Antwerp in turn projected an identity as a cosmopolitan commercial capital, an oasis and incubator for entrepreneurs.

Concomitant with Antwerp's reinvention as a global marketplace was an alertness to harnessing and giving apprehensible form to the movements that were socially, physically, culturally, and economically transforming the city. From the late fifteenth century throughout the sixteenth century, Antwerp and the authors and artists who represented it became increasingly aware of the city's unique function within the burgeoning Atlantic-based 'world system' as a transit market, that is, an intermediary city whose prosperity depended on facilitating the traffic that moved through its port.³² The dynamics of this transit market meant that foreigners, not natives of Antwerp, brought the vast majority of commodities and raw materials to Antwerp, and that these imported goods were for the most part not consumed locally, but were transshipped by yet other foreigners to destinations beyond the Low Countries.³³

As a harbor city, the meeting of land and water and the commercial opportunities afforded by this topography inspired Antwerp's urban mythology as much as its descriptive iconology. In the very years when Antwerp's aspirations as a worldly metropolis were first being articulated, a foundation myth emerged that would resonate with the city's artisans and merchants alike. Although the fable may date back to the fourteenth century, it was standardized for publication in the 1497 *Most Excellent Chronicle of Brabant (Alderexcellentste Cronike van Brabant)*.³⁴ According to this legend, the Roman centurion Silvius Brabo, a cousin of Julius Caesar, founded Antwerp after liberating the port from a tyrannical giant, Druon Antigoon. Having established his stronghold next to the harbor, the rapacious Antigoon demanded exorbitant tolls from any mariner intending to sail further down the Scheldt. Whenever the ships' captains refused to pay, the giant cut off their hands. While traveling through the region, Brabo heard about these despotic acts and plotted an intervention. Repaying the giant with the same cruel punishment he had inflicted on so many unsuspecting mariners, Brabo dispatched Antigoon and threw his hands into the Scheldt.

With its admixture of fabulous creatures, chivalric heroism, classicizing pedigree, topographical specificity, and above all in its conviction in the exigency of free trade, the legend had all the ingredients to memorably prophesize and historicize Antwerp's commercial orientation, and indeed effigies of Brabo and Antigoon were popular mainstays in virtually every civic ritual celebrated in Antwerp during the sixteenth century. Although the ethic of retributive justice at the center of the Brabo legend was contrived partly as an onomastic conceit—with 'Antwerpen' purportedly deriving from '*handt werpen*,' meaning to throw hands—what's more important is that the Antigoon myth fabricated for Antwerp a foundation legend that gave symbolic form to some of the urban community's most cherished beliefs.³⁵ As an evocation of Antwerp's conviction in the value of free trade, the emblem of the severed hands was incorporated into the city seal and proved profoundly meaningful to the city's artisanal and merchant communities, to which the majority of the people of Antwerp belonged. While sculptors used the sign of the severed hands as a trademark of quality control, and printers often invoked references to their handiwork in the names of their shops (e.g., *De gulden hant*), the manual significance of mercantile exchange was linguistically marked in the Flemish term for traders, *handelaars*, a synecdochic allusion to the change of hands intrinsic to all commercial transactions.³⁶ Dismemberment therefore symbolized an occupational disenfranchisement that urban burghers found viscerally intolerable. As a cautionary subtext, the severed hands and the city's emancipation from a totalitarian overlord doubly underscored the specific professional and commercial liberties the citizens of Antwerp regarded as the very conditions of their consent to be ruled.

And yet, historians usually link the growth of Antwerp as an international market not to civic policy or to the self-determination of urban burghers, but to Habsburg imperial policy, to agentless ecological transformations, and to the chance reorganization of global trade.³⁷ Maximilian I's imperial decree of 1488, which was contrived to punish the Flemings who had rebelled against his Regency, forced the relocation of Bruges's foreign merchant colonies to the Brabantine city of Antwerp, where the Habsburg succession had been unconditionally accepted.³⁸ Though only temporary, this political catalyst, coupled with the gradual, irreversible silting of the Zwin River, which would ultimately render the port of Bruges unnavigable to larger hulled, seafaring ships, is often used to explain Antwerp's displacement of Bruges as the Netherlandish center of international trade. The very coincidence of these political and ecological developments with the reorientation of global trade from a Mediterranean- to an

Atlantic-based system compounded the situation. Having hosted two very important seasonal fairs since the later Middle Ages—the *Sixtenmarkt*, which marked the springtime celebration of the Pentecost, and the *Bamismarkt*, which commemorated the autumnal feast day of Saint Bavo—Antwerp was hardly a blank canvas, but it was certainly less developed than Bruges in the later fifteenth century and could more readily adapt its urban infrastructure to meet the needs of this newly emerging world system. Like Bruges before it, Antwerp functioned as a site of translation, where the Northern European merchants who controlled the trade in commodities from the North and Baltic Seas could meet and exchange goods with the Southern European merchants who dominated the Mediterranean traffic. But even by the turn of the sixteenth century, trade dynamics in Antwerp had evolved beyond the Bruges precedent, thanks largely to the discovery of sea routes across the Atlantic, along the coasts of Africa, to lands within and beyond the Indian Ocean. The principal agents of these overseas discoveries, Spanish and Portuguese voyagers, depended on the renewal of transcontinental trade with Central Europe for both the financing of their overseas expeditions and the distribution of their exotic wares, a factor that had never figured importantly into Bruges's success. Because these overland routes were more accessible from Antwerp than from Bruges, the city on the Scheldt was better situated to serve the needs of its trading partners.

Although Antwerp's centrality meant that merchants were well positioned geographically, politically, and socially to conduct business on behalf of their kings and clients, topographical propitiousness alone cannot fully explain the efflorescence of Antwerp as a site of connectivity. Antwerp's success as an international hub during its so-called golden age (circa 1488–1585) depended in a very real sense not only on sustaining a diverse pool of trading partners, but also on the city's manifold efforts to forge an inclusive, outward-looking civic culture.³⁹ To characterize Antwerp's emergence as an international metropolis as passive and entirely reliant upon external events and the activities of foreign merchants, as historians since Fernand Braudel have tended to do, is to distort and profoundly misunderstand the *cultural* dynamics that facilitated this development.⁴⁰

In fact, the citizens of Antwerp were not idle bystanders: they took advantage of their city's unique position in order to forge an urban culture welcoming to strangers, they exploited their access to foreigners to better anticipate the demands of international markets, and they continually sought to do away with exclusionary commercial restrictions that were typical in other cities of the period. Unlike expansionistic, proprietary seafaring powers, such as Venice or the cities of the Hanseatic League, Antwerp had no important mercantile fleet and no territorial ambitions; it identified as an imperial emporium, the primary marketplace of a diffuse and multi-centered empire.⁴¹ Because the people of Antwerp had little to no skin in the specific outcomes of most geopolitical games, they focused on domestic production and on facilitating pacific trade relations within their city. And unlike the courtly cities of Mechelen and Brussels, Antwerp's removal from daily imperial oversight strengthened its self-definition as a semi-autonomous republic unified by commercial pursuits, an identification that conditioned urban sociability and civic rhetoric in important ways.⁴² In disassociating from Bruges, their regional commercial competitor, the people of Antwerp also recognized the license and liberty that rewarded loyalty to overlords and the disruptions to trade that could ensue from defiance. As such, it was the very peculiarity and delicacy of Antwerp's balancing act that defined urban identity politics and determined the flavor of its diplomatic relations with both its Habsburg overlords and other powers.

Antwerp's liberal commercial culture also fomented and made profitable a local receptivity to foreign ideas, and the willingness of Antwerp residents to assimilate the foreign with the domestic fostered a worldliness that was at once visual and immaterial, overt and implicit—a synthetic aesthetic sensibility that has so often rankled art historians preoccupied with stylistic 'purity.'⁴³ Antwerp's cosmopolitanism, I want to suggest, developed from a strategic openness to other cultures. It was neither simply a native mentality, nor entirely a cultural awakening: it was, at least in part, an adventitious pragmatism engendered by the influx of regional immigrants intent on making the most of the international opportunities Antwerp's commercial prosperity afforded. Substantial waves of regional migration, composed primarily of artisans and entrepreneurs from neighboring provinces in the Low Countries, Germany and France, complemented the more temporary relocation of foreign merchants, though a substantial number of foreign merchants, particularly from Spain and Italy, also became naturalized citizens. This phenomenon, sometimes referred to as the "demographic miracle," wherein the population of Antwerp doubled in the half century between the years 1496–1546, left an indelible impression on the physical and cultural evolution of the city.⁴⁴ In practical terms, this meant that many residents of sixteenth-century Antwerp had a palpable sense, if not active memory, of having come from elsewhere. Although the dynamics of rapid population growth and commercial expansion registered in the very fabric of the city's connectivity—from the morphology of streets and the evolution of urban commercial infrastructure to the construction, districting and settlement of residential quarters—Antwerp's urban regeneration presupposed a cultural predisposition to and progressive mindedness about letting outsiders in.⁴⁵ After all, immigrants contributed not only to the international flavor of both moveable goods and urban architecture, they facilitated more enduring contacts between Antwerp and their cities of origin, enhancing and multiplying the city's connections with other urban centers. The fact that citizenship in Antwerp could be purchased by anyone willing to live in the city part of the year serves as an institutional reminder of the town council's progressive, businesslike priorities, particularly at a time when citizenship was usually only obtainable as either a birthright or through marriage. Even as economic disparities between the haves and have-nots grew, the people of Antwerp continually affirmed their bond as a *coopstad* or *handelstad*—a trading city—and as a "community of commerce."⁴⁶

Naturalized aliens, moreover, contributed both intellectually and materially to the internationalism of the Antwerp's industries. The French printer Christophe Plantin is among the more obvious examples, and his migration to the city in 1549 was relatively belated.⁴⁷ By mid-century Antwerp's export-oriented print industry had been functioning for a long time as a transnational node in its own right, attracting and localizing a multinational, multilingual community of artists, translators, typesetters, and editors and coordinating their activities within a diffuse network of authors. But even in justifying his decision to relocate his operations to Antwerp, Plantin proclaimed a commercial mindedness that allied him with earlier, less well-known immigrants, writing that, "No town in the world could offer me more advantages for carrying on the trade I intended to begin. Antwerp can be easily reached; various nations meet in its marketplace; there too can be found the raw materials indispensable for the practice of one's craft; artisans of all trades can easily be found and instructed in a short time."⁴⁸ In this brief assessment of the lure of Antwerp, the accessibility of human and material resources and the international connectivity of the city loom large. In referencing the 'various nations' that met at Antwerp's marketplaces, Plantin alludes to foreign merchants as important contributors to the dynamism of the publishing sector: they supplied raw materials, ideas, and information, and

helped distribute domestic products to foreign consumers. But Plantin also explicitly cites the abundance of skilled artisans and their adaptability to both the demands and opportunities created by new industry. Perhaps for these reasons, Antwerp print culture functions as a kind of bellwether, testifying to the mechanisms of cultural convergence that engendered product customization for export markets.

Antwerp's highly diversified, export-oriented, and specialized art market, like its print industry, also attracted regional craftsmen to the city. Particularly during the first half of the sixteenth century, virtually all of Antwerp's most celebrated artists—Quentin Massys, Joachim Patinir, Joos van Cleve, Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Pieter Aertsen, Pieter Bruegel the Elder—had immigrated to the city in order to profit from greater proximity to the flourishing art market. As one of Europe's earliest open art markets, Antwerp had become, at least by the turn of the sixteenth century, the distribution center for paintings, tapestries, illuminated manuscripts, precious metalwork, carved altarpieces and all manner of luxury crafts produced in Brabant, and to some extent Flanders and other provinces of the Low Countries.⁴⁹ As an engine of entrepreneurialism, the Netherlandish invention of an art market premised on speculation imbricated with the rise of bourgeois patronage as well as historically novel products and modes of production, all of which shaped Netherlandish art, and the demand for it, in discernible ways.⁵⁰ While the art market was already booming in the fifteenth century, in Antwerp as in Bruges, what was different about Antwerp's art market even in the early decades of the sixteenth century was its truly global extensions: fine arts and luxury crafts that had been acquired in Antwerp were increasingly exported not just to Continental destinations, but to the Americas, Africa, and Asia, where these artworks factored importantly into the material practices of diplomatic gifting and missiological pedagogy—and Antwerp citizenry seem to have had a canny understanding of the global address of their manufactured goods.

The speculative orientation of the Antwerp art market and print industry also impacted urban development, not only in the infrastructural accommodation of the porters and mariners who transported the goods beyond the city, but also in the proliferation of specialized sales venues and neighborhood demographics.⁵¹ Antwerp had nearly twenty different showrooms dedicated to merchandizing art and luxury crafts.⁵² These well-studied sales galleries, known as *panden*, were designed to showcase specific kinds of products and to expedite their exportation. Artisans tended to live and maintain their workshops in close proximity to the *panden* where their merchandise was sold; sales venues supporting similar and complementary trades also tended to cluster together in the same neighborhoods and streets, imparting each district a distinctive professional and even material cultural flavor. Antwerp print makers and book publishers were, for example, largely consolidated within a five or six block radius of the intersection of *Lombardenvest* and *Steenhouwersvest*.⁵³

Between the late fifteenth century and the mid sixteenth century, *panden* generally evolved from spaces that displayed many different kinds of luxury goods to spaces devoted to a single category of commodity. For example, the painters, printmakers, sculptors, illuminators, and joiners of the Saint Luke's Guild began selling their products at the *Predikheeren Pand*—the same Dominican cloister on *Zwartzusterstraat* where members of St. Nicholas's Guild (tapestry weavers and jewelers) and St. Eligius's Guild (silver- and goldsmiths) sold their wares. However, shortly after 1480, members of the St. Luke's Guild moved to a more specialized retail outlet, the *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw pand*, a retail-exhibition venue with stalls that had been built to showcase the handiworks of the St. Luke's Guild.⁵⁴ Following this relocation, the Guild of St. Luke also transferred their Guild Hall to a building nearby: from the house of *Den Bok* on

Cammerstraat to *De Bonte Mantel* on the *Grote Markt*, and then later, perhaps in anticipation of the opening of the painting galleries, or *Schilderspand*, in 1540 at the *Nieuwe Beurs*, they moved their hall to the *Meir*. Tapestry showrooms followed a similar pattern: these specialized weavers first displayed samples of their products at the *Predikheeren Pand*, but subsequently relocated to more specialized venues: first to *De Vette Hinne* on *Cammerstraat*, and then again around mid-century to the *Tapissierpand* on *Schuttershoven*, spaces that encouraged the sale of works on spec.⁵⁵ So, whereas at the turn of the sixteenth century, painters, jewelers, tapestry weavers, and goldsmiths shared the same marketing venues, by mid-century each of these artisans had sales venues dedicated to merchandising their specific crafts. In other words, a continual drive to modernize and customize retail facilities to meet the particular needs of the clients for every kind of luxury good underlay the districting and re-centering of Antwerp's art markets, as well as the guild-sponsored conviviality and professional networking that contributed to the social character of their neighborhoods.

Antwerp was also renown for its inclusive commercial policies.⁵⁶ In addition to granting special trading privileges to foreign merchant nations, the city of Antwerp allowed more local 'foreign' groups, that is Netherlanders from other cities and provinces, to trade in the city. Rather than restricting participation during fair time to citizens, the magistracy allowed Brabantine craftsmen from other towns to sell their wares at designated places within the city markets, so long as these artisans could demonstrate that they belonged to the same guild as the Antwerp craftsmen selling at that showroom. Flemings were also allowed to sell their goods at the Antwerp fairs, but perhaps because the guild structure in Antwerp was far less restrictive than in the principle cities of Flanders they were compelled to maintain dual membership with the appropriate Antwerp guild. All of this contributed to the aura of inclusivity projected by the city's markets. And for art patrons, the fact that many famous Bruges artists—including Gerard David, Jan Provoost, and Adriaen Isenbrandt—sold their work in Antwerp would have made a buying trip to Bruges seem less urgent, if not redundant. Native Netherlanders were thus adjusting their business and marketing practice for the convenience of foreign buyers.⁵⁷

Antwerp's progressive commercial policies also conditioned relationships between urban craftsmen and impacted the visual and literary qualities of the works produced. The liberal organization of Antwerp's Guild of Saint Luke, in particular, encouraged not only intra- and inter-medial collaborations between painters, sculptors, joiners and printers, but between artists and urban literati. One of the city's three vernacular literary chambers (*rederijkerkamers*), The Gillyflower (*De Violieren*), was incorporated into the Guild of Saint Luke during the fifteenth century, and this close institutional relationship between artists and vernacular poets and playwrights engendered a creative symbiosis that made the visual arts more literary and the literary arts more visually complex. Particularly in the production of citywide events, from civic entries and religious processions to regional literary competitions (*landjuwelen*), artists and rhetoricians (*rederijkers*) worked together to determine the program as well as the decorations for these events. Because many city administrators were *rederijkers*, urban ceremonies regularly registered and made manifest a view of the urban community that reflected the cultural and political views of the local government.

Perhaps registering the extent to which the city itself was vitalized by newcomers, new businesses, and new ventures, novelty was ubiquitously touted as a selling point. From mathematical handbooks that introduced state-of-the-art surveying and accounting techniques to broadsheets that advertised innovative remedies from local springs, the people of Antwerp were virtually obsessed with novelty.⁵⁸ Celebrating inventions as diverse as book printing, copper

engraving, oil painting, distillation, windmills, and the compass, Johannes Stradanus's *Nova Reperta*, printed by Philip Galle's workshop between 1537–1612, testifies to Antwerp's citizenry enduring fascination with and investment in the promotion of ingenuity.⁵⁹ Although the hyping of novelty may seem too easily assimilable to a retrospective modernist teleology, the protean and speculative enterprises subsumed within Antwerp's art market and print industry engendered unprecedented innovation and experimentation, and the presence of foreigners created an important impetus for this. New workshop practices promoted collaboration between artisans of different specialties and streamlined the production process to make artwork more affordable to new classes of consumers, so that burghers and not just local aristocrats and courtiers could acquire artworks. Artists derived subjects from new source material and invented new genres in order to increase the appeal of their work to different demographics of patrons. Draftsmen infused their designs for tapestries, metalwork, prints, and architectural drawings with the foreign styling of their Italian, German, and French contemporaries and with studied references to Classical antiquity, not only to appeal to more diverse export audiences, but also to forge a new international artistic idiom.

What's so important about these various innovations is that they demonstrate the active incursions of Antwerp residents into the international trade that was transforming their city, a kind of local agency that challenges Braudel's picture of Antwerp as "an economic innocent."⁶⁰ It also begins to suggest that Antwerp's cosmopolitanism was to some extent a survival mechanism, a strategy for capitalizing on the presence of so many upwardly and geographically mobile foreigners.

II. Chapter Overview

Underlying the inquiry that draws this dissertation together is an interest in exploring the topologies of mobility that shaped the visual and textual representations of Antwerp as a city of commerce. From the experience of traveling as form of socio-spatial connectivity to the transcultural communicativeness of artworks produced in Antwerp, the topologies investigated here are neither mathematical nor geometrical, but rather cultural in their dimensional and transformational valences.⁶¹ Vaughan's opening quote, with its sense of restless movement and spatial unfixity—"I am now at Bergen op Zoom, now at Bruges, now at Ghent, now here, now there..."—is particularly useful as it condenses into a single sentence the incipient topological awareness that will concern me throughout. Even as Vaughan presents a set of Netherlandish market cities as a sequence that spatially defines his itinerary, his characterization of the circuit foregrounds disintegration over and above continuity. This is suggestive, because Vaughan and his merchant contemporaries belonged to a generation whose spatial thinking was very much in transition. Although early sixteenth-century merchants had access to many different kinds of maps, from Ptolemaic world maps and portolans to cordiform projections, such cartographic modes of visualizing places were not immediately assimilated into merchants' world picture. Rather, the textually enumerative method of spatial description that had governed the genre of itineraries since the Middle Ages continued to assert itself in the writings of merchants well into the sixteenth century.⁶²

But even while the topological aspects of traveling remain inchoate and unselfconscious in the writings of the early modern merchants considered in this dissertation, artists and cultural producers in Antwerp were invested in giving discernible form not only to various emerging world pictures but also to the commercial and cultural mobility that was reshaping their city. One of the overarching theses of this study is that the responsiveness of Antwerp artists to the

transformational dynamics of global trade engaged foreign merchants as patrons, offering them alternative ways of imagining or perceiving their experiences of both spaces and places. Each chapter thus explores the visual communicativeness of Antwerp art as worldly constructs, and the specific ways in which these constructs would have appealed to merchants of different specializations and different cultural sensibilities.

This dissertation is conceived in two parts. Part one considers the promulgation and elaboration of Antwerp's identity as a worldly metropolis, looking specifically at how representations of Antwerp self-consciously fashioned the city's cosmopolitanism for the benefit of both local citizens and international merchants. Part two tells a story about the way particular merchants—a South German and a Portuguese merchant—commissioned artworks for themselves and for others, their social, religious, and physical integration within the city of Antwerp, and the cultural connections they facilitated between Antwerp and the wider world. Whereas the first half of the dissertation sets the stage for the understanding the relationship between the city's self-conscious presentation as a cosmopolitan merchant emporium, the second half of the dissertation intends to make sense of the ways participating in Antwerp's art markets helped mitigate foreign merchants' sense of displacement, that is, how cultural patronage gave them a well-defined social role and means of connecting with artists, literati, and other enterprising individuals in Antwerp. While my primary aim throughout is to explore the social function of artworks in mediating community and international relations, I also attend to the practical experiences of these merchants, that is, how their knowledge of specific commodities contributed to their connoisseurial interests as collectors.

Chapter One examines representations of Antwerp as an urban matrix, presenting a series of cityscapes, maps, and texts that rhetorically promoted a picture of Antwerp as an encompassing city of merchants. The first chapter sets the discursive worlding of the city in relation to the worldview produced by Abraham Ortelius in his 1570 atlas. Expanding upon these themes, the second chapter examines the rituals of the joyous entry as a collective, diplomatic self-representation of the city; it considers the function of these civic rituals as symbolic, performative means of both metabolizing the movements that enlivened the city and incorporating the city's diverse foreign merchant communities. Antwerp's unusual custom of allowing foreign merchants to erect arches along the processional route is situated historically and described in terms of its relationship to civic commissions. Chapter Two also attends to the revival of the Stoic moral philosophy and more specifically the concept of liberality as an ethic of useful spending; I describe how, within the context of entry and its preparation, members of the city government drew upon this rhetoric to solicit patronage from foreign merchant communities and celebrate their city's prosperity. Insofar as the second half of this dissertation explores the aesthetic and intellectual interests that motivated two different foreign merchants as patrons of art, these first two chapters provide a context for understanding the rhetorical and social procedures the city of Antwerp used to coordinate and assimilate foreigners with the larger urban community, focusing less on moments when merchants acted as individuals than on occasions when they behaved as corporate entities. Also, because each of the following chapters foregrounds the patronage of specific individuals, Chapters One and Two provide a framework for understanding the broader communal contexts of foreign patronage that were meaningful to Antwerp's urban identity.

Functioning as an interlude between the two halves of the dissertation, the third chapter presents an analysis of Albrecht Dürer's extended visit Antwerp (1520–21) and his integration into the city's artistic and foreign merchant communities. Dürer's journal and sketchbook

illuminate both the physical and social aspects of his journey between Nuremberg and the Low Countries; taken together these documents present a fascinating topological case study. Dürer's journal also contains a wealth of information about the transactional continuity that related artworks to other circulating commodities. In describing his interactions and exchanges with artists, merchants, statesmen, and other cultural elites, Dürer's account of his stay in Antwerp offers rare glimpses into professional networking in the city. Elucidating the extent to which the city's commercial culture penetrated social interactions beyond the marketplace, his travel account records a spectrum of material exchanges. During his extended stay in Antwerp Dürer traded prints and portraits in exchange for both commodities and kindnesses; he purchased crafted goods, texts, and natural specimens on the open market. The chapter thus offers a systematic analysis of Dürer's process of calculating reciprocity, that is, the way he kept track of and repaid the generousities showed to him by trading and gifting his art. Focusing to some extent on Dürer's relationships with Antwerp's South German and Portuguese merchant communities, the interlude also gestures toward interconnections between these 'nations' that will recur in the second half of the dissertation.

The fourth chapter studies the journal and painting collection of Lucas Rem (1481–1541), an Augsburg merchant, who earlier in his career had brokered privileges at the Manueline court in Lisbon that allowed a select group of German merchants not only to underwrite and share in the profits of several Portuguese expeditions but also to distribute spices in Antwerp and Germany. During the Central European mining boom, Rem traveled extensively on overland routes that connected the industrial hinterlands of Germany to port cities on the Mediterranean and Atlantic seaboard—and the physical toll of his travels, his exposure to plagues and chronic pain from riding, would prompt him to seek out the terrestrial therapies of the Wildbad spas later in his life. Although he became a confessed Protestant later in life, he integrated several important pilgrimages into his commercial travels. Active in Antwerp for at least seventeen years—a phase of Rem's career when he was constantly traveling between Augsburg, Lisbon, Lyon, and other Continental capitals—he purchased paintings from two of the city's most prominent artists: Joachim Patinir and Quentin Massys. Although Rem purchased more paintings in Antwerp than the five works linked to his collection, he clearly had a special interest in Patinir's innovative devotional 'world landscapes,' having bought a series of at least four. Giving special consideration to Rem's multivalent investments in the commercial, spiritual, and therapeutic qualities of different landscapes, the chapter inquires into the ways Rem's travels intellectually positioned him as a viewer with certain understandings of Patinir's work.

Chapter five presents an analysis of the art collection and writings of the Portuguese humanist Damião de Góis (1502–1574). Having served as a page at the court of Manuel I, de Góis may have known Lucas Rem from Lisbon, and they were active in Antwerp during many of the same years. While serving as treasurer of the Portuguese trading house in Antwerp (1523–1545), Góis also functioned as art agent and diplomat for João III. For the king's brother, Dom Fernando of Portugal, he helped coordinate an illuminated genealogy of the Portuguese kings, a commission that staged a collaboration between António de Holanda and Simon Bening; it is also likely, particularly given Góis's connections with Leuven cosmographers, that he had assisted in the commission for the *Spheres* tapestries. An art collector in his own right, Góis acquired paintings by Hieronymus Bosch and Quentin Massys and a prayer book from Bening. Analysis of two texts written by Góis establishes the cosmographical interests and mystical proclivities explored visually the chapter. Insofar as Góis was later put on trial by the Inquisition,

the chapter also considers how the humanist's interests in religious and cultural tolerance informed his interests in Netherlandish painting.

As the final two chapters will make clear, cosmopolitanism and heterodoxy were, more often than not, two sides of the same coin. In an era when conformity to Catholic doctrine and absolutist policies was paramount, Antwerp's cultural inclusivity was both the city's greatest asset and its foremost vulnerability. Whereas Antwerp's worldliness and entrepreneurial vitality inspired Thomas More in 1515 to imagine the kingdom of Utopia as a civilization that subverted entrenched ideas about the consumption of luxury goods and the necessity of freedom in civil society, by 1568 the Duke of Alva would characterize Antwerp as, "a Babylon, [a place of] confusion, and [a] receptacle of all sects indifferently [mixed; ...] the town most frequented by pernicious people."⁶³ From the ambivalence of More's imaginary social experiment to the revulsion of Alva's condemnation, the fifty or so years that separate these accounts suggest the arc of Antwerp's ill-fated cosmopolitanism, a theme that recurs throughout the dissertation. Certainly, as Vaughan's and Góis's experiences indicates, the city's confessional plurality often endangered the very merchants who became most closely associated with it. The rise and decline of Antwerp as an international metropolis and intermediary city, I want to suggest, curiously shadowed the fate of the merchants who made the city their temporary home. In many ways, it was the unprecedented success of Antwerp as a worldly metropolis that made the successive depredations inflicted by iconoclasts (1566), revolting mercenaries (1567), and economic blockade (1585–1792) all the more evident. For the religious and political factionalism which ended in violence polarized urban residents, manifesting social ruptures that had been previously been masked by commercial solidarity.

Sola una totus mundus est Antwerpia: Antwerp's worlding in word and image

Sola una totus mundus est Antwerpia. [Antwerp is unto itself the entire world.]
–Cornelius Grapheus⁶⁴

In an undated letter written after 1577, Justus Lipsius praised the innovative atlas of his Antwerp colleague Abraham Ortelius, remembering the 1570 *Theatrum orbis terrarum* as a book that “gave us kingdoms, provinces, cities, indeed the entire world” (“*Unus liber regna, provincias, urbes, imo orbem terrae nobis tuo beneficio dedit.*”)⁶⁵ Even as Lipsius’s complement evinces the rhetorical flair of humanist commonplaces, it metonymically collapses cartographic representation, literalizing the atlas as an assemblage of physical territories, rather than as a series of highly mediated constructs. By underscoring the material totality of Ortelius’s ‘gift’ as a social benefit, Lipsius suggested the cognitive transformationalism of the *Theatrum*, that is, how the atlas provided audiences with something unique: a manifestly apprehensible world picture.⁶⁶

Ortelius’s world-making project, this section argues, depended equally on the worlding of Antwerp as a cosmopolis and on the humanist-cartographer’s professional and social intermediacy as a bookseller and collector, a positionality that depended in turn on the material and intellectual dynamism of Antwerp as an international commercial metropolis.⁶⁷ In what follows, readers are introduced to sixteenth-century Antwerp’s evolving image of as a global entrepôt. Select visual readings of cityscapes and maps are set alongside domestic and foreign accounts of the city, in essence putting into dialogue local image-making conventions and foreign textual and literary characterizations. At issue is not only the changing methods artists used to represent the international trade that was transforming the city, but also how pictures of the metropolis refashioned the city’s image to reflect its worldly pretensions.

One of the earliest prints to represent Antwerp as town unified by celestially endorsed commerce appeared in the commemorative account of Prince Charles I’s (later Charles V) 1515 joyous entry (*blijde inkomst*), *Unio pro conservatione rei publicae*.⁶⁸ Amongst the volume’s few illustrations, the panegyric cityscape, *Salve Felix Andwerpia* (Figure 1.1), presented the city’s transit trade as its defining motif.⁶⁹ Compositionally, the cityscape emerges as a totality through the repetition of enclosures: the arc of the Scheldt’s course continues terrestrially in the city walls and celestially in the banderole’s benediction, “Hail, fortunate Antwerp, preserved by the favor of divine grace” (*Salve felix Andwerpia. Conseruet[ur] diuina fave[n]te gr[at]ia*).

Though *Salve Felix Andwerpia* abstracts Antwerp’s topography, providing readers with an abbreviated impression of the urban milieu that suited the commemorative function of the small-format publication, its designers conceptualized the city as an enclosed garden (*hortus conclusus*), a symbolic form that spiritual indemnifies the town as a Christian sanctuary.⁷⁰ Also employing this convention, the early fifteenth-century illumination in the *Inventory of the Charters of Brabant* (*Inventaris van de Oorkonden van Brabant*, Figure 1.2) represents Antwerp within historiated initial.⁷¹ Made to resemble the jewel-toned Franco-Burgundian palaces that proliferated in the works of Limbourg Brothers (Figure 1.3), Antwerp’s urban architecture is fictitiously homogenized.⁷² Within the context of the *Inventory*, the visual conformity presents a unified vision of the Burgundian Netherlands. Encircling the city like a navigable moat, the Scheldt detaches Antwerp from its hinterlands and conducts seafaring vessels toward the city

gates. Topography trumps urban architecture as the city's defining characteristics. In order to designate the site-specificity of Antwerp, the miniature relies on the badge-like signification of the red-and-gold town seal, which hangs immediately above the city gate. The seal's main motif is redoubled in the cityscape: floating amid the blue spires are the severed hands of Druon Antigoon. Functionally, the crest adds synecdochic credence to the miniature, replicating in miniature the illumination's view of a fortified city.

While the *Inventory* suppresses Antwerp's social, commercial, and architectural diversity, contemporaneous travel descriptions, such as the account of Pero Tafur, an Andalusian nobleman who traveled to Antwerp in 1437, reveled in the cultural mixings of the city's marketplaces:

The fair that is held [in Antwerp] is the largest in the whole world. Anyone desiring to see all Christendom, or the greater part of it, assembled in one place can do so here. [...] For here come many and diverse people, the Germans, who are near neighbors, and likewise the English. The French also attend in great numbers, for they take much away and bring much. Hungarians and Prussians enrich the fair with their horses. The Italians are here also. I saw three ships as well as galleys from Venice, Florence and Genoa. As for the Spaniards they are numerous, or more numerous at Antwerp than anywhere else. [...] As a market Antwerp is quite unmatched. Here there are richest and the best entertainment, and the order that is preserved in matters of trade is remarkable. Pictures of all kinds are sold in the monastery of St. Francis; in the church of St. John they sell the cloths of Arras; in the Dominican monastery all kinds of goldsmith's work are sold. Various articles are distributed among the monasteries and churches, and the rest is sold in the streets. [...] Indeed, there is nothing, which one could desire which is not found here in abundance. I do not know how to describe so great a fair as this. I have seen other fairs, at Geneva in Savoy, at Frankfurt in Germany, and at Medina in Castile, but all these together are not to be compared with Antwerp.⁷³

Enthralled by the internationalism of the fair and the sumptuousness of the paintings and tapestries available for purchase, Tafur describes the profusion of goods, the concentration of foreign merchants, and the variety of marketing venues that enlivened the city as a worldly sensorium. As a soldier and diplomat, Tafur had traveled in the Holy Land, North Africa, and Europe. He had, as indicated in the passage, also visited many of Europe's most vibrant market cities, and these figure as points of comparison. Tafur characterizes Antwerp as a superlative microcosm, a market city that through its collocation of diverse peoples and commodities represented in small the heterogeneity of Christian world. Like the mimetic doubling of city seal and townscape in the *Inventory*, Tafur's synecdoche serves as a formal means of demonstrating correspondences between the market city and the world.

Even as it draws upon the symbolic vocabulary of the *hortus conclusus*, *Salve Felix Andwerpia* moves toward a more faithful representation of the city on the Scheldt, registering. The colored woodcut, however, uses both a recognizable impression of Antwerp's built environment and its topographical relationship to the Scheldt to promote the city's significance, creating a satisfying portrait of the city. Abbreviated as a series of overlapping facades, Antwerp's urban architecture is reduced to an airless ambit around the incomplete steeple of the Church of Our Lady (*Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Kerk*). The woodcut compresses the matrix of traversable streets that channeled movements in and around the city, maximizing the visibility of the harbor with its elevated viewing position, but obscuring the roads that channeled cargo from the quay toward the transcontinental routes that proceeded from the city gates. In obfuscating the

interurban network of streets, the cityscape visually privileges the activities of the harbor, effectively promoting the city's accessibility to seafaring ships.

Insofar as the joyous entry's processional route was confined to the city streets and didn't even pass along the Scheldt, the woodcut appealed to a reading audience, contriving an iconic view of the city that identified the town with its harbor. As a commemorative construct—an image made to stress Antwerp's singularity within, rather than conformity to the Habsburg prince's Burgundian dominions—the cityscape intimates the urban *mise-en-scène*.⁷⁴ In terms of imperial politics, the territorial implications of this townscape's visual language contrast importantly with those of the *Inventory*'s historiated initial. Although *Unio pro conservation rei publice* commemorated the joyous entry's ritual incorporation of Antwerp into a more extensive empire, *Salve Felix Andwerpia* signals a drive toward urban autonomy, a desire to differentiate Antwerp both functionally and culturally from other the cities that would have constituted the royal itinerary. Antwerp's topography is made to reflect civic cultural priorities; in asserting Antwerp's identifiable urban form and its orientation toward overseas traffic, the image argues for the city's unique status, its worthiness for special rights and privileges. At the same time, the underlying formal symbolism of the image, particularly in light of the *banderole*'s inscription, associates the city's bustling commerce with a divine favor that repays the industriousness and piousness of Antwerpeners. The perspective from the opposing riverbanks explicitly aligns the heavenly climbs of cathedral's tower with the worldly conveyances of the wharf's crane, placing this alignment along the composition's dominant vertical axis.

In 1515 *Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk*, (Church of Our Lady), did in fact lie at the heart of Antwerp's most vibrant commercial and artisanal district, an urban dynamic to which Book One of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* attests.⁷⁵ According to the narrative of that opening chapter, the Englishman attends Mass soon after arriving in the city.⁷⁶ Upon exiting the church, he sees his good friend Pieter Gillis, the Antwerp City Secretary and humanist, conversing on the street with a sunburned stranger: Raphael Hythloday, the fictional Portuguese voyager who narrates Book Two. The site specificity of this chance encounter was entirely plausible. Nestled within the streets that lead from the harbor to the Portuguese *Feitoria de Flandres* and to many of the city's other foreign merchant colonies, *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw* served as a landmark along the urban pathways most commonly traversed by worldly seafarers. The church was also the city's devotional hub, offering foreigners not only a local outlet for religious patronage but also confraternal networking opportunities with other businessmen.⁷⁷ The success of the cathedral's *pand* also meant that the district surrounding the church was populated with artist workshops, retail venues, and the very publishing houses where Pieter Gillis found occasional employment.

Although the significance of this encounter is often overlooked, More's text represents Antwerp as a place of international connectivity. Indeed, the textual figuring of Antwerp as a point of convergence would seem to register More's historical experience of the city. For More wrote and published *Utopia* in 1516, a year after he was dispatched as an attaché to Cuthbert Tunstall, the English ambassador at the Habsburg court in Brussels. The first paragraphs of Book One allude to an important historical embassy that had convened in Brussels and Bruges between May and October 1515.⁷⁸ Charged with the resolution of various trade disputes that were embittering relations between the Tudor and Habsburg courts, the delegation successfully avoided, among other infelicities, a Netherlandish embargo on English woolens.⁷⁹ On two separate occasions when negotiations adjourned for some months at a time, More traveled to Antwerp, the city that would have been most adversely impacted had diplomacy faltered.

Even though Antwerp was at the time of More's journey in the midst of a commercial, demographic, and real estate boom so profound that any visitor to the city would have perceived it, the diplomatic contexts of More's visit gave him a particular perspective on Antwerp's situation—insights that shaped the structure and content of *Utopia* in discernible ways.⁸⁰ On the one hand, his presence at those courtly negotiations meant that the statesman was especially alert to the political precariousness of Antwerp's commercial fortunes, that is, to the city's reliance on imperial powers to prioritize commercial cooperation over geopolitical competition. On the other hand, More clearly viewed Antwerp's urban milieu as a meaningful counterpoint to the world of the court. The discussion staged between More, Hythloday, and Gillis, concerning the call of educated men to princely service, sets up an implicit opposition between the candor and informality of the protagonists' private conversation at Gillis's house and the courtly rivalries, disingenuousness, and sycophancies of which they speak.⁸¹ Particularly in its amicability and broad-mindedness, their dialogue is suggestive of the progressive, egalitarian atmosphere promoted by Antwerp's bourgeois civic culture and international mixing.

Although the embassy provides a specific and verifiable historical context for situating More's travels and contributes to the veneer of truthfulness that overlays the text's many fictions, the casualness and apparent spontaneity of the author's retreat to Antwerp conceals its purposefulness. As a pretext to More's relocation to Antwerp, the structural significance of the diplomatic negotiations lies in their spatial and social implications. Though suggestive of the author's mobility and professional qualifications, the move establishes a specific change in atmosphere, a transition from a courtly to an urban context, where sociability was influenced less by aristocratic political ambition than by bourgeois commercial conviviality. While the frankness of the protagonists' discussion takes for granted a particular civic propensity for tolerance and freedom of thought, the opening chapter of *Utopia* also relies on Antwerp's topographical significance as a littoral buffer, a gateway city where travelers pursuing divergent itineraries momentarily connected with each other in order to exchange goods, information, and ideas. Importantly, *Utopia* situates Antwerp as an exemplary intermediary city: for soon after the strangers converge in Antwerp—one from court and one from overseas—their interactions engender the cultivation of a different world picture.⁸²

Establishing Antwerp as the foil for the island commonwealth, the juxtaposition at the heart *Utopia*'s two-book structure was culturally suggestive.⁸³ Utopian proto-communistic mores were, after all, anathema to the proto-capitalistic aspirations of Antwerpeners, especially insofar as the islanders reviled luxuries and sacrificed personal liberties, if not individual identity, for the good of the state. The customary and juridical uniformity of the Utopians, as well as their monolingualism, also ran contrary to the cultivated internationalism and polyglotism of Antwerpeners, if not to the regional particularism of the Low Countries more generally.⁸⁴ Though the social critique offered in *Utopia* undoubtedly ramified beyond the Netherlandish example, the text uses Antwerp to evoke a set of culturally linked economic transformations, using the city on the Scheldt as paradigmatic example of the contemporary global forces impacting important port cities.⁸⁵ Thus while Antwerp functions as an emblematic point of departure, the island of Utopia serves as a topsy-turvy paradigm, exposing ambivalences vocalized in Book One about the material, social, cultural and ethical underpinnings of economic renewal and its globalizing pressures.

The salience of these international commercial contexts is, however, altogether less apparent and entirely more fraught in the opening chapter of *Utopia* than this interpretation may initially suggest. After all, in privileging the embassy as the reason for his travels, More

dissimulates the economic circumstances that would have led to the protagonists' meeting. Throughout the text More distances himself from any explicit association with Antwerp's English traders, when in fact his political career traced back to his enrollment with London's Worshipful Company of Mercers, a professional standing that had qualified him for a position in the city government.⁸⁶ London's international wool traders had, moreover, been the invisible forces agitating for More's diplomatic appointment, and his countrymen at the *Engelse Pand* had surely helped him acclimate to the city.⁸⁷ Even in referencing Amerigo Vespucci's final voyage to Brazil, which had, according to the fiction of the text, brought Hythloday to Antwerp, More undermines the expedition's commercial-cartographic objectives by casting uncertainty over Utopia as a geographically locatable place.⁸⁸

Relying on the reader to infer the urban and even global commercial contexts that informed the protagonists' discourse, Thomas More represents Antwerp as a safe haven for exchanging ideas, a place where men from various nations transcend their differences in order to forge new understandings of themselves and the world beyond. Perhaps understood as one of More's many 'counterrealistic' strategies, the anti-materialistic, non-descriptive account in Book One suggests the ideational fecundity of Antwerp as a trading zone.⁸⁹ In contradistinction to travel descriptions like Tafur's, More's disengagement with the urban sensorium—the sights, smells and sounds of the metropolis—allows him to stage Antwerp as an intellectual retreat, a withdrawal to a world of pure ideas, where the more enduring cultural advantages of commercial exchange and cross-cultural contact displace the ephemeral materiality of the marketplace. From the perspective of a voyager like Hythloday, the conversation represented a sort of homecoming, an occasion to reconnect with like-minded individuals, when the ineffable liminality of the overseas journey and the experiential latency of cross-cultural exposure could be meaningfully transformed through social discourse. Implicit in More's two-book structure, I want to suggest, is a story about the domestication of knowledge from overseas, and more specifically, about Antwerp's importance for generating that world picture.

Within More's peculiarly disembodied reading, Antwerp's identity is described less through its locality than through the relocation of travelers and the dislocation—perhaps even placelessness—of their idyllic community.⁹⁰ The central chapters of *Utopia* are themselves embedded in a textual register that deepens and expands the book's discursive and social connectedness. While the prefatory materials—comprising the Utopian alphabet, two sets of verses in the Utopian tongue, a map of the island, prose poems by the Dutch and Antwerp humanists Gerardus Geldenhower and Cornelius Grapheus, and a prefatory epistle addressed to Pieter Gillis—add ethnographic, cartographic and philological valiances to More's clever ruse, the concluding flurry of epistolary exchanges between such internationally reputed scholars as Erasmus, Johannes Froben, Jeroen van Busleyden, Guillaume Budé, Jean Desmarez, Beatus Rhenanus and Willibald Pirckheimer delimits an extensive literary circle that extended from England and the Low Countries to France, Switzerland, and southern Germany. Transforming the text into an interactive forum, these prefatory and appended texts refigure Antwerp as a node within a publishing network that included other centers in Paris, Leuven, Basel, and Nuremberg, suggestive of the circulation of manuscripts along the central arteries of the book trade. Together with the narrative structure of *Utopia*, the supplementary front and back matter enfold Antwerp as a site of translation, a figurative representation of the intellectual labor of the town's publishing sector.⁹¹ Antwerp performs as a dynamic contact zone, a place where information sharing enhances sociability and advances the worlding of Continental intellectual discourse.

Ambrosius Holbein's woodcut illustration of the island of Utopia for the 1518 edition renders the structural and cultural significances of Antwerp's position visually explicit (Figure 1.4). Like the earlier 1516 version (Figure 1.5), the map (referred to in the successive editions as *figura* and *tabula*) devises the island and sailing galleon together as a skull-shaped assemblage, an image that evokes the perspectival and perceptual transfiguring potential of overseas travel.⁹² To conceive of a map as a kind of *memento mori* or death mask is to expose imperial expansion as a form of vanity. The symbolism also acknowledges the failures (or perhaps mortification) of meaning endemic to such travel. Whereas early explorers' sense of visual orientation entailed the use of computational instruments like astrolabes and quadrants, their interactions with native populations were compromised by linguistic and customary misunderstandings.⁹³ Understood as an image of inconstancy, Holbein's assemblage points toward a symbolic value that lies beyond the surfaces of things, complicating or exposing the text's descriptive transparency.

In the 1518 version, the visual oscillation of the initial assemblage (ship-island/skull) is stabilized as an allusive, otherworldly space by the inclusion of a foreground. This barren shore denotes Antwerp, the place of narrative inhabited by Hythloday and More. A third man stands at the far right, presumably watching the maritime traffic. Serving as a figural compliment to Hythloday's pointing gesture, this man signals that the content of their discussion has turned to the world beyond the Scheldt. While the inward-facing position of the protagonists implicate the reader/viewer as a participant in their world-making discourse, the process of reading the assemblage entails a willing estrangement. The visual move from narrative place to imaginary space traverses the Scheldt, a waterway that the woodcut constructs as both the connective channel linking Antwerp to Utopia and the perceptual divide that separated the real from the imagined, if not the misrepresented. The galleon in turn serves both literally and metaphorically as a shuttling device, linking these geographically and ontologically disparate realms. However, once seen and perceived, the assemblage and the ship's journey implies an internalized alterity, an othering concomitant with learning to see the world through alternative perspectives.

As a text that addressed itself to an international audience, *Utopia* relied on Antwerp's celebrity as a commercial destination and worldly market to relay its meanings. Holbein's map, just one of the book's many paratextual layers, enfolds and expands upon the Antwerp-Utopia juxtaposition, translating this topographical dialectic into a visual chiasmus. The conception of the island simultaneously evokes the decontextualizing conventions of *isolario*, the cartographic description of islands, and the re-contextualizing forms of the enclosed garden as a Christian ideal.⁹⁴ By putting into dialogue two incommensurable rhetorics of visual detachment (*isolario* and sanctifying enclosure), Holbein's map recalls the vexations of cartographic and cultural disorientation, and perhaps even the uneasy relationship between the generic textual modes of Book One and Two.⁹⁵ This apparent mismatch matters because *Utopia* concerns itself not only with imperial policy, civic ethics, and questions of free will within a commonwealth, but also with the relationship between a society's internal, cultural characteristics and how those qualities find external expression in and through urban development.

Cultural producers in Antwerp were also grappling these issues, seeking a way pictorially to rationalize the commercial and cultural mobility that was transforming their city. The well-known panoramic woodcut of the Scheldt harbor (Figure 1.6), produced sometime between 1515 and 1521, innovated an expanded rather than contracted portrait of the port.⁹⁶ The composite print, comprising thirteen separate leaves, visually promoted Antwerp as an international entrepôt, drawing upon foreign source material to construct the city's likeness.

The image presents the quay as the outward-gazing face of the city. Presented from an elevated viewing position on the opposing riverbank, the *Vlaams Hoofd*, the urban waterfront and skyline have been annotated, so that various commercial and cultural landmarks, such as the Butchers' Hall (*Vleeshuis*) and the Fishmongers' Tower (*Visverkoperstoren*), are identified in Flemish. A complement to these vernacular designations, an invented Latin titular, "*Antverpia Mercatorum Emporium*," (*Antwerp, Marketplace of Merchants*) appears on an unfurling banderole, which hovers behind the spire of *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw*. Involute flourishes visually connect this proclamation to two divine protectors: at the left, Mercury, the god of commerce, and to the right, Vertumnus, the god of seasons. As these Roman deities bless the city, their presence signifies Antwerp's position as a perennial commercial haven.

The cityscape's representational conventions overlapped rhetorically and functionally with city prognostications, a genre of vernacular propaganda that championed Antwerp as a market town. Written at about the same time as *Antverpia Mercatorum Emporium*, the prognostication for the year 1519, for example, declared that, "The famous city of Antwerp will thrive this year, leading the way to fortune and prosperity."⁹⁷ The promise of prosperity, intended to entice merchants to trade in Antwerp, functioned as a kind of invitation. Such solicitous assertions were hardly isolated claims. In their coverage of topics related to regional trade, including but not limited to predictions for the harvest, war and peace, and the spread of epidemic diseases, the authors of these leaflets strove to placate or assuage the anxieties of local and regional traders. Written by city astrologers, these prognostications often championed both the beneficent administration of the magistracy and the honest behavior of the city's merchants, linking such virtuous, civic conduct to the fortunes forecasted. Insofar as these predictions were determined by the city's specific position on a meridian, which astrologers used to divine the astral influences exerted upon the city and its citizenry, Antwerp's fate as an international merchant city was, at least according to this culturally empowered group of prognosticators, predestined by its topography. Thus in addition to catering to the concerns of a superstitious, commercially minded readership, prognostications promulgated the idea of Antwerp as a *coopstad*.⁹⁸

More dynamic in its propagandistic appeal than such prognostications, the woodcut does not, however, entirely rely on either the promotional title or even the contrived classicizing/astral allegory to broadcast the city's international ambitions. Instead the image uses the city itself, particularly the harbor traffic, to signal its global extensions. Contrasting the flowing currents and moving ships with the terrestrial stability of the cityscape, the course of the Scheldt dominates the foreground. Myriad trading vessels—galleons, fustas, xebecs, carracks and other smaller, oared boats—navigate the harbor and dock along the quay. Together, the diversity of ships renders explicit the traders' heterogeneous origins and diverse specializations. The worldliness of the crowded harbor is further marked in the maritime traffic: the inward movement of the Venetian fleet, shown just entering the port at the far left, counterbalances the opposing directionality of the Jerusalem-bound pilgrim galley at the middle right, which is visually distinguished from the commercial vessels by pennants bearing the five-fold cross, the insignia of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre.⁹⁹ The rhetoric of the image thus proclaims the internationalism of the Scheldt as a conduit, constructing an image of Antwerp as a vibrant commercial haven keenly aware of its hydrographic connectivity.

Antverpia Mercatorum Emporium also promulgates a specific vision of Antwerp as a marketplace adapted to foreign merchants by foregrounding the city's commercial infrastructure. On the wharfs adjacent to the man-operated wooden crane, mariners and porters convey bundled,

boxed, and barreled cargo onto land, either for temporary storage in the city or for transshipment beyond the city gates. Noting the locations of various storehouses and gateways within the cityscape, the image indicates the proximity of facilities like the monumental crane, scales, and shipyard to the cloisters and churches that hosted important marketing venues—recalling Tafur’s description not only of the variety of marketing venues but also the admirable order with which commerce in the city was conducted.¹⁰⁰ Visually accentuating pragmatic interests, the woodcut describes Antwerp’s worldliness using the humble vocabulary of commercial equipment and maritime labor to visually bind the urban landscape with the flow of commerce.

However, the image’s internationalism runs deeper than its mere iconography. The construction, format, scale, and technique of *Antverpia Mercatorum Emporium* suggest that its designer was familiar with both Erhard Reuwich, *View of Venice* (Figure 1.7), from Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* and Jacopo de’ Barbari’s enterprising *View of Venice* (Figure 1.8). Both works, interestingly enough, had been catalyzed by German patronage, and it’s likely that both the book and print had found their way to the city either through Antwerp’s German merchant community or through the activity of Antwerp book dealers at the Frankfurt market. Whereas the nearly five-foot long view of Venice from the *Peregrinatio* appeared as a fold-out illustration within Breydenbach’s narrative of his pilgrimage from Mainz to the Holy Land in 1486, de’ Barbari’s print had been commissioned around 1500 by the Nuremberg merchant Anton Kolb.¹⁰¹ All of these monumental city views are composites.¹⁰² Whereas the Antwerp artist appears to have derived his roving panoramic format from Reuwich’s city view, he derives from de’ Barbari’s the prescriptive, allegorical function of the classical deities, a device that is used to articulate the city’s commercial ethos.

Despite the technical similarities, *Antverpia Mercatorum Emporium* culturally differentiates the city on the Scheldt from the *Serenissima* through its point of view. Whereas the pioneering surveying techniques used to construct de’ Barbari’s aerial view of Venice create a disembodied, unifying perspective that flirts with an omniscience enticing to a seaborne empire, the laterally-oriented, unfolding perspective of the Antwerp harbor, which pans across the cityscape from multiple vantage points, sublimates the mobile viewing position of the seafaring vessels that crowd the port, functioning as a kind of open invitation to potential trading partners. Reuwich’s panorama, innovating a visual language to complement the genre of travel literature, provided an indispensable visual rhetorical model. While de’ Barbari’s view of Venice bespeaks totality and self-sufficiency, the image of Antwerp is non-restrictive, underscoring plurality over and above singularity.

Within the picture of Antwerp, the juxtaposition of the Venetian merchant fleet and the visual reference to Dirk van Passchen’s locally operated pilgrimage company can also be read competitively. Just before the turn of the century, Venice dominated both the spice trade and Holy Land tours. However, by the time this print was made, Antwerp had become the northern distribution center for Portuguese spices, that is, the primary market for the interlopers who had undermined Venice’s monopoly, and by 1515–20 Venetian galleons were, in fact, traveling with less and less frequently to Antwerp.¹⁰³ Van Passchen’s charter also obviated the need of Jerusalem pilgrims from the North to travel to the Holy Land via Venice. Though Venice itself was a pilgrimage destination in its own right, the woodcut suggests that Antwerp, too, offered visiting pilgrims important holy sites: for the woodcut shows various cloisters and churches, including *Sint Jakobskerk*, a destination for pilgrims on the way to Santiago da Compostela.

If *Antverpia Mercatorum Emporium* did, in fact, model its view of Antwerp after Venice, the selective imitation evinces an artistic ambition to compete with Venetian products, and may

serve as an early example of the emulative entrepreneurialism that would lead to the foundation of Venetian-style glassworks in Antwerp.¹⁰⁴ Given the celebrity of the de' Barbari's and Reuwich's views of Venice, the printer who underwrote the production of the monumental image of the Antwerp port in all likelihood must have wanted to tap into the very market to which these images appealed—an audience that included high-level international merchants. However, the reduced size and increased number of its blocks, coupled with its less ambitious perspective, would have made the image of Antwerp a significantly more affordable artwork than for example de' Barbari's.¹⁰⁵

While the monumentality of *Antverpia Mercatorum Emporium* and the roving perspective of the harbor encourage viewers virtually to tour the city and to use culturally significant buildings to orient themselves, the desire to produce a modern city portrait derived not just from a need to rationalize recent urban developments and the commercial differentiation of the city, but from a need to render the unique character of the city accessible and visually apprehensible to foreign audiences. While the Flemish inscriptions would seem to indicate that the woodcut appealed to domestic audiences, the Latin epithet promoted the city as an international commercial emporium beyond the region, performing to some extent as an appeal to travelers from abroad.

Antverpia Mercatorum Emporium registers the extent to which Antwerpeners in the early decades of sixteenth century invested in the idea of their city as a cosmopolitan metropolis. More importantly, in their effort to articulate an impression of Antwerp's worldliness as a phenomenon that visibly impacted daily life in their city, printmakers broke with representational conventions and availed themselves of multiple pictorial strategies: they drew formal inspiration from foreign artworks and derived iconographical vocabularies from direct observation of urban dynamics. Ultimately, the synthetic quality of the final product evinces a self-determined visual inclusivity that communicated Antwerp's cultural and commercial accommodation of foreigners.

Although *Antverpia Mercatorum Emporium* may have been one of the earliest images to promote Antwerp as an encompassing emporium, the rhetoric of inclusivity upon which it drew became ubiquitous in sixteenth-century accounts, with both citizens and foreigners repeatedly describing Antwerp as a microcosm of the world. Pero Tafur's insistence that "anyone desiring to see all Christendom, or the greater part of it, assembled in one place can do so [in Antwerp]" was reformulated in Cornelius Grapheus's and Pieter Gillis's 1527 paean, *On the name of the prosperous city of Antwerp (De nomine florentissimae civitatis Antverpiensis)*, which claimed that "Antwerp is unto itself the entire world," ("*Sola una totus mundus est Antverpia*").¹⁰⁶ Twenty-odd years later, the Spanish court poet, Juan Cristobal Calvete de Estrella explicitly linked Antwerp's macrocosmic magnetism to the city's many marketplaces: "To the [...] opulent and densely populated city of Antwerp we can accord the fitting title of metropolis, given that one can find here an abundance of all things that God has created. To her come all cities and all people of Christianity—and even beyond—to replenish supplies."¹⁰⁷ Even during years of upheaval, city officials continued to assert Antwerp's position as "not only the first and principal commercial city of all Europe, but also the source, origin and storehouse of all goods, riches and merchandise, and a refuge and nurse of all arts, science, nations, and virtues."¹⁰⁸

Recurrent in these primary source accounts is the idea that what distinguished Antwerp from other cities was its total encompassment of the world's products and peoples. Usually cited as evidence for the city's commercial vibrancy, these texts articulate a subtler if not more interesting historical vision of Antwerp's cosmopolitan urban dynamic, that is, how the city's enterprising ethos engendered a more liberal cultural ethic. Each author idealizes Antwerp as a

microcosmic reflection of the wider world, delimited variously as either ‘Christendom’ or ‘Europe’, ‘beyond Christendom’ or the ‘entire world’. Overall, the rhetoric is characterized by the recursion and collocation of specific concepts: markets and merchandise become corollaries for riches and abundance as well as assembly and refuge; other metonymically significant notions are implied, such as: diversity, mobility, centripetalism, and containment. As a rule, circulating commodities and foreign merchants are endowed with acute representational powers, functioning as substitutes or similitudes for remote cities and nations. Origination thus becomes a marked term in reading the internationalism of the city. The eyewitness accounts of Tafur and Calvete de Estrella lay almost hyperbolic emphasis on the visibility and identifiability of foreigners and imported goods, describing the opportunity to ‘see all [of] Christendom,’ and vocalizing the perception that ‘all cities and all people of Christianity’ participated in Antwerp’s markets. Rather than emphasizing the dissemination of things and the dispersions of merchants back into the world, the texts prioritize the concentrations, saturations, and agglomerations afforded by Antwerp’s intermediacy as a ‘storehouse’ and as a ‘metropolis’. What seems by consensus to have fascinated even the worldliest of travelers about the urban experience of Antwerp was the city’s material and social localization of global diversity. As such, foreigners helped perpetuate Antwerp’s cosmopolitan mystique: they saw their experiences as travelers reflected in city’s inclusive, welcoming atmosphere.

Though assimilated into a civic commercialist spirit, the image of Antwerp as an encompassing emporium, at least to some extent, had to be ratified by travelers from abroad. Antwerpeners did not, however, passively wait for non-native visitors to compose narrative descriptions of their city. The town council sporadically offered subsidies to strangers—prominent merchants and other traveling luminaries—to write laudatory accounts of Antwerp in their native tongues, that is, directed toward audiences in their respective homelands.¹⁰⁹ Calvete de Estrella’s 1552 *The Felicitous Journey of Prince Philip I from Spain to Germany and the Low Countries* (*El felicissimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso Principe don Phelippe*), in which the above-quoted passage appeared, falls into this category of town-sponsored publications.¹¹⁰ Geared toward Spanish-reading audiences, Calvete de Estrella’s description registers the occasionality of the Spanish court poet’s transient experiences of the city as it was redressed for the 1549 joyous entry and situates the experiences of the royal convoy in Antwerp within a much grander triumphal itinerary through Habsburg territories. The magistracy also partially underwrote the most celebrated descriptive account of Antwerp ever written: Lodovico Guicciardini’s 1567 *Description of the Low Countries* (*Descrittione di tutti Paesi Bassi*).¹¹¹ In contrast to the earlier Spanish text, Guicciardini’s account evinces the Florentine merchant’s integration into the city, especially insofar as his exposition combined substantive historical research with data collected from a network of regional informants. Despite these and other qualitative differences, the fact that both works benefited from city patronage mattered. Civic sponsorship of these texts ensured not only that Antwerp would receive favorable coverage but also that the texts’ production would create business for local printing houses, securing employment for the multilingual editors, typesetters, and artists who worked at these presses. Understood in this light, the fact that an Italian merchant wrote the best, most thorough description of golden-age Antwerp is hardly ironic: the production of the *Descrittione* was entirely consistent, if not symptomatic of the city’s cultural, literary, and artistic investment in incorporating, and even foregrounding foreign contributions.¹¹²

Although his book gave coverage to the most important cities of the Low Countries, Lodovico Guicciardini dedicated a disproportionate portion of his text to celebrating Antwerp as

a worldly emporium. More than any other text, he glorified the entrepreneurialism and cosmopolitanism of Antwerp, writing that:

The inhabitants of [Antwerp] are for the most part engaged in commerce, and indeed they are great merchants and very rich [...]. They are courteous, civil, ingenious, quick to imitate foreigners, and to intermarry with them. They are capable of dwelling and carrying on business throughout the world. Most of them, and even the women (though they may not have been out of the country), know how to speak three or four languages, not to mention those who speak five, six, and seven; this is something to marvel at as well as a great advantage. They have artisans proficient in very kind of art and craft, for they work so well that they sell their products even before these are finished [...]. Now, as to the kind and number of crafts exercised in this city, one can almost say it in a single word—all. For here they make cloth, linen of every kind, tapestry, Turkish carpets and fustians, armor and all other munitions of war; they carry on tanning, paintings, dyeing, color-making, gilding, silvering, glass-making in the Venetian style; they make every kind of mercery, of gold, of silver, of threads, of wool, and small wares of metals of all kinds and other things beyond number. They also make here all kinds of silk cloth, such as velvets, satin, damask, sarsenet, taffetas, and others [...].

Guicciardini proceeds to describe the ways and manners, “which prevail among the foreign merchants trading in [Antwerp], considering that her principal foundation consists of commerce.” The city, he observes:

is made famous and increased by foreigners. [In addition to the people of Antwerp and the French traders who come to the city during times of armistice] there are six principal nationalities that reside here both in war and peace, and who number more than a thousand merchants, including their principal managers and assistants. There are the Germans, the Danes together with the Hanseatic merchants from all parts, the Italians, Spanish, English, and Portuguese, but there are perhaps more Spaniards than any other nationality, and certainly without question more who are married and settled here. All these merchants observe the laws and ordinances of the city, and, moreover, live dress, and conduct themselves freely according to their desires. To tell the truth, foreigners live in greater liberty here in Antwerp, and all the Low Countries, than in any other part of the world. For it is a marvelous thing to see such a mixture of men, of so many kinds, and even more marvelous to hear among them such a variety of languages, so different from one another, so that, without going abroad, in a single city you can observe and imitate, if you wish, the nature, way of life, and customs of many nations. And thus it happens that in Antwerp, because of the presence of so many foreigners, one always has news of the whole world.¹¹³

Stressing the intercultural sociability that enlivened urban discourse, Guicciardini describes Antwerp as a kind of wondrous ethnographic menagerie, marketplace, manufacturing center, and information hub. He begins by underscoring a native predisposition to welcome outsiders, a commercial mindedness that manifest as an interpersonal curiosity about and acceptance of foreigners as integral members of their community. Antwerpeners’ genuine interest in mixing with strangers, Guicciardini avers, merged with an entrepreneurial mentality that was evidenced by their polyglotism, worldly adaptability, material resourcefulness and ability to emulate exotic crafts (e.g. Venetian-style glass and Turkish-style carpets). In transitioning to a discussion of the freedoms enjoyed by Antwerp’s many foreign merchants, Guicciardini repeats many of the

rhetorical leitmotifs found in earlier textual accounts: he foregrounds the sensory perceptibility of urban pluralism as well as the city's exceptional localization of the entire world.

As a chorographic study, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* included maps, city views, and illustrations of landmark buildings, which the publisher had commissioned from local artists and mapmakers. The image of Antwerp (Figure 1.9) selected to illustrate the edition presents a true bird's-eye view of the city from the east, a harmonizing perspective that revealed the web of streets that channeled urban movements between the Scheldt and the overland routes that proceeded from the city gates. The perspective also makes visually manifest the spatial transformation wrought by two significant urban development campaigns. Distinguishable from the more organic organization of the old city with its stark grid plan, the *Nieuwstad* heralded the rationalized expansion efforts of the real estate developer Gilbert van Schoonbeke, the son of a local merchant, who, particularly between 1542–1553, improved commercial infrastructure between specific quarters of the city, constructing three new markets and twenty-four new streets in the process.¹¹⁴ With its deep canals running perpendicular to the Scheldt, the *Nieuwstad* extended the city significantly northward, functioning as an industrial district that expedited port traffic. Unlike earlier images of the city, the westward-facing perspective gave readers a privileged view of the newly built fortifications, the so-called Spanish walls, which had been devised and constructed by the Italian engineer Donato Boni de Pellizuoli.¹¹⁵ The symmetry of the bird's eye view accentuates the semicircular configuration of the city, which appears to open itself up to the Scheldt. Seen from above, the fortifications and the deep moat that surrounds it doubly punctuate Antwerp's emergent form, stressing safety and protection. Interspersed by nine-and-a-half bastions, the massive polygonal walls confer an almost ornamental shape to the city, not unlike a diadem. Designed to enable more dynamic, multidirectional artillery responses to current trends in siege warfare, the Spanish walls were widely perceived as a fulfillment of modern defensive technology, that is, a bringing to fruition of internationally circulating military architectural principles that had increased in currency thanks in equal measure to traveling artist-engineers and numerous vernacular and Latinate publications on the subject.¹¹⁶

Though certainly within the *Descrittione*, the decision to choose an image of the city that foregrounded the Spanish walls would have increased awareness of Pellizuoli's accomplishment among his countrymen on the one hand and affirmed Guicciardini's picture of Antwerp's receptivity to foreigners and their ideas on the other, the particular view selected was probably chosen because its perspective was representative of the most current trends. The woodcut's view from the east was not in fact new; its composition derived from a single-leaf engraving published a decade earlier by Hieronymous Cock (Figure 1.10).¹¹⁷ Although little is known about the specific audiences for Cock's engraving, that is, whether it sought primarily to appeal to domestic or foreign audiences, the westward orientation of its view seems to have become dominant, at least for a decade or two, displacing more conventional representations of the city from across the River Scheldt. Unlike views from the west, the new perspective distances viewers from port traffic, even while suggesting the quay's free and easy access through the numerous ships sailing along the Scheldt. Rather than relying primarily on the transit trade for iconographic evidence of the city's internationalism, the new view presents Antwerp's recent development as an inscription of global commerce, a metabolization of trade dynamics expressed in and through urban infrastructural forms. Without recourse to titular proclamations or classical deities, the city in and of itself signifies worldliness.

Produced toward the end of the major urban development boom of 1540s, 50s, and 60s and printed only two years before Guicciardini's *Descrittione*, Virgilius Bononiensis's 1565

monumental, wall-sized map of Antwerp (Figure 1.11) expands on Cock's pioneering city view.¹¹⁸ The map miniaturizes the city at a scale that preserves the distinguishability of various new buildings, squares, and streets. Scattered among the residential quarters appear the grander edifices that defined the religious, political and commercial life of the city. Traditional landmarks, like *Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk*, *Sint-Joriskerk* (Church of Saint George), *Sint-Jacobskerk* (Church of Saint James), the *Visverkoperstoren* (Tower of the Fishmongers), the *Predikheren Klooster* (Dominican Friary), and the *Vleeshuis* (Butcher's Hall) are supplemented by a number of newly built commercial and political establishments, including the *Nieuwe Beurs* (New Exchange, 1531–32), the *Vrijdagmarkt* (Friday Market, 1547), the *Tapissierspand* (Tapestry Hall, 1551), and the new *Stadhuis* (City Hall, 1561–65). Also visible on the map are numerous buildings associated with foreign merchants companies, including the houses associated with the Fuggers and the English Merchant Adventurers as well as the *Hansahuis*, (Hansa House, 1564–68) and the *Hessenhuis* (Hessen House, 1564). Representing the city as a visual system, the map engenders a virtual traversal and comparative mode of reading and relating to the city that would have been physically impossible for historical persons.¹¹⁹ Perhaps because neither travelers nor residents would have ever used this or any other city view as a navigational aid, the map constituted a privileged view Antwerp's changing picture.¹²⁰ Indeed, part of the visual pleasure of the Bononiensis map must have resided in the novel detail afforded by its sheer scale and in the concomitant opportunity to reconcile the visually induced disembodiment with one's personal kinetic memories of the urban environment.¹²¹

The 1565 map of Antwerp also emerged from an interactive exchange between foreign and local talent. Although little is known with any certainty about Bononiensis, archival evidence suggests that he was a naturalized alien, who immigrated to Antwerp either from the Italian city of Bologna or the French city of Boulogne in order to find employment as a cartographic draughtsman.¹²² The opening lines of the descriptive text in the cartouche at the lower left corner, written by Cornelius Grapheus, touts the collaborative nature of the project, exhorting the "open-minded beholders" to:

Behold Antwerp [...], the famous trading city of Belgium, which has for your use been drawn according to its living, calculated likeness by Virgilius Bononiensis and described by Cornelius Grapheus, both of whom have personally measured her [Antwerp], so that through this view you could tour this city, celebrated far and wide, as if you were present, even if on account of great distances you cannot visit.¹²³

Though this account implies that the map was intended largely as an export product to entice both prospective and armchair travelers to familiarize themselves with the city's likeness, the manner in which the text celebrates Antwerp is peculiar, especially given Grapheus's earlier writings on the city (the already mentioned *De nomine florentissimae civitatis Antverpiensis*).¹²⁴ Rather than eulogizing the city's history or cultural characteristics, a move that would have been familiar to Grapheus and humanist audiences from the conventional tropes of *laudes civitatum* and *laudes urbium* genres, the map functions as a kind of topographic equivalent of a chronicle. The text then provides a quantitative overview, a "calculated likeness," of Antwerp. Even as it defines the proportional relationship between the scale of the map and the size of the city (both since Roman times and since the addition of the *Nieuwstad*), the gloss adumbrates a seemingly arbitrary list of urban structures, including the number of residential blocks, districts, religious institutions, hostels, moorings, gates, and bridges.¹²⁵ At the same time, Grapheus describes the significant value of the building materials used to construct the city walls and other important edifices, dedicating a paragraph to the erection of new structures, with special emphasis given to

the *Stadhuis* as a “world wonder” (*mundi miraculis*) and the *Hansahuis* as a “speedily built, costly and multifunctional” facility (*conditur pari celeritate et sumptu [...] ad multa utilis*).

Grapheus’s attention to an enumerative urban calculus—which seems to assume that a city’s significance could be perceived through its discrete internal measurements and infrastructural statistics—drew upon certain trends within mercantile visual and intellectual culture.¹²⁶ Reading between the lines of Grapheus’s laudatory epigraph, it would appear that the humanist absorbed printmakers’ representational concerns with preserving true ratios and proportions, and that he adapted the city praise to accommodate merchants’ numerate tendencies.¹²⁷ Grapheus’s brief eulogy thus anticipated Guicciardini’s *Descrittione* in several ways. For the *Descrittione*, usually esteemed for its historical rigor and vernacular reinvention of *laudes urbium*, is demonstratively quantitative. Guicciardini comments on the city’s latitude and longitude as well as its corresponding Virgoan astral influences, and recounts the various measurements (in both distance and time) that defined Antwerp architecturally, topographically, and commercially.¹²⁸

Common to the Guicciardini and Grapheus texts is a quantitative descriptive practice that, though aimed at helping viewers more accurately interpret the reproduced likenesses of the city and its architectural monuments, also reflected current interests in the visual technologies of measuring spaces. While Cock’s and Bononiensis’s maps, as speculative productions, responded to an expanding market for modern city views, both projects also testify to the refinement of urban surveying techniques, which had developed considerably since the 1520s (Figure 1.12). These visual-technical advancements depended in turn on the presence of a local knowledge community—composed of burghers, merchants, artisans, and literati, both foreign and Flemish—that was familiar with the geometrical and surveying methods used to construct these city views, and Antwerp’s proximity to the vibrant cartographic and astronomical schools of Leuven undoubtedly encouraged visual-technical literacy in these areas.

The enmeshment of visual and quantitative forms of urban description bound together the seemingly distinct technologies associated with astronomy, surveying, and cartography, which were, at least to some extent, learned from and explored through the same texts and tools.¹²⁹ Publications from Antwerp printing houses in both Latin and the vernacular, such as *Die waerachtige Const der Geometrien* (*The True Art of Geometry*) in 1513 (Figure 1.13), and Gemma Frisius’s *Usus Annuli Astronomici* (*On the Use of Astronomical Rings*) in 1548 (Figure 1.14) covered these and other kinds of instrument-mediated forms of visualization and appealed to a broad readership. Even Gaspar Laet van Borchloen’s prognostication for the year 1531 (Figure 1.15) showed the city astronomer calculating the fortunes of the “famous trading city of Antwerp” from a quadrant aligned with the stars, an activity that rendered his labor in some measure analogous to both seafaring merchants and city surveyors.

All of this matters because it points to a convergence of quantitative and visual ways of reading and relating to the city as a cultural matrix that assumed a particular spatial form. Taken together, these texts and images illuminate a range of subcultural investments in the visual rationalization of urban particularism, the honing of visual-technical skills that allied Antwerpeners of various professions, and the amplification of a cosmopolitan self-image that emerged from actual intercultural collaborations.¹³⁰ For just as the city identified as a global emporium, a place defined by its centripetal containment of the world’s diverse peoples and products, so too did it perform as the generative ground from which two of the sixteenth century’s most comprehensive, entrepreneurial cartographic atlases would emerge: Abraham Ortelius’s *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (successive editions appeared between 1570–1621) and

Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum* (successive editions appeared from 1572–1622).¹³¹

Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* drew upon a well-established cosmographic tradition, which understood its origins to have emerged from Ptolemy's *Geographia*. Overtly declaring its relationship to Antwerp both in its prefatory matter and by virtue of its Antwerp publisher, Gillis Coppens van Diest, Ortelius's atlas opened with a map of the world (Figure 1.16), proceeding through successive sections on the four continents and concluding with a series of more detailed chorographic regional studies. The atlas engendered, as Gerardus Mercator observed, new modes of comparative geographic and chorographic inquiry, resulting in an eminently saleable publication that did not compromise on intellectual integrity.¹³² In attempting to provide the reading public with an ever more accurate representation of the world picture that had emerged after decades of overseas exploration, the *Theatrum* was an on-trend publishing venture, following Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia* (1544) and a series of pioneering world maps, such as Peter Apian's cordiform projection (1530) and Mercator's eponymous projection (1569). However, rather than staking its identity on proprietary knowledge, like so many other cartographic and cosmographic publications, Ortelius's project promoted the contributions of both major and relatively obscure mapmakers from all over Europe—cartographic and geographic works that Ortelius had collected in Antwerp, at the book fair in Frankfurt, and through his international network of correspondents.¹³³ Intent on maximizing its market share by attending to neglected considerations such as physical accessibility and ease of use, the *Theatrum* functioned less as an outlet for original research than as a compendium of Continental cartographic achievements. As such, Ortelius's atlas stands as an important monument to Antwerp's international connectivity and entrepreneurial culture. It does so not only by virtue of its transnational intellectual approach, by testing out emerging market segments and by instituting a more disciplined adherence to the scale of the page, but also by virtue of Ortelius's role as an cultural translator and intermediary: how he conceived of the project, how he capitalized on his positionality as a bookseller and mapmaker to expand his social-professional network, and how he sought to foster information sharing within an international knowledge community by responding to the demands of the marketplace.

Ortelius, like Thomas More, was an important part of the sixteenth century's version of the Republic of Letters: both men belonged to an international publishing community composed of humanist scholars, many of whom knew each other primarily through shared textual, antiquarian, and philological investments. Perhaps because Ortelius belonged to a later generation, he was, at least in contrast to More, less self-conscious about his commercial background and less circumspect about the value of material forms of knowledge. Whereas More's world picture and sense of sanctuary were predicated on incommensurability, alterity, alienation, and the inevitability of misrepresentation, Ortelius's worldview developed from a commitment to, if not pragmatic belief in the creditability of collaborative enterprise and the role of the marketplace in fostering the acquisition of knowledge. Indeed, in his introduction to the *Theatrum*, Ortelius conceived of the atlas as a kind of business-oriented workshop:

[For] the students of Geography shall have here, in the Authors thus named in order, and in the Catalogue of Authors of the Geographical Tables or Mappes, which we have set before this our worke, and lastly in the Tables themselves, a certain shoppe, as it were, furnished with all kinde of instruments necessarily required in such like businesse: out of which, if peradventure there may seeme anything wanting, in his judgment, either to the

finishing of any Booke of that argument, or indeed without any labor at all he may see, from whence it may by and by be fetched.¹³⁴

Ortelius had always assumed that the *Theatrum* would be a work-in-progress that could and later would be amended and updated as cartographic techniques advanced and as familiarity with unknown lands improved. But what is perhaps more remarkable in Ortelius's motives, at least as he expresses them in the above-cited address to his readers, is his desire to empower audiences to actively engage with the atlas in an almost commercial and artisanal sense, that is, not as a repository of complete knowledge, but as a means of further questioning, of exchanging with other perspectives, and of testing one's faculty of judgment.

Bearing the marks of an Ortelian collaborative enterprise, Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum* (1572–1622) found its conceptual and intellectual cultural beginnings in Antwerp.¹³⁵ Having worked for years on the production of city views and having recently completed work on Ortelius's atlas, Hogenberg perceived the opportunity to create a complementary edition that filled a different purpose.¹³⁶ In producing the *Civitates* Braun and Hogenberg's nevertheless relied on talent familiar to them from Ortelius's social and publishing network.¹³⁷

The images and descriptions of Antwerp that appeared in *Civitates orbis terrarum* register and further promote the perception of the city on the Scheldt as an inclusive, global emporium. Anesthetized of its recent turbulent history, the city is shown from two different perspectives, from the south and from the west (Figures 1.17–18). Contained within cartouches on the map from the west, poems by Julius Caesar Scalinger, an Italian humanist who had been active in France, and Daniel Rogers, a Flemish humanist and diplomat of German descent who became a naturalized English citizen, signal the publication's connections to an international publishing network that perceived Antwerp as one of its important centers. Both figures were, moreover, closely connected to Ortelius.¹³⁸

Scalinger presents Antwerp as an all-encompassing city, using the rhetorical device of prosopopoeia, so that the city appears to speak for itself:

The bleak features of envy try to reach me as numerous as the jealous cities watch me with menacing eye. Lyon is cosmopolitan, Paris industrious, Rome mighty, the Republic of Venice vast, Toulouse powerful. Merchandize of all kinds, arts ancient as well as modern, of which there is but one found in the others, are all within me.¹³⁹

Within the context of the *Civitates*, Scalinger's verse encourages the reader/viewer to compare the likeness of the city on the Scheldt to other European cultural capitals. At the same time, the poem ascribes the supreme powers of cultural synthesis to Antwerp as a unique form of intellectual and creative agency. Though couched in a paranoid allusion to geopolitical acquisitiveness, Scalinger relates Antwerp's virtue of inclusiveness not just to its commercial function as a storehouse for merchandise or to its role as an incubator for the arts, but to a series of civic characteristics—to industriousness, cosmopolitanism, and vigorousness.

In Rogers's poem, "On the Magnificence of the city of Antwerp" ("*De Magnificentia Urbis Antwerpianae*"), the ambassador echoes Scalinger's praise of the city's cultural diversity. But rather than directing his eulogy to the city as a whole, he stages his narrative within a particular building, the New Exchange, proclaiming that:

Here dissonant rumor is heard, praise itself fills it/with various languages and various vestures/What an exquisite splendor to see and how wonderful in all other respects/The world at large flourishes in this world in small.¹⁴⁰

Characterizing the bourse as a microcosm that reflected the international dynamics of the Antwerp macrocosm, and which in turn reflected the entire world, Rogers celebrates the centripetal draw of the exchange as a mechanism that localizes and domesticates worldly diversity. Like a series of concentric rings, Antwerp's identity as an encompassing emporium becomes marked in and through the city's individual marketplaces and buildings. Insofar as Rogers conceptualized the exchange as a transnational space that facilitated discourse, if not an ethnographic pleasure in witnessing the assemblage of diverse peoples, his poem affirms Antwerpeners' self-determined aspirations for the structure. As the placard next to entryway of the bourse declared, "The government and citizens of Antwerp erected this structure as an ornament to their city for the use of merchants of all nations and languages in the year 1531."¹⁴¹

In Braun's accompanying descriptive text, which appears in the cartouche on the view of the city from the south, he confirms, albeit in more prosaic fashion, the general picture of Antwerp as an international commercial city. While Braun refers to many metropolises as trading cities—Hamburg, Nuremberg, Venice, Florence, Lyon, Seville, Bruges—he treats Antwerp as something of a singularity. What differentiates his description of Antwerp from other international commercial centers is an attention to both the specific commodities and foreign trading nations established there and to the active role assumed by the city in developing commercial infrastructure to accommodate its multinational communities.¹⁴² Thus even though the *Civitates* seems rather unselfconscious about its intellectual debts to an Antwerp-centered intellectual community, it nevertheless internalized and multiplied the rhetoric of inclusivity that had long shaped Antwerp's identity as a global emporium.

This chapter has traced the development of Antwerp's image as a commercial metropolis in the sixteenth century and has gestured toward the various relationships that tied Antwerp publishers and printmakers to foreigners as potential patrons, entrepreneurial partners, and knowledge communities that registered, reciprocally promoted, and actively advanced the city's stature as a metropolitan marketplace.¹⁴³ Just as pictorial and literary characterizations of Antwerp as an international haven depended on cooperative associations between visitors and local talent, Antwerp's reputation as a tolerant cosmopolis was reinforced and promulgated by a multiplicity of authenticating foreign perspectives. Having become renown as an inclusive metropolis, the city on the Scheldt, as Guicciardini put it, was "made famous and increased by foreigners." Thus, in contrast to the proprietary attitudes and civic chauvinism that has traditionally colored our picture of urban industry in most early modern cities, representations of Antwerp gave the impression that the town's commercial identity was neither exclusive nor restrictive—that what set the city apart from its competitors was the diversity and celebrity of its trading partners, the accessibility of its marketplaces, and the availability of commodities from around the world.

Incidental and yet crucial to the visual enunciation of Antwerp's ambition as a global emporium was the burgeoning popularity of maps and city views, which came to function not just as geopolitical tools for ruling elites, but also as forms of intellectual enterprise that enriched urban discourse between burgers and served as promotional vehicles that appealed to emerging classes of consumers. Antwerp's metropolitan image during its 'golden-age' was thus not only most often imagined topographically, its production reflected the generation of new knowledge forms and the formation of expansive intellectual networks. In contrast to later market scenes, which pictured marketplace social dynamics from a distinctly Flemish perspective, these quasi-cartographic genres made visible and hence apprehensible the city's transformation. Over time,

the topographic imagery showed how Antwerp's spatial morphology reflected the city's worldly ambition.

The makers of these images also grappled with the challenges of translating the township's developmental and cultural particularism into a genre that was quantitative, empirical, and transnational—an idiom which encouraged viewers, both native and foreign, to ascertain Antwerp's cosmopolitan virtues by comparing its aspect with other famous trading cities. While the comparative thrust of this topographic imagery was evident as early as *Antverpia Mercatorum Emporium*, the encyclopedic projects produced during the years of decline—by virtue of both their propagation of Antwerp's worldly mystique and their origination in Antwerp-centric intellectual networks—made explicit the underlying relational dynamics that had made the city a global emporium. In other words, these genres invested the city's urban form with topological significance, presenting the urban landscape as a spatial manifestation of the townspeople's cosmopolitanism and commercial spirit. The very idea of the city as a cultural, commercial matrix was bound to how space and place ramified as connective tissue.

Though purporting to objectivity, these images of Antwerp helped spread certain literary and rhetorical characterizations of the city as a cosmopolis. The earliest depictions of Antwerp as a particular, identifiable place stressed the port's porousness; in striving to make the city's outward-looking commercial orientation a legible part of its urban form, printmakers configured city views around the harbor, extracting an iconographic vocabulary from maritime traffic. Within the first quarter of the sixteenth century, *Antverpia Mercatorum Emporium* virtually mapped out the town's commercial infrastructure, referencing the religious and civic institutions that concretized Antwerp's worldly aspirations. An innovative project in its own right, the composite print's roving perspective and monumentality derived its visual language from travel literature and urban surveying, visually referencing internationally significant printmaking projects.

By mid-century, Antwerp's apotheosis as the capital of global trade emerged as a trope in its own right, with travel descriptions and city views repeatedly affirming the city's magnetism as a global marketplace. Images of the city made during and after the building boom of the 1540s–60s revealed Antwerp's active refashioning, presenting a more structured, regulated picture of the international traffic. These increasingly accurate topographical views made the city's external and internal metamorphoses visually apparent: whereas the construction of the Spanish walls reconfigured the city's structural relationship to its agricultural hinterlands and overland trade routes, successive urban redevelopment campaigns and the foundation of innovative buildings, districts, and specialized marketplaces redefined the city's intramural topology. Bononiensis's monumental map—with its collaborative ethic and enumerative descriptive interests in proportion and scale—synthesized the textual and topographic fashions of its moment. Together with Graphaeus, the cartographer chronicled the urban infrastructural developments that would further enhance the transit trade and render it more secure. In order to appreciate how Antwerp's changing urban form reflected an emergent civic cosmopolitanism, viewers of such city views had to have some familiarity with the city's responsiveness to market pressures—how its streets, buildings, religious institutions and urban structures accommodated international trade. For this reason, the travel accounts and chorographic studies that availed themselves of these topographic studies often compensated for the views' disembodied perspectives and the audiences' possible lack of first-hand knowledge of Antwerp by including verbal references that tied specific structures to the concrete sensorial and structural qualities of the marketplace. Descriptive texts, whether in the form of prosaic chorographic commentaries or

poetic inscriptions, continually stressed either the omnipresence of exotic things and foreign peoples in Antwerp or the tolerant pragmatism that permeated the town's social climate.

The material presented up to this point has also illuminated transformations in the historical conceptualization of urban space as a form of containment. Rather than pointing merely to a transition from a late medieval to an early modern urban spatial self-consciousness, my select survey has attempted to show an underlying continuity in the perception of the city as a discretely articulated place, the representational vocabulary for which was never reducible to a single political, religious, economic or cultural interest. Over the course of the sixteenth century, visual and textual depictions of Antwerp as an international emporium imaginatively refigured the city as a totalizing entity. In the first few decades of the sixteenth century symbolic interests in containment were somewhat elastic, informing a visual language that was used variously to communicate the sanctification of the township as a Christian emporium, the municipality's jurisdictional conformity within a larger Burgundian or Habsburg empire, and even transcultural concerns with cross-cultural commensurability in discovery-era exchanges.¹⁴⁴ Selective rather than inclusive, these early representational strategies presented emblematic views of the city as a commercially oriented enclave. However, the desire of the citizens of Antwerp to reinvent their city as a culturally inclusive emporium engendered a shift away from these symbolic associations of enclosure as both sanctifying motif and imperial expedient toward an idea of the city as an encompassing entity. As early as the 1520s, more expansive visual appraisals of Antwerp's international traffic, built environment, and commercial infrastructure had emerged within cityscapes that sought to render the city's functional structures legible to visitors and foreign audiences. As early as 1527, Grapheus's assertion that "Antwerp is unto itself the entire world" epitomized the rhetorical reconceptualization of urban containment, foreshadowing characterizations that would proliferate in foreigner-authored texts later in the century. Certainly, as Antwerp physically expanded beyond its old city walls, as its commercial infrastructural connectivity became more concretely anchored to specific real estate developments, and as foreign overlords and merchants contributed to the international influences that shaped the city's architectural monuments and public works, topographic studies of Antwerp's emergent form—and how that form topologically sutured the urban core to overland and sea routes—inflected these changing representational priorities. All this suggests that the people of Antwerp's concept of urban spatiality was neither static nor heterotopic; the city and its spaces reflected and proliferated the marketplace's concentrations and diffusions.¹⁴⁵

Finally, this section has introduced the idea that prominent citizens of Antwerp, from Pieter Gilles and Cornelius Grapheus to Abraham Ortelius, were instrumental to the intellectual variability of the literary and pictorial refashioning of Antwerp as an international emporium. On account of their extensive social and professional networks and their affiliations with Antwerp's publishing industry, these metropolitan, local thinkers and their domestic and foreign collaborators regularly triangulated humanistic, vernacular, and mercantile modes of reading and relating to the city.¹⁴⁶ While the multiplicity of their representational strategies, including their scholarly impact on important 'multinational' projects like *Utopia* and *Civitates orbis terrarum*, speaks to the intellectual adaptability of these prominent 'Antwerpenaren', the extent to which cultural producers in Antwerp allowed foreign perspectives to integrally shape the literary and visual imagination of their city testifies to a genuine receptivity to outsiders.¹⁴⁷ Though hardly passive bystanders in generating an image of their city as a cosmopolis, the people of Antwerp celebrated the characterizations of foreigner like Pero Tafur, Lodovico Guicciardini, and Daniel Rogers, all of whose textual accounts verified Antwerp's reputation as a global marketplace.

Though characteristically Ortelian, the *Theatrum*'s commercial sensibility, cosmopolitan resourcefulness, and liberal approach to information sharing dynamically reflected Antwerp's urban culture. Indeed, according to one account of the conceptual origins of the *Theatrum*, Ortelius's project emerged from an ongoing dialogue between the mapmaker and his patron, Gilles Hoofman, a prominent Antwerp merchant. Jan Raedemaeker, a factor in the employ of Hoofman, attributed part of the intellectual credit of the *Theatrum* to himself and Hoofman. In a letter written many years after the publication of the atlas, Raedemaeker conceived of the *Theatrum* as a social benefit, echoing sentiments in the Lipsius quote with which I began. Insofar as the document speaks not only to the commercial mindedness and public spiritedness of the enterprise and situates this discussion of the characters of both Ortelius and Hoofman within a specific context of bourgeois patronage, the letter deserves citing at length. Raedemaeker writes that Hoofman:

had great esteem for literature, for scholars and for the arts, especially for those who could assist his own enterprises, and his liberality enabled me to buy a good many of the books I coveted [...]. He spared no pains to obtain honest profits, and God so greatly prospered his efforts that, among his countrymen, there were few wealthier than himself, [...]. In nautical experience, he surpassed the Antwerp merchants of his time, but yet was friendly to all men, even to the lowest sort. For his nautical observations, he wished to possess all necessary instruments, but especially hydrographical charts and compasses, which he used in making careful calculations of the changes of the winds, whereby he was often able to foresee the dangers of shipwrecks and deviations from the proper course and so to gain profits in assurances. He also bought all the geographical maps that could be had for the sake not of calculating from the distances the freight of merchandise and the dangers they were exposed to, but to estimate the daily reports regarding the European Wars. But as the unrolling of the large maps of that time proved to be very inconvenient, I suggested to obviate this difficulty by binding as many of the small maps as could be had together in a book which might be easily handled. Hence the task was entrusted to me, and through me to Ortelius, of obtaining from Italy and France as many maps as could be printed on one sheet of paper. In this way originated a volume of about thirty maps, which is still in the possession of Hoofman's heirs, and its use proved to be so convenient that it induced our friend Abraham to extend its benefit to scholars in general, and to collect the maps of the best authors in a volume of uniform size. [...]. Kind [Ortelius] was, indeed, to everyone, but familiar only with men of merit, though he was not always thinking of his own benefit, but would often be useful to others.¹⁴⁸

Raedemaeker's reference to Hoofman's actions as a patron and employer as instances of liberality, and to Ortelius's atlas as a social benefit, as the next section will show, drew upon a moral philosophical language that Antwerp citizens used to describe the civic ethics of useful spending as a bourgeois virtue. At the same time, his account of the origins of the *Theatrum* foregrounds how the material, practical experiences of the city's merchants served simultaneously as an engine of innovation and patronage, contributing to the rise and perpetuation of specific knowledge forms.

Having traced the 'worlding' of Antwerp in city-views and city-descriptions, the next chapter considers how the city's cosmopolitan likeness was performatively fashioned during civic entry rituals. In what follows, I argue that the joyous entry (*blijde inkomst*) ceremonies promoted Antwerp's status as a global marketplace, utilizing the actual urban environment and its international demographics to relay these messages. Analogous to the conceptualization of

urban spatiality presented in topographic studies, the entry rituals reconfigured the city as a closed circuit, an enclosure that evoked Antwerp's microcosmic containment of the wider world. In producing the event, town leaders solicited monumental decorative displays from various foreign merchant colonies, thereby ensuring that the procession would synecdochically reflect Antwerp's international commercial networks. While the placement of the foreign merchants' arches within the processional route signaled each community's sphere of influence, event organizers were also careful to subordinate these monumental displays to the more general civic program, which traditionally elevated Antwerp's political and economic interests to the level of the ceremony's princely address. On the one hand, joyous entry rituals were intended to elicit beneficence from rulers who would, more often than not, determine policy from remote courts. On the other hand, the event was a collective performance, encouraging coordinated displays of munificence from the rank and file of the city government, civic militia, and guilds, as well as the most established foreign merchant colonies. Thus even as the rituals symbolically assimilated the city's foreign rulers and alien residents into Antwerpeners' collective self definition, event organizers tacitly understood the real engine of acculturation to be individual and corporate patronage. The section will thus also explore how, in the process of refashioning the urban environment as a manifestation of Antwerp's cosmopolitan identity, the ceremonies pressed into service a particular rhetoric about the social significance of public spending. As occasions that integrated works commissioned by foreigners into ceremonies intended to articulate local urban identity, the ceremonies not only showcased Antwerp's cultural inclusiveness, but they also enshrined foreign demand for the city's exports and artistic products.

Liberality & the Cosmopolitan Kinetics in Antwerp's *Blijde Inkomst*

A benefit is induced by a benefit, a kindness provoked by a kindness.
–Desiderius Erasmus¹⁴⁹

The city absorbs, uses and regenerates every form of movement.
–Donatella Calabi¹⁵⁰

Whereas the last chapter examined Antwerp's evolution as a worldly metropolis in texts and topographical imagery, this chapter will address how one particular civic ritual—the *blijde inkomst*—performatively negotiated this identity over the course of the sixteenth century. In what follows, I suggest the arc of Antwerp's ill-fated cosmopolitanism, pointing to the fact that the very ceremonies that had traditionally broadcast to its overlords the city's role as the principal emporium of a wider empire also rehearsed the political covenant that the people of Antwerp would declare nullified by Habsburg mismanagement. Attending particularly to the ways in which the ceremonies relied upon the participation of its foreign merchant communities to render the city's international extensions legible, the chapter points to the kinetic symbolism of the entry, that is, the significance of the ceremonies as a means of metabolizing and ritualizing the international connectivity that linked the city to its trading partners. In addressing the complex relationship between civic spending and the corporate sponsorship of foreign merchants, the chapter also considers the significance of patronage as a form of social cohesion within and beyond Antwerp.

I. 'The old worth and splendor will return': Nostalgic munificence after the Fall of Antwerp

During the early summer of 1594, the city of Antwerp, greatly diminished from decades of political instability, religious war, and economic blockade, was preparing to formally welcome its new governor, Archduke Ernst of Austria, who would rule the Spanish Netherlands at the pleasure of King Phillip II.¹⁵¹ The Archduke had not, however, been invested with the title of Margrave. As such, he was the sovereign overlord of neither Antwerp nor Brabant.¹⁵² City officials undoubtedly knew this governor would serve as little more than a figurehead, and yet by organizing a joyous entry (*blijde inkomst*) in his honor, they sought to cultivate him as an intercessor, protector, and patron.¹⁵³

With its idiosyncratic fusion of classical themes and vernacular theater, the formal language of the entry bore only a superficial resemblance to the ceremonial triumphs staged in other cities of the Habsburg Empire.¹⁵⁴ Broadcasting the people of Antwerp's civic piety and particularity to the international audiences that converged for the occasion, the visual rhetoric of the rituals mediated between local interests and transnational, humanistic concepts. Before the ceremonies officially began, a delegation of city officials, joined by a confederation of citizens representing the city's guilds and religious orders, greeted the Archduke just outside the town walls, where the urban militia, arranged in combat formation and in fine ceremonial attire, saluted the imperial visitors with a martial display. After presenting the archduke with gifts, the convoy proceeded into Antwerp via the Emperor's Gate (*Keizerspoort*), which, as the name suggests, was the designated point of entry for these rituals. Made to recall the triumphal arches that decorated the city during the *blijde inkomst* and in a style that declared Italian classicism, the

Keizerspoort was a permanent edifice, one of seven access points incorporated into the Spanish walls.¹⁵⁵ Built in 1545 to honor Charles V, the only ruler to have been officially welcomed into Antwerp on three separate occasions (1515, 1520, and 1549), this monumental, rusticated limestone edifice, emulating the architectural monuments of the Venetian polymath Michel di Sanmicheli, bore the Habsburg imperial device and the emperor's *Plus Oultre* emblem between the arms of Brabant and Antwerp.¹⁵⁶

On this occasion, the *Keizerspoort* had been decorated with the colors of the House of Austria and, as the engraved illustration from the festival book shows (Figure 2.1), a centrally placed effigy of Brabo with the severed hand of Druon Antigoon adorned the arch, appearing between female personifications of Virtue and Honor, princely attributes so commonplace as to seem unimaginatively pro forma.¹⁵⁷ The gate's lapidary inscriptions were also supplemented with a temporary placard addressed to the Archduke:

Great Leader, may you enter the Emperor's gate with an auspicious omen,
You who, of imperial decent, come with the authority of Philip
So that the Belgian State, having been oppressed by the weight of wars for thirty years,
may renew itself with your good omens.
Ernst, Glory of Austria, may you be the avenger of the
Ancient ones, who, whether in peace or in arms,
Joins Belgian wars to Pannonian triumphs.
And who can add anything to our prayers?¹⁵⁸

After reading these words, the archducal convoy proceeded through the gateway, and upon entering the city encountered the first of twenty floats and arches: the Public's Triumphal Chariot (*Currus Triumphalis Publici*), a tableau vivant that depicted Antwerp and her noble qualities (Figure 2.2). As dictated by custom for civic rituals, a young woman, chosen from the citizenry, personified the city. Seated within an arched, grotesquerie niche and flanked by harpies, the Homeric defenders of merchants' welfare, Antwerp emerged from the uppermost platform of her classicizing, architectonic chariot to crown the archduke with laurels.¹⁵⁹ On the lower steps of the float, her retinue was arranged hierarchically into two triads. To her right, Religion presided over Obedience and Reverence; to her left, Fidelity governed Benevolence and Memory of Benefits.¹⁶⁰ At the outermost edges of the stage, men in Roman costume represented the Penates. Holding staffs that displayed their numismatically derived likenesses on medallions surmounted by the city's seal, these domestic deities signified the celebrated genius, or spirit, of the Antwerp household. Prosopopoeic verses mounted to the base of the float ventriloquized the city's collective hope:

I, sad Antwerp, have hidden for a long time in my paternal walls;
Happy, I now enter, about to perform new triumphs
Under your auspices, Ernst. With your protection
And under a clement King, the old worth and splendor will return
And ancient riches will accumulate for my Penates.¹⁶¹

The multimedia oratory of these first two stages set the tone of the entire entry, establishing motifs that would recur in subsequent floats and tableaux. While addressing the Archduke as a beneficent guardian, the texts painted a picture of a city devitalized by war and economic setbacks—a city that was depending on his compassionate leadership to recreate prosperous conditions.

Though secular in affect, the opening stages also indicate how the entry was imbued with cosmic significances suggestive of the shared destinies of the people of Antwerp and their

governor. Conceived as a kind of wedding, during which the ‘virginal’ city of Antwerp was bound and subjected to her ‘natural’ prince, the entry was to be a mutually transformative, auspicious event.¹⁶² The city and its prince were symbolically transfigured through the spectacle into their respective political bodies. Whereas the archduke, as regent, represented the kingly body, the city, as manifestation and containment of the urban citizenry, represented the body politic.¹⁶³

Counterbalancing these generic, idealizing and ideational images of the prince were myriad, more specific characterizations of the city. Diverse media were put to the service of broadcasting Antwerp’s identity: actual urban monuments verified the city’s historical fealty to its Habsburg overlords, ephemeral arches and sculptural decorations referenced Antwerp’s mythopoeic origins, and the townspeople performed erudite allegories suggestive of their city’s unique characteristics on fanciful stages fabricated by the city’s artisans and artists. While the stagecraft of the entry rhetorically assimilated the archduke as a fulfillment of princely virtues into a specific genealogy of mythical heroes, historical exempla, and celebrated emperors, the procession attempted to incorporate this foreign ruler into the living history of Antwerp’s monuments and to demonstrate the city’s worthiness for preferential treatment.¹⁶⁴

Antwerp’s singularity was, moreover, communicated through the physicality of its urban fabric: the path of the procession not only revisited the perimeter of the old city walls, commemorating the historical boundaries of the urban community, it also provided the royal visitors with a condensed tour of the city as it had built up during its golden commercial era and as it had withstood the more recent political and religious turmoil.¹⁶⁵ As in previous entries, the ceremonies were shot through with an elaborate rhetoric of place, which permeated virtually every aspect of the program’s conception.¹⁶⁶ Whereas the prosopopoeic, allegorical language of the tableaux vivants may be said to have endowed the city with a certain ‘voice’, the processional route, serving simultaneously as historical itinerary and metaphorical circulatory system, may be said to have given Antwerp’s ‘body’ particular form.¹⁶⁷

And not unlike mortal bodies, these political bodies were reciprocally fated. Just as the archduke’s legacy was recast through his ceremonial oaths, so did his arrival animate the city. The chronicler, inventor, and deviser of the entry’s program, the City Secretary Joannes Bochius, described the salubriousness of the archduke’s arrival as a “happy omen of public tranquility.” According to Bochius, auspicious signs from the heavens augured well for the archduke’s reign: as he approached the city the intemperate weather dissipated, as though the sky “began to breathe.”¹⁶⁸ And yet, despite these propitious signs, Ernst’s regency was short lived: he died even before Bochius’s handsomely illustrated account of the public festivities appeared the following year.

Though the Archduke’s untimely death rendered the event politically irrelevant, the organization of his entry had, in fact, always been motivated more by economic interests than statecraft. Whereas the rituals associated with the joyous entry had, since the fourteenth century, ratified the covenant between the ruler and the ruled—specifying both the conditions under which Antwerp’s citizenry consented to be governed and the princely behaviors that would effectively nullify that contract—the 1594 entry was nothing short of a massive public spending campaign, a multifaceted artistic and theatrical production that was as conscious of the city’s future as it was of its past.¹⁶⁹ City leaders had evacuated the entry of its traditional function as a political confirmation, converting the ceremony into a diplomatic entreaty aimed to elicit the archduke’s sympathy for the plight of the hapless people of Antwerp and to move him to advocate for policies that would lead to the economic renew their city.

The entry's opulent decorative program, which redressed the city streets, thematized the city's prospective resuscitation. Eager to restore their city's commercial fortunes, Bochius and his colleagues exploited the unique language of the entry—its sequential and kinetic possibilities—to evoke the commercial and cultural mobility that had once defined Antwerp as imperial cosmopolis.¹⁷⁰ On the one hand, the successive juxtaposition of arches underwritten by Antwerp's remaining foreign merchants colonies made palpable the continued presence of a diverse, though diminished, international business community. On the other hand, the civic commissions built a case for intervening in the political circumstances that were impeding the city's economic recovery, polemically linking the city's revival to the attainment of an international armistice.

The dramatic crescendo of the entry occurred at the Bridge of Saint John (*Sint Jansbrug*), where a stage, copiously ornamented with marine flora, fauna, and mythical creatures, served as the backdrop for a short play: "Ernst commands the Nereids to liberate the Scheldt" (Figure 2.3).¹⁷¹ Cued by the Archduke's approach, six sea nymphs worked to unfetter the river deity Scaldus, who was shown reclining next to a large cistern. In the festival book, Bochius recounts that Scaldus, once freed from his chains, began pouring water from his vessel "in a great burst, as if the mouth of the river had been reopened by the fortitude and prudence of Archduke Ernst [...] and the shipping, which had once made this city flourish and had created a most famous market, had been restored."¹⁷² This symbolic liberation of the Scheldt's waters set physically into motion the next float: a thirty-foot-high freight galleon staffed by a crew of twelve sailors, who proceeded to navigate the ship along the processional route (Figure 2.4). These nautical themes persisted in the city's final float, which presented Neptune riding a sea monster (Figure 2.5).¹⁷³

Cleverly using the procession's ritual movements through the city to metaphorically link the overland and seaborne travel that had enriched Antwerp as an international emporium, the dialectic of these floats prescribed a clear agenda for the archduke's reign: peacefully end the blockade and restore maritime commerce. By presenting the archduke with an image of himself as Antwerp's clement champion—an aspirational likeness that the event's organizers hoped would prove persuasively predictive—the city appealed to him not just as a policy maker and prince but also as a cultural benefactor.

The people of Antwerp were nevertheless hedging their bets. In the event that the archduke proved to be an ineffectual leader, they hoped their new governor would at least be of service to the city as a collector of art.¹⁷⁴ The trove of gifts the city presented to its new ruler included paintings by several of Antwerp's most celebrated artists. Armed with the prior knowledge that their new governor was a sophisticated connoisseur, Antwerp's citizenry had surely made the offering not just to communicate the city's cultural prestige but also to whet the archduke's appetite for domestic luxuries.¹⁷⁵

These diplomatic gifts represented a mere fraction of the expenses the city disbursed for the entry. Far more costly were the decorations and floats, the construction of which employed hundreds of painters, artisans, musicians and performers. Giving was, however, more profitable than receiving, at least in terms of the production of the entry's decorations; for the city's expenditures on the entry were reinvested in the local community.¹⁷⁶ Thus, in contrast to the 'thingly' nature of the archducal gifts, which could be assimilated into a durable royal collection, the sensorial spectacle of the entry's performances, pyrotechnic displays, decorative trappings and tournaments financially benefited the city more than its regental recipient. After all, the decorations were not, strictly speaking, ephemeral. Most of the textiles, sculptures, and paintings used to decorate the stages and the processional route were subsequently sold at auction and on

the market to replenish the city coffers.¹⁷⁷ Many of the floats were preserved in an inventoried municipal collection and were regularly repurposed for other civic festivals.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, several of the floats used for the entry of Archduke Ernst, including “Neptune riding a sea monster,” had appeared in previous *ommegangen* and princely entries dating back to the early sixteenth century. Continuously adapted to suit the programmatic needs of various civic rituals, a fair portion of the floats and tableaux used in the entry had become recurrent elements in a vocabulary of symbolic forms the people of Antwerp used to communicate their identity, not just to outsiders, but also to each other.¹⁷⁹

As a means of manufacturing social cohesion, the pageantry was ruled by an economic thinking that was at once political, material, and ethical. For woven into the ritual’s obsequious and superstitious language was an economic philosophy that mattered to the people of Antwerp. As civil servants mindful of their city’s history, the masterminds of the entry—Joannes Bochius, Burgomaster Blasius de Bejar, Senator Charles Malineus, and several of the city’s treasurers—were alert to the trickle-down benefits that expenditures on such public entertainments would have for the urban community. In his account of the archduke’s ceremonial greeting, Bochius used a particular rhetoric to justify the costly silk and exotic African ostrich plumes that ornamented the urban militia’s vestments. Referencing examples from Classical antiquity, he decried those ‘envious rivals’ who would attempt:

to lessen the splendor of the citizens of Antwerp. For in [... the ancients’] accounts of offices and times, public magnificence has always been praised, and the disbursements of the old Romans, if we believe Cicero, were extremely frugal in private, but most splendid in public. For in domestic matters there is a place for thriftiness, but in public affairs there is a need for show. Indeed what greater or better opportunity for displaying public grandeur can there be than when a Prince is welcomed [...]? Or to whose honor can anyone more properly exert his talents, than on behalf of him who comes endowed with supreme power to liberate the fortunes of everyone from a most terrible war?¹⁸⁰

Even as Bochius concedes that the entry was conspicuously expensive, and perhaps especially so for a commercial city whose coffers had been depleted by years of warfare and diminished trade, he defends such opulence not just as a celebratory expedient but also as a public service. Appealing directly to the townspeople’s hopes that this would be the prince to liberate their fortunes (*ad omnium fortunas vindicandas*), his allusion to the ‘envious’ people who would deprive the people of Antwerp their customary ‘splendor’ (*splendoris*) harkens back to the geopolitical overtones of Julius Scalinger’s poem reprinted in the *Civitates*, but which had originally appeared as an epideictic verse of urban praise (*encomium civis*) in Cornelius Graphaeus’s account of Charles V’s and Philip II’s 1549 *blijde inkomst*.¹⁸¹

And yet, despite the princely address of the entry, the logic underlying Bochius’s promotion of such expenditures derived from a republican ideology, as his citation of Cicero wittingly indicates. By suggesting that Antwerp’s adversaries were motivated by jealousy and greed, he establishes an ethical counterpoint to the civic mindedness underpinning the municipal spending he defends. Whereas envy (*aemuli* to Bochius; *invidiae* to Scalinger) denotes a socially and spiritually degenerative impulsive, a vice believed to threaten community solidarity and which is here vaguely attributed to exterior forces, the notionally linked concepts that proliferate in Bochius’s account—terms like magnificence, frugality, fortune, liberty and dignity—derived from Greco-Roman discourses on the moral economic behaviors thought to promote civic cohesion in republics.¹⁸² By invoking this terminology, and by highlighting the dialectical relationship between personal household and state-related expenditures (*publica magnificential*

privatim tenuissimi; publicè splendidissimi/domesticis parsimoniae), Bochiu implies that the entry was part of a provident, not prodigal, fiscal strategy. In other words, city officials were spending money in order to make money.

Understood as a means of generating funding for artisans and performers, the entry employed and empowered the people of Antwerp to rebuild their commonwealth through collaborative, creative enterprise.¹⁸³ Even the festival book made to commemorate the occasion, with its extensive Latin commentary and high-quality engravings, was an effort to restore the prestige of the Plantin-Moretus Press. Before the Spanish Fury of 1576, Christophe Plantin ran a fifteen-press operation, the most prolific establishment within Antwerp's notoriously vibrant printing industry.¹⁸⁴ Reduced to only six presses by 1594, Plantin-Moretus had fallen into hard times. Whereas the press at mid century pursued some of the period's the most ambitious projects, including the celebrated Polyglot Bible, in the 1590s its output had largely been reduced to single-leaf imperial edicts.¹⁸⁵ Thus, both in its material form and rhetoric, Bochiu's festival book sought to revive a tradition started by Cornelius Graphaeus's 1550 festival book, the first fully illustrated description of an Antwerp entry.¹⁸⁶ Richly illustrated with engravings by Pieter van der Borcht after original designs by Marten de Vos, the production of the Bochiu's festival book gave much needed work to the beleaguered Press.

By sponsoring and producing the event, city leaders also sought to re-prime the wheels of corporate spending on the arts. Their aim was not simply to compel royal benefaction, as most scholarship on princely entries assumes, but to regenerate civic and bourgeois patronage, to jumpstart the local economy. Indeed, it is telling that among the personifications selected to represent the city on the Public's Triumphal Chariot, the idiosyncratic Memory of Benefits (*Beneficij Recordatio*) appeared alongside Benevolence as Fidelity's handmaiden—a figuration that, as this chapter will make clear, encoded self-reflexive, historical interests in both classical economic discourse and the social ethics of patronage.

The magistrates' concern with restoring Antwerp's export-oriented industries and the international commercial networks upon which these businesses relied was further suggested by the manner in which they commissioned the entry's decorations, that is, in their attempt to spread the wealth as widely as possible. Bochiu explains the process of coordinating this ambitious, multidimensional public work on behalf of the city. After obtaining the magistrates' approval for his program, he summoned the city's various artisans (*artifices, architecti, statuarij, pictores, fabri, et alij opifices*) to bid for commissions.¹⁸⁷ From this diversely skilled group of craftsmen, he selected a number of contractors to oversee the production of decorations, to insure that these works were made according to the 'proper scale' and with 'suitable materials' (*ut integris mensuris; ac proba materie*). By appointing just a few masters to supervise such a large-scale production, the magistrates relied upon a vertically and horizontally integrated collaborative mode of production that had been one of the hallmarks of the Antwerp's artistic culture.¹⁸⁸

With the city's commissions thus underway, Bochiu proceeds to describe how the town council compelled contributions from particular segments of the urban community, recounting in particular the city leaders' solicitation of the town's foreign merchants colonies. He explains that a delegation from the steering committee:

was directed by the magistrates to address the matter with the foreign merchants of Antwerp and the representatives of their nations, and [this delegation] easily persuaded [the foreign merchants], on account of their usual liberality and magnificence in such events, that they should assist in the communal welcoming of the Republic in observance

of the arrival of its prince in the making of a public work that would seem suitable for him.¹⁸⁹

Returning to the moral economic concepts that he had used earlier to justify city expenditures, Bochius refers here not to mere fundraising, but to Antwerp's unusual custom of allowing foreign merchant nations to independently commission and erect arches at designated places along the processional route.¹⁹⁰ That foreign nationals so conspicuously materially participated in a ritual intended to broadcast civic identity was significant; it was something that set the Antwerp joyous entry apart from similar ceremonies in other cities of the Netherlands, France, Italy, and Spain.¹⁹¹

Although the city's guilds also played an important role in the entry, Bochius tellingly singles out the foreign merchant nations, ascribing to them the dual virtues of liberality (*liberalitas*) and magnificence (*magnificentia*). Whereas magnificence, in the Netherlands as in Italy, most typically described state, royal, and even aristocratic expenditures that benefited the general public, the concept of liberality accounted for far more modest generosity, forms of spending that were relative to an individual's social stature and income.¹⁹² Though liberality could describe certain acts of imperial munificence, it more commonly referred to the enlightened economic behaviors of the more ordinary members of society.¹⁹³ Bochius therefore attributes to foreign merchants two distinct, complementary functions as consumers of art and culture in Antwerp: while magnificence in civic entries made visually manifest foreign merchants' coordinated, corporate identity as '*naties*' within the city, liberality signified a bourgeois ethic of spending, alluding to the merchants' quotidian spending habits as individuals. His application of the two different terms would seem, moreover, to have acknowledged the social and structural heterogeneity of the merchant nations.¹⁹⁴

The passive-aggressive undertones of the city's assumption that these foreign demographics would profitably assist in the production of the entry is also remarkable, for it suggests that the solicitation had become less of an invitation than an expectation. On the one hand, the event organizers' assertiveness bespeaks their awareness that the trading nations' participation in the entry perpetuated the city's cosmopolitan mystique. On the other hand, the town council's confidence in the foreign merchants' inclination to sponsor the entry indicates the extent to which the city valued the custom as a means of both facilitating integration and publicly acknowledging the social and economic importance of patronage.

Tracing the discursive origins of the moral economic themes articulated Bochius's account of the 1594 *blijde inkomst* back to entries produced earlier in the sixteenth century and to the classical sources in which they were most famously expressed, the rest of this chapter argues that throughout the city's 'golden age' the joyous entry rituals served as important occasions for the people of Antwerp to communally rationalize both the social ethics of useful spending and the commercial mobility that transformed their city into a global metropolis. Although the joyous entry of Archduke Ernst postdates conventional prescriptions of Antwerp's golden age by more than a decade, it was among the first citywide events after the Fall of Antwerp (1585) to self-consciously construct the city's pre-revolt past as an idyllic period, in essence conflating the entry's standard trope of a return to the 'Golden Age' with the city's remembrance of a more prosperous era.¹⁹⁵

But as the foregoing discussion has already made clear, the 1594 entry wasn't simply a nostalgic rehearsal of the people of Antwerp's cosmopolitan self-image: it was an intervention into the city's wayward fortunes, an attempt to rekindle the revenue streams and international

social networks that the magistrates recognized as being essential to the city's economic and cultural recovery. What therefore makes the Entry of 1594 pertinent to an understanding of the mechanisms through which Antwerp expressed its identity as a global emporium earlier in the century is the urgency with which the organizers availed themselves of the engines of patronage that they believed had been essential to the city's prosperity. Conceptualized at a moment of vulnerability and outward deference to Spanish Habsburg rulers, the entry's rhetoric nevertheless reasserted Antwerp's republican identity, reviving contentious claims to political self-sufficiency that had consistently irked the city's imperial overlords but were intrinsic to the economic concepts being deployed.¹⁹⁶ Even Charles V, who had been the recipient of many lavish entries, had petulantly complained that, "Everyone in the Low Countries demands privileges that are contrary to my sovereignty, as if I were their companion and not their lord."¹⁹⁷ Although the assertion of political liberties and the desire to stimulate patronage may seem to be disparate issues, this chapter shows that these discourses were peculiarly intertwined in the production of joyous entries in Antwerp.

Antwerp's *blijde inkomst*, I will also argue, functioned as a form of diplomacy that had interior as well as exterior foreign policy implications, and an important part of this diplomacy's rhetorical circuitry was expressed in terms of benefaction or patron-client relationships.¹⁹⁸ Within the context of the joyous entry, the language of benefits, reciprocity and patronage negotiated tensions between imperial fealty and civic autonomy, local supply and foreign demand. The primary diplomatic aspects of the rituals, which addressed the city's almost exclusively foreign rulers, sought to articulate the people of Antwerp's belief that their republican liberties were inextricably bound to their ability to serve a multi-centered empire as a commercial metropolis, and that the overlord's fiscal policy was a contractual form of beneficence.¹⁹⁹ Every entry offered a syntactical variation on a theme drawn from the Inauguration Charter: the prince was duty-bound to preserve the peace on which Antwerp's prosperity predicated.²⁰⁰ Throughout the sixteenth century, the organizers of Antwerp entries thus calibrated flattering characterizations of the visiting monarch's worldly imperium to the kinetics of their city as a global emporium, all the while stressing the various republican freedoms and behaviors that made such commercial wealth possible. The secondary diplomatic aspects of the rituals explicitly acknowledged the importance of foreign merchants to the commercial and cultural life of the city. By foregrounding the contributions of various foreign merchant colonies within the city, the entry gave apprehensible order to the dynamic international traffic and multiple cultural influences that effectively shaped the city's streets, markets, and visual culture. Although previous studies of the joyous entry in Antwerp have delved into the multilayered rhetorical complexity of the entry rituals as negotiations between the prince and the city, the extent to which city leaders exploited the entry as an occasion to initiate diplomatic talks with foreign merchants on matters of cultural policy has been, for the most part, overlooked.²⁰¹ But even in the extract above, Bochiuis clearly characterizes the city's solicitation of the foreign merchants as a form of interior diplomacy, wherein the magistrates empowered a delegation of consuls to 'negotiate' with the different merchant colonies.

Finally, as a complement to the themes explored in the first chapter, this section considers how the binary diplomatic aspects of the entry rituals registered the people of Antwerp topological awareness, utilizing the urban environment and decorative stagecraft to make manifest the idea of Antwerp as an encompassing city. By subordinating the foreign merchants' arches to the central themes of the procession's program, the incorporative thrust of the Antwerp ceremonies served as one of principal instruments through which the city demonstrated its

worldly character to its overlord. Just as the foreign nations were symbolically folded into Antwerp as attributes of the commercial cosmopolis, so, too, did the transnational visual language of the entry assimilate the city into a worldly empire. The joyous entry's spatial progress conceived of urban history as a changing set of ambulatory experiences. Disrupting the city's everyday connectivity, the staging of the processional route transformed the city into a symbolic circuit that linked Antwerp to both its trading partners and other cities on the emperor's imperial itinerary.

Although the *blijde inkomst* should be understood within the context of other civic rituals and performances—notably the biannual *ommegangen*, which often explicitly promoted the idea of Antwerp as a world stage and provided confraternal opportunities for foreign merchants to participate in Antwerp citizenry's religio-civic self-expression, and vernacular literary festivals, like the *landjuwelen*, which provided an intraregional forum for debating important urban issues, such as the societal impact of merchants' vocational ethics—I will make only brief mention of these important events.²⁰² Insofar as subsequent chapters deal with the individual patronage of foreign merchants, the purpose of this chapter is to establish the intellectual framework that informed the way the people of Antwerp thought about the liberal spending habits affecting their community. Also, taken as a counterpoint to the dislocatedness sketched in the introduction, my object here is to consider how the people of Antwerp used the entry to ritually locate, metabolize, and contain the fluidly moving demographics that actively shaped the cultural and commercial life of their city.

II. A gift for giving: Pieter Gillis's program for the 1520 *blijde inkomst*

Charles V's ascension to the office of Holy Roman Emperor was a cause for celebration in the Low Countries. Immediately after his coronation in Aachen on October 1520, the newly crowned emperor embarked on a second grand tour of his Burgundian territories. Although Chambers of Rhetoric (*rederijkerskamers*) in towns throughout the Seventeen Provinces used the occasion as an excuse to stage various literary performances, only the principle cities could look forward to a royal visit.²⁰³ As part of the States of Brabant, Antwerp was one of the most important stopping points on this larger imperial itinerary, attracting foreign dignitaries and travelers from throughout the empire, and in the months leading up to his coronation, Antwerp's literary chambers and craft guilds were busy preparing an appropriately lavish entry.

The city spared no expense. Employing 250 painters and 300 joiners, the civic commission consisted of 400, forty-foot-wide triumphal arches—an ephemeral architectural schema that transformed the city's appearance, rewriting its everyday connectivity and channeling attention to the processional route.²⁰⁴ In the days after the main event, the town's *rederijkerskamers* may have also staged a series of historical dramas and tournaments in the *Grote Markt*, temporally extending the entry's cultural festivities.²⁰⁵

Pieter Gillis served as the principle organizer of the entry, and he envisioned an ambitious program that reflected the topical interests of his humanist peers. Assisted by his colleague Cornelius Grapheus and by the rank and file of city's three literary chambers, Gillis devised a sequence of thirteen propositions, or hypotheses, which were staged as tableaux vivants on platforms interspersing the 400 arches that delineated the processional route.²⁰⁶ Trilingual epitaphs explaining the subject of each hypothesis were mounted to the stages. Written in the biblical humanist languages of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, these inscriptions gestured toward the presence of an intellectual community that found its center in Antwerp's multilingual print industry. Gillis also composed a brief textual account of the entry, *Hypotheses sive*

Argumenta Spectaculorum, published as an unillustrated quarto by Michael Hillen van Hoochstraten.²⁰⁷

Rather unlike the tone of earlier entries in Bruges, Ghent or even Antwerp, Gillis's program for the 1520 entry introduced ideas that later generations of civic humanists would adapt into more bombastic glorifications of their monarchs.²⁰⁸ Characterized by neither the defiant urban particularism of Burgundian-era entries nor the conventionalized hyperbole of the humanist *adventus*, what was novel about Gillis's approach was that he conceived of the *blijde inkomst* as a contractual gift that engaged its recipient, the emperor, in a theoretical exploration of the ethics, duties, and reciprocities entailed in his office.²⁰⁹ As a piece of political theater, Gillis's tableaux cycle progressed logically through the many theoretical layers that informed contemporary thinking about princely beneficence, drawing not only on Erasmian interpretations but also on his own readings of various classic texts, including Aristotle's *Eudemian* and *Nicomachean Ethics*, Cicero's *On Duties (De Officiis)*, and Seneca's *On Benefits (De Beneficiis)*.²¹⁰ The program had a clear arc: the initial platforms conceptualized the conferment of power as heavenly gifts, the second, longest sequence of stages used triumphal imagery to portray the moral qualities that Charles V should demonstrate as a worthy recipient of these duties, and the final tableaux addressed the emperor's legacy and the rewards that would repay his public service.²¹¹

According to Gillis's description of the program, the first stage that greeted Charles V was a tableau vivant of the Genius of Antwerp with the Three Graces. In declaring, "Faith and Love made all these things" [*Fides et Amor haec omnia fecerunt*], the stage invented a motto (subsequently truncated to '*Fides et Amor*') that was appropriated by other Brabantine and Flemish cities to proclaim their fealty to the Habsburg prince.²¹² While the Genius of Antwerp served as a herald, reciting welcoming verses to the newly crowned emperor, the Graces, dressed in silk and suspended momentarily in their encircling dance, presented him with a golden apple, which they held within their interlaced hands.²¹³

Gillis's opening image of the Graces referenced an iconographical excursus in Seneca's *On Benefits*, a passage that would only later become popularized in Latin and vernacular emblem books.²¹⁴ Within his exposition on how acts of generosity draw friends, colleagues, and acquaintances closer, Seneca relates the image of the Three Graces to the cyclical flow of giving. "Some writers," he explains, "think that there is one [Grace] who bestows a benefit, one who receives it, and a third who returns it; others say that they represent the three sorts of benefactors: those who bestow, those who repay, and those who both receive and repay them."²¹⁵ The fact that they dance hand in hand, Seneca explains, "means that the course of a benefit is from hand to hand, back to the giver." He continues:

Their faces are cheerful, as those of men who give or receive benefits are. [...] They are young, because the memory of benefits ought not to grow old. They are virgins, because benefits are pure and untainted, and held holy by all; in benefits there should be no strict or binding conditions, therefore the Graces wear loose flowing tunics, which are transparent, because benefits love to be seen.²¹⁶

Condensed, then, within the first stage was an allusion to the entry as a publicly witnessed benefit, a generosity that the people of Antwerp made and performed for their prince out of 'faith and love' and without any expectation of direct compensation.²¹⁷ Whereas the figuration of the Three Graces implied that the event, as a form of civic spending, was characterized by a fiscal circuitry that would ultimately repay the giver, the Senecan interpretative subtext also suggested

that Gillis wanted its recipient, Charles V, to remember the gift and to recognize that its generosity, like the Graces' loosely fitted attire, issued from a condition of unrestrictedness.²¹⁸

Contributing an added layer to the gift-giving theme was the golden apple. The first of several giltwork objects presented to the emperor during the entry—a product placement that would have reminded the imperial visitors of Antwerp's thriving goldsmithing industry—the apple gave subtle allusion to the Judgment of Paris and to the discord that follows from imprudently accepted gifts.²¹⁹ The Graces were, after all, attendants of Aphrodite, who won that fateful beauty contest not purely based on pulchritude, but on the gift she offered Paris as recompense for deciding in her favor.²²⁰ In accepting Aphrodite's bribe without a thought to the consequences that his actions would have on his native city, Paris made a notoriously rash, self-serving decision—an impulse that ran anathema to the entry's message of prudence and civic solidarity.

The motif of three gift-givers continued in the second stage, but the class of benediction shifted from cosmically sanctioned vassalage to divine grace. Appearing enthroned between personifications of Law (*Themis*) and Power (*Kratos*), Zeus dispatched his eagle to deliver the scepter of sovereignty to the emperor. A Greek sentence inscribed on the golden staff, "Since you have received the scepter from God, consider how you will please he who gives you power," reminded the imperial visitor that this divine benediction entailed both responsibilities and reciprocities. Zeus's companions then presented the emperor with additional attributes of authority; *Themis* offered him the sword of Justice and *Kratos* extended a diadem. In his text, Gillis clarifies the visual homological significance of the latter gift, explaining that cities, whose walled enclosures resemble crowns, "are not to be oppressed by power, but rather are to be guarded by laws, so that they may acknowledge the power of the prince and feel his humanity and mildness."²²¹

The concepts Gillis used to elucidate the crown's symbolism drew upon Erasmus's discourse on law and sovereignty in *The Education of a Christian Prince* (*Institutio principis christiani*), a text that had been written for the young Habsburg prince in 1516, but which Gillis could assume, on account of its wide circulation, would have been familiar to many of the urban participants.²²² Erasmus had advised that:

The best laws under the best princes make a city or a kingdom most fortunate. The most felicitous condition exists when the prince is obeyed by everyone, the prince himself obeys the laws, and the laws go back to the fundamental principles of equity and honesty, with no other aim than the advancement of the commonwealth. [...] In the promulgation of laws, the first concern is to see that they do not favor royal financial plans nor private gain for the nobility but that they are drawn up on an honest plan and that everything looks to the welfare of the people. This welfare is to be judged not by the popular opinion but according to the dictates of wisdom, which should always be present in the councils of the prince.²²³

Linking legislative impartiality and princely beneficence to the fortune, felicity, and welfare of the people, Erasmus's synthesis of republican moral philosophy regarded "the advancement of the commonwealth" as the main objective of princely rule. Insofar as the people of Antwerp regarded their city as a republic, repeatedly proclaiming its ancient Roman heritage on public edifices, they subscribed to the notion that their prince was duty-bound to perpetuate both the prosperity and privileges of the city.²²⁴ In connecting the city's welfare to the preservation of both its laws and peace, Erasmus's thinking registered the particularities of the Netherlandish concept of political autonomy. Indeed, the phrasing of the Inauguration Charter, the text that

explicated the legal conditions of the entry as a publically witnessed political confirmation, made explicit that the citizenry reserved the right to revolt should the emperor adopt or pursue policies that jeopardized the city's peace and prosperity.²²⁵

The next six stages, offering a response to the scepter's exhortation, indicated the moral qualities that the emperor should exemplify. Explicitly relating Charles V's heavenly gifted powers to his faithfulness and dutifulness, the third stage portrayed the emperor with Piety, together chasing Impiety out of the kingdom.²²⁶ Tableaux four through eight pursued this rhetoric further, incorporating Charles V into a series of allegorical triumphs.²²⁷ Stage four presented Prudence banishing Injudiciousness. Platform five showed Justice crushing Tyranny underfoot, prompting the return of Astraea and the restoration of the Golden Age. The subject of the sixth tableau, Clemency offering herself to the emperor, was then followed by a stage that depicted Truthfulness expelling Flattery. The eighth tableau concluded this segment of the program, presenting an image of Generosity (*Munificentia*) spurning Love of Money (*Philargyria*).

Although Petrarchan, chivalric, and homilistic variations of such triumphal imagery had regularly appeared as motifs in Netherlandish miracle plays and tapestries since the fifteenth century, the personifications Gillis chose as critical terms in this performance—Piety, Prudence, Justice, Clemency, Truthfulness, and Generosity—were important republican virtues, personal and civic behaviors that the ancients believed strengthened the commonwealth.²²⁸ Gillis, of course, selected these terms from a far more expansive semantic discourse, drawn principally from Aristotelian and Stoic moral philosophy, which situated every virtue not only within a web of linked concepts but within behavioral spectra wherein the virtue represented the golden mean: the middle path between “deficiency” and “excess.”²²⁹ In laying out an ethics of exchange, Aristotle had differentiated between two different categories of generosity—liberality and munificence—forms of spending that were relative to a person's social position and financial resources.²³⁰ He explained:

In respect of giving and taking wealth (a): The mean state is Liberality, the excess Prodigality, the defect Stinginess: here each of the extremes involves really an excess and defect contrary to each other: I mean, the prodigal gives out too much and takes in too little, while the stingy man takes in too much and gives out too little. [...] In respect of wealth (b): There are other dispositions besides these just mentioned; a mean state called Munificence (for the munificent man differs from the liberal, the former having necessarily to do with great wealth, the latter with but small); the excess called by the names either of Want of Taste or Vulgar Profusion, and the defect Paltriness.²³¹

Importantly, Aristotle and his epigones believed that liberality and munificence perpetuated the “honor” of the man practicing these virtues, and that the spending itself issued from an inner prudence, civic mindedness, and rationality.²³² For just as the “Liberal man will give and spend on proper objects, and in proper proportion,” Aristotle qualifies, the “Munificent man” must also spend in a manner appropriate to his wealth and on worthy objects, for he “is like a man of skill, because he can see what is fitting, and can spend largely in good taste.”²³³ Later Roman Stoics made less of this distinction, focusing more on the concept of liberality, associating its practice with the virtues of clemency, justice, temperance, constancy, and fortitude and etymologically linking it (*liberalitas*) to liberty (*libertas*) specifically and to liberal behaviors (*liberalis*) more generally.²³⁴ While Cicero would explicitly connect generosity with social justice, with a man's caste obligations, Seneca would apply these distributive ethics to a definition of ‘benefits’ as the “chief bond of human society.”²³⁵ Central to all of these texts, even Aristotle, was the

presupposition that generosity issued from an individual's freedom of will, an inward self-determination that found outward, political expression in the commonwealth.²³⁶

The program's classically inspired republican political theory also referenced an Erasmian philological discourse.²³⁷ As one of Erasmus's editors and interlocutors, Gillis engaged deeply with the classical and patristic texts that informed the Rotterdammer's writing; their mutual scholarly admiration, commemorated in Quentin Massys's 1517 *Friendship Diptych* for Thomas More (Figure 2.7), was evident in the entry's themes. In addition to providing Gillis with a text familiar to both the emperor and the more educated city residents, Erasmus's *Institutio*, written shortly after the entries of 1515 that feted Charles's attainment of his majority, furnished a repertoire of classical themes and concepts that hadn't previously been a part of the entry's oration. Often overlooked is the extent to which the *Institutio* offered a discursive, if not sustained, meditation on the relationship between princely ethics and benefaction. Throughout the text Erasmus uses classical philosophy as a means of edifying Christian compassion, the moral and spiritual wellspring from which generosity issues.²³⁸ Referencing Cicero's *On Duties*, Erasmus interpreted the virtue broadly:

The mark of an ingenious and acute prince is [the ability] to assist everyone by every means he has available—and that does not merely mean by giving. Some he will help through his liberality, some he will assist by his favor, some who are downtrodden he will free from their difficulties, and some he will help by friendly advice. Let him count that day lost, I say, on which he has benefited no one.²³⁹

The spirit of giving underlying princely beneficence, Erasmus asserts, extends beyond financial liberality, commending the sovereign's ability to choose a righteous path as well as his resourcefulness and mercifulness. Elsewhere in the text Erasmus applies a sovereign's liberality to topics as various as taxation policy, the pursuit of peace, and enlightened administrative practices.²⁴⁰ On the last of these points, he explains that when a prince takes it upon himself to learn the geography, laws, customs, and privileges of his territories, he becomes beloved by his subjects and rules more effectively. Citing Aristotle, he argues that the prince must publicly support anything deemed beneficial to the commonwealth, for "In the matter of benefits [...] genuine thanks redound to be prince alone. [...] Gratitude for a favor will be returned twofold if it is given quickly [...]." Erasmus here adapts to public policy a paraphrase of the aphorism, "he gives twice who gives promptly" ("*bis dat qui cito dat*"), shifting between republican political theory and commonplace wisdom.

Then as now, the inserted proverb, ubiquitous in Erasmus's prose, serves as a metalinguistic node, pointing beyond the subject matter treated to the author's other philological investments: his ever-growing collection of adages.²⁴¹ Functioning as an endorsement of the knowledge forms contained in everyday language, this particular aphorism belonged to a subset of adages that Erasmus had once listed under the rubric of liberality.²⁴² Erasmus, as Gillis would have known, had created a topical index for the 1508 Aldine edition, a feature that, though jettisoned in subsequent editions, had encouraged him and his interlocutors to think about how to make the collection of adages more usable and accessible. The thematic terms he ultimately selected sought to eke out an interpretive pathway between philological fidelity and rhetorical utility.²⁴³ As such, Erasmus's proverbial paraphrase reveals the extent to which his theory of governance subsumed a philologically multilayered philosophy of reciprocities that conceptually connected benefits with gifts, liberality with an ethics of giving, and gratitude with an ethics of receiving.

Though Gillis's underlying conception of governing as beneficent exchange corresponded with Erasmus's, his eighth hypothesis presented a less capacious vision of princely generosity. His contrastive pairing of Munificence and Love of Money (*Philargyria*), often translated as avarice, evokes a pecuniary focus entirely absent in the *Institutio*.²⁴⁴ Gillis's choice of terms derived from Aristotelian-scholastic scriptural interpretation and Platonic political discourse, both in its acknowledgement of the difference in magnitude between munificent and liberal forms of spending and in its allusion to the corrupting enticements of the marketplace. For instance, in his disquisition "Of Liberality," Thomas Aquinas observed theological tradition by explicitly contrasting generosity (*liberalitas*) with covetousness (*avaritia*) and situating these terms within a consideration of the ethical underpinnings of monetary transactions and interpersonal exchanges.²⁴⁵ Aquinas's interpretation derived from New Testament exegesis, wherein *philargyria* was discussed in reference to 1 Timothy 6:10 ("For love of money is the root of all evil: which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows").²⁴⁶ But perhaps most pertinent for Gillis, given the political nature of the entry, was Plato's *Republic*, which described *philargyria* as a characteristic that corrupts a man, making him unfit to be a ruler.²⁴⁷

Given the event's function as popular political confirmation, the virtues Gillis selected, though applied to Charles as the monarch and leader of the republic, had to resound with urban spectators. In other words, the moral philosophical language of the entry steered a path between international relevance and local particularism. In coordinating a program that would express Antwerp's identification as a worldly emporium, Gillis thus interfaced the intellectual cultures of two principle audiences: the imperial visitors and the local citizenry. Many of the ideas Gillis applied to the entry were not unfamiliar to the people of Antwerp. Thanks to the implementation of classical curricula in city schools, where the *Adagia* found great pedagogical application, many burghers, but particularly those among the merchant classes, received some exposure to canonical ancient texts.²⁴⁸ Gillis's republican terminology also elevated to the level of diplomatic speech issues that Netherlanders were already exploring in urban theater. The socio-spiritual perils and ethics of marketplace exchanges were, for example, common topics explored in *rederijker* morality plays, farces, and satires, often during the occasional interregional theatrical performances of the *landjuweel*. Being amongst the most learned segments of the urban populace, the rhetoricians regularly mediated between scholarly and civic discourse and served as important disseminators of humanist and reformatory thought. However, in crafting their plays, the chambers of rhetoric relied on neither classicizing nor theological buzzwords to make their points. Drawing their figurations from the fertile ground of Flemish vernaculars, they employed a heterogeneous if not somewhat convoluted set of personifications to represent bourgeois concerns with the ethics of buying and selling, and consumerism and materialism more generally. For just as the Everyman (*Elckerlijc*) confronted Material Goods (*Tgoed*) on his journey to Death, figures such as Small Profit (*Cleyn Profijt*), Brotherly Love (*Broederlijke Liefde*), Selfish Gain (*Eyghen Baet*), and Entertaining Life (*Vermakelijck Leven*) served as some of ciphers through which the ethics of marketplace exchanges were conceptualized.²⁴⁹

Despite the lack of surviving visual documentation, the entry's decorative and performative language presumably conformed to the conventions of *rederijker* theatre. The vast majority of rhetoricians in Antwerp were practicing artists, who belonged jointly to the St. Luke's Guild and the Gillyflower Chamber (*De Violieren*), Antwerp's largest and oldest *rederijkerskamer*. The visual character of the stagecraft and decorations undoubtedly registered both the stylistic cosmopolitanism and market entrepreneurialism that characterized the export-

oriented production of the Antwerp mannerists.²⁵⁰ While many of these artists were conversant with theological, classical, and vernacular literary textual traditions, urban theatre would have provided an additional outlet for them to market their work to both foreign travelers and fellow townspeople.²⁵¹ An analysis of the rolls of the *rederijkerkamers* suggests that though artists and craftsmen were the largest demographic, merchants, both foreign and native, educators, lawyers, and other professionals ranked among the members. A bureaucrat with a legal background, Gillis also seems to have had an inside knowledge of various aspects of *rederijker* performance culture, having participated in the production of rhetorician festivities on other occasions, specifically for the Gillyflower Chamber.²⁵²

Although it is true that the emperor, his entourage, and the civic convoy would have been the only people to have seen the entire program sequentially unfold, the entry was a collectively produced and performed civic ritual.²⁵³ The burghers, who acted in and helped Gillis execute the entry, were also, at least for the most part, affiliated with the city's literary guilds.²⁵⁴ As such, urban residents, not the royal entourage, had the greatest opportunity to familiarize themselves with the ideas explored in the program. The actors who performed, the artists who painted the backdrops, the joiners who built the stages, the tailors who sewed the costumes, and the members of the guilds and confraternities who processed all would have had some knowledge of entry's themes. Indeed, each of these productive, remunerative acts constituted occasions when information sharing about the self-presentation of the urban community contributed to an urban, craft-based, professional sociability. That Gillis's publication on the entry only appeared in Latin, and not the vernacular parlances of the people of Antwerp, suggests that its intended audience was not the local burghers who had helped produce the event, but rather the entry's foreign audiences, who had traveled to Antwerp solely for the occasion. Thus by inventing a program that centered on republican virtues, Gillis sought to express local and regional moral economic concerns through a burgeoning transnational language.

It is therefore significant that the moral philosophical valences of Gillis's program turned on the figure of Generosity, as the next stage, the ninth tableau, showed "Philologia" imploring the emperor for patronage. Standing above Ignorance, Philologia, a personification that encompassed not just philology but poetry and the literary genres that informed the content of pictorial arts, was accompanied by her consort, Mercury—the god of orators, tricksters, travelers and merchants and the classical deity with whom Antwerp most closely identified.²⁵⁵ Within the language of the entry, the figuration of Mercury and Philologia notionally paralleled the first tableau of the Genius of Antwerp and the Three Graces. For just as Philologia evoked a genre of human creativity that fell within the Graces' domain, Antwerp's *Genius Loci*, symbolizing the essence that defined the city's vital energy as a worldly merchant's emporium, flourished under Mercury's rule.²⁵⁶

This parallelism signaled a rhetorical pivot in the program's argumentation: the entry was not merely a gift given out of 'faith and love,' it was a coordinated demonstration of Antwerp's intellectual capital, a mobilization of the city's literary and artistic talent. Perhaps because Antwerp's artistic culture and luxury craft industry were already market oriented in the 1520s, the people of Antwerp were neither immune to nor ignorant of the windfalls that princely support would have for local industries and the transit trade. By implying a metaphoric continuation or prospective instantiation of the emperor's generosity, the subject of the tableau made manifest an expectation of benevolent reciprocity that would mirror the city's own support of its literary talent. For just as the Antwerp magistrates had since 1490 regularly granted money to the *rederijkers*, "In order to support Rhetoric for the honour and adornment of this city," ("*Om de*

Rethorike te onderhouden ter eere en luyster dezer stad”), so did they expect their prince to serve as a patron in accordance with his caste obligations.²⁵⁷ For according to the moral philosophical logic of the entry, the emperor, a munificent man, having witnessed the merits of the entry as an ingenious and worthy benefit, should feel compelled to reward the industry of the people of Antwerp through his benefaction. Indeed, the codes of munificence and princely beneficence stipulated that the emperor was duty-bound to support the pursuits that enriched his empire.

Also harkening back to motifs introduced in the opening stages was the platform’s inscription of Psalm 2:10, “O ye kings, understand: receive instruction, you that judge the earth,” a verse that appealed not only to the emperor’s ability to discern value—to ‘judge’—but to his duty heed council and to rule wisely.²⁵⁸ The quotation was an obvious nod to Erasmus, who had not only worked for years on a fresh translation of the Vulgate, but in the opening lines of *Institutio* had advised the young prince:

Wisdom is not only an extraordinary attribute in itself, Charles, most bountiful of princes, but according to Aristotle no form of wisdom is greater than that which teaches a prince how to rule beneficently. Accordingly, Xenophon was quite correct in saying in his *Oeconomicus* that he thought it something beyond the human sphere and clearly divine, to rule over free and willing subjects. That kind of wisdom is indeed to be sought by princes, which Solomon as a youth of good parts, spurning all else, alone desired, and which he wished to be his constant companion on the throne.

In his gloss, Gillis further situates this logic using different exempla. The importance of this form of imperial patronage, he suggests, is reciprocally beneficial, especially insofar as history’s most famous kings “earned their highest titles not from their imperium but from Philologia.”²⁵⁹ In his gloss, Gillis references not only Alexander the Great, who “preferred the literary arts to any other treasure,” but also Plato, who proclaimed poetry’s contributions to the “happiness of the republic.”²⁶⁰ The themes of the tenth stage then portrayed the emperor as modern Hercules, conquering Pleasure and triumphing through Love of Work.²⁶¹

The final three stages, contradicting the Erasmian admonition that the prince “should freely do works of kindness for everyone without thought of compensation or glory,” imagined the rewards that would repay the emperor’s benevolence.²⁶² While the eleventh stage showed the emperor’s immortalization, with yet another triad of gift-giving personifications—Victory, Honor, and Majesty—paying fealty to the Habsburg sovereign, the twelfth platform represented his heavenly apotheosis. The final stage, bearing a paraphrase of John 10:16, “He will make the world but one flock with one shepherd,” imagined the emperor as a Christian soldier, fulfilling his destiny to unifying the world under one faith.²⁶³ The tableau accompanying this verse portrayed Africa and Asia pleading for liberation as Europe embraced Charles V. A secondary allegorical figuration underscored the stage’s crusading themes: it showed Peace prevailing over Bellona, goddess of war, whose commanders held the heads of Mohammed and the Ottoman Sultan skewered on their pikes.

Although such martial, continental allegories would become pro forma glorifications of the Habsburg imperium in subsequent generations, Gillis’s tableau was, at least for the Netherlands, pioneering.²⁶⁴ The stage importantly registered the people of Antwerp’s strategic view of their role in serving the emperor’s expanding empire. Despite Gillis’s previous assertion that literary arts ‘do more to promote the king’s achievement than the vastness of his dominions’, an argument that would seem to undercut both the militarism and worldliness of the entry’s

culminating continental allegory, the tableau functioned as the program's climax, subtly proclaiming Antwerp's international ambitions.²⁶⁵

And yet, in its allusion to 'making the world one flock with one shepherd' and in its triad of 'adoring' personification, the continental allegory within Gillis's final tableau also pointed to the Epiphany, and particularly to the story of the magi, as an underlying typology. Following the visitation of the shepherds, the arrival and veneration of three foreign kings at Jesus's nativity notionally extended the concept of Christ's 'flock' to include the diverse peoples of the world; it was not uncommon for late medieval and early modern Christians to use the story to rationalize missions of conquest and conversion.²⁶⁶ As prefigurements of a postlapsarian world reunified in devotion to Christ, the magi's cosmographical significance also traced back to patristic interpretive tradition. Whereas St. Augustine held that the magi collectively represented the whole world, St. Bede specified that "the three magi signify the three parts of the world: Asia, Africa, and Europe," and as such represented the decedents of the three sons of Noah.²⁶⁷ In substituting personifications of the three continents for the respective world territories the magi had typically signified, Gillis secularized religious historical figures.

Located within a day's journey of Cologne, the primary site of magi's cult, Antwerp had developed a peculiar identification with the magi, and Antwerp artists exploited the story's mystical interpretations as selling points to enhance demand for their products. The Master of the Morisson Triptych's 1504 *Adoration* (Figure 2.9) suggests the multiple topographical, material, and performative valences of this identification.²⁶⁸ Staging the magi's embassy at the Scheldt harbor, the painting presents the three kings as exemplary travelers, whose convergence outside Antwerp signifies the city's global extensions. During Antwerp's *ommegangen* celebrations, the magi's exemplarity as travelers was regularly invoked; they appeared as processional figures, accompanied by their astrologically inspired, exotic caravan.²⁶⁹ Merchants in Antwerp often named their sons after three magi, the most famous example being Erasmus Schetz (1476–1550), who named his first three sons Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar. But the Master of the Morisson Triptych's painting also self-reflexively alludes to the city's status as a center of luxury exports. In hybridizing the conventions of city view and biblical narrative, the composition situates the river as both a temporal threshold that separates the biblical past from the profane present and a spatial channel that signals the translation of goods and people to and from elsewhere. While the precious vessels the magi offer the Christ Child are made to resemble the type of luxury gilt-work objects that were available at the *Predikherenpand* and the city would have gifted to Charles V during the entry, the subject of painting itself represented a well-known product of city workshops. Particularly during the so-called age of discovery, when Antwerp studios were exporting a great number of carved and painted altarpieces to the Rhineland and the Iberian Peninsula, *Adoration of the Magi* images emerged as one of the city's specialties.²⁷⁰

Functioning as a subtextual typology for Gillis's continental allegory, the magi legend reveals a series of linked associations—between domestic production and foreign consumption as well as between a topographic self-understanding and a cosmographic view of tributary relationships—which redoubled the image of Antwerp as an emporium in the service of a greater empire. This aspect of the entry's rhetoric anticipated later enactments of the city as world stage, including a tableau in the 1549 entry and the 1564 *ommegang*, when Antwerp presented itself as "The Theater of the World" (*De Theatre der Werelt*) with allegories of the four continents performing as the central motif. Gillis's final platform was undoubtedly intended to imply the worldly traffic of the Antwerp market, a message that would have been subtly affirmed by the participation of the city's many foreign merchant nations. However, unlike the 1549 entry, where

the foreign merchant nations' contributions are well documented, nothing certain is known about this aspect of the 1520 entry. It is nevertheless likely that Gillis conscientiously uses the continental allegory as a means of symbolically encompassing these foreign contributions as attributes not just of the figure of Europa, or of the emperor's vast dominions, but of the city as a worldly, merchant metropolis. Insofar as the crusading imagery of the final platform proposed a *Pax Christiana* as its objective—a peace that would engender a new height of prosperity by rendering territories in Africa and Asia open to trade—its argumentation appealed at once to the emperor's campaigns against the 'infidel' and to the urban demographics most heavily invested in global commerce.

Although Antwerp seems to have adopted this extraordinary custom of allowing foreign merchants to visibly and materially contribute to the entry in emulation of Bruges, whose waning prominence as an international commercial hub inversely paralleled Antwerp's growth, members of these foreign nations had traditionally assisted in other civic rituals as well. Since at least the latter part of the fifteenth century, foreign merchants had been involved in shaping the messages of the biannual *ommegangen*. Primarily devotional and cultic in nature, the Antwerp *ommegang* evolved from a Marian celebration to a quasi-civic ritual with floats, ephemeral decorations, and performances designed to broadcast Antwerp's maritime and commercial singularity.²⁷¹ One of the city's two Marian confraternities, the Guild of the Praise of Our Lady (*Gilde van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Lof*), was composed largely of Antwerp's merchant elite, including a great number of German, Portuguese, Italian and Spanish merchants.²⁷² The fact that several of the city's prominent artists also joined this confraternity suggests *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Lof* served as an important professional network, creating opportunities for merchants to meet each other and socialize with the city's literary and artistic talent.²⁷³ Functioning as an engine of patronage, this confraternity planned the themes of the processions and underwrote production expenses, including the commissioning of every type of festive decorations, from print matter and pennants to textiles and floats.

Thus, while the participation of foreign merchants in the *ommegangen* facilitated their acculturation, offering opportunities to network with local artists and merchants, their involvement in planning these processions correlated with the frequency and conspicuousness of commercial themes expressed during the *ommegangen*.²⁷⁴ Souvenir booklets chronicling the *ommegangen* only began to be printed at midcentury, but travelers' descriptions of the procession, including Albrecht Dürer's eyewitness account of the 1520, indicate that a secular program with maritime themes mediated between the thousands of citizen-processors and the religious portion of the program.²⁷⁵ According to Dürer's description of the 1520 *ommegang*, among the pageants were fleets of ships that sailed along the processional route and the magi with their exotic caravan. Creating a topical link between international trade and cultic devotion, the *ommegang* made Antwerp's commercial identity integral to the citizens' "economy of salvation" and used a ritualized, kinetic vocabulary to evoke the city's everyday commercial mobility.²⁷⁶ Thus as occasions when foreign merchants were integrated into the city's corporate productive infrastructure, the *ommegangen* reinforced the patron-client bonds that knit various urban communities together, making their collaboration essential to the manner in which the city represented itself.

Understood as a communally oriented venture—a socially and intellectually enriching collaborative project—Gillis's program fostered interurban intellectual discourse. While the city's artisans and rhetoricians collaboratively realized the entry, Gillis melded classical and contemporary moral and political philosophy, communicating local interests through a

transnational, humanistic language of forms and concepts. The motifs of his program innovated a diplomatic language that, though addressed to the royal visitors, spoke directly to the people of Antwerp's sense of republican liberties, linking this idea to ancient discourses on princely beneficence, virtuous spending, and reciprocity.²⁷⁷ The entry program also began to imagine a way to represent the city's global topology, producing an idea of the city as a merchant republic.²⁷⁸

The significance of the city's inclusion of foreigners as a visible part of their community became more apparent in the 1549 entry, when Charles V returned to Antwerp to introduce his son, Philip II, as his successor. Graduating from assistant to primary organizer, Cornelius Grapheus's experience working with Gillis proved formative, and his program would elaborate and further complicate many of the ideas introduced in the 1520 entry.²⁷⁹ Grapheus's illustrated account of the 1549 *blijde inkomst* demonstrates that both the emperor and the city leaders recognized the foreign merchants' participation in the entry as a form of interior foreign policy. The presence of various trading nations within the city was visibly articulated in the cavalcade, the civic program, and in their contributions to the ephemeral decorative schema. This publicly accorded privilege nevertheless called attention to the unequal status of the city's different nations, and the processional sequence of the foreign nations became a particular source of acrimony. Despite the jockeying for position prompted by the cavalcade's thinly masked hierarchy, the overall significance of the city's ritual inclusion of the merchant colonies was not mere artifice: it was part of a civic strategy to exploit the significances of the processional route to display Antwerp's commercial and cultural cosmopolitanism to its overlords. In calibrating the position of the foreign merchants' arches, as instances of patronage, to their spheres of influence within the city, the organizers flaunted the internationalism of their city. At the same time, Grapheus's account continues to suggest the importance of the event as a coordinated act of civic patronage, which brought together native and foreign communities.

III. Prodigality & the production of an international city: Cornelius Grapheus's 1549 Entry

Shortly before Philip II was ceremonially welcomed into Antwerp as his father's successor, an escalating dispute between the city's foreign merchants threatened to spoil the festivities. Knowing that a tacit hierarchy underlay the sequence in which they were to appear in the entry's cavalcade, several of the merchant nations lodged complaints with the Office of Privileges (*Privilegiekamer*) about their relative position in the procession.²⁸⁰ Although the disagreement between the Germans and Hanseatics had been settled amicably, the feuds between the English and Portuguese and the Genoese and Florentines could not be assuaged.²⁸¹ The magistrates called upon the reigning emperor to mediate.

Charles must have been irritated. It was highly unusual for an emperor to be asked to intervene in such petty organizational matters.²⁸² Though the inability of Antwerp officials to find diplomatic resolutions shone poorly on the city, the fact that they sought the emperor's assistance suggests their intense desire to avoid alienating any one of these foreign communities. As the arbiter, Charles dictated a course of action. After holding audience with the different parties, he ruled in favor of the English—a decision that prompted the Portuguese to withdraw from the entry; he then summarily dismissed the claims of both the Genoese and the Florentines, prohibiting their delegations from appearing in the cavalcade.

Cornelius Grapheus acknowledges the discord in his account of the entry, *The Very Wonderful, Beautiful Triumphal Entry of the His Mightiness Prince Philip, Prince of Spain, the son of Emperor Charles V*, [*De Seer Wonderlijke Schoone Triumphelijcke Incompst van den*

Hooghmegenden Prince Philips, prince van Spaighen, Caroli des Vijfden, Keyzers Sone], illustrated and published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst in 1550.²⁸³ He indicates that a “certain quarrel had arisen” [“*sekeren twist geresen*”] between several of the foreign merchant nations [“*der vremder Coopluyden naties*”] and that it had been the emperor’s—and by implication *not* the city’s—decision to “expressly forbid” the aggrieved parties “from processing” [“*expresseelijck doen verbieden mede inne te commene*”].²⁸⁴ In what may be interpreted as a harmless subversion of the punishments imposed, Grapheus includes lengthy descriptions of the fine regalia that the Portuguese, Genoese, and Florentines had commissioned for the entry’s parade, which, though resplendent, observed the sumptuary protocol.²⁸⁵ In doing so, he evinces a sense of community cohesion and inclusiveness belied by the ceremonies proper.

The emperor’s ruling was humiliating for the reprimanded merchant nations, but especially for the Genoese and Florentine merchants, who unlike the Portuguese had spent huge sums erecting ephemeral arches to honor the imperial visitors. Indeed, almost twenty years after the incident, Lodovico Guicciardini’s remembrances of the entry in the *Descrittione* are tinged with chagrin.²⁸⁶ For in barring the Florentines and Genoese from processing, the emperor not only withheld the privilege of experiencing the entry as part of the imperial-civic convoy, he effectively denied them the honor of seeing their generosities realized.

Contemporaries felt that the punishment was unnecessarily harsh.²⁸⁷ Indeed, Grapheus’s textual recuperation of the absented foreigners’ investments in the pageantry suggests the city officials’ disappointment that a more tactful resolution had not been proposed. By imaginatively revising the entry as having been more representative of the city’s international communities, Grapheus’s account functioned as a sort of diplomatic offering to the penalized foreigners. On the one hand, the text explicitly commemorates the liberal spending of the disgraced merchants, allowing these communities to save face by acknowledging their willing contributions to the ceremonial pomp. Grapheus, for example, makes clear that before the emperor’s ruling the merchants had been suitably prepared to enter the city with the other nations [“*al nu geheel beret ende geschickt waren/om metten anderen natien in te rijden*”].²⁸⁸ On the other hand, his account sought to remember the benefits these nations bestowed upon urban community, reincorporating the excluded foreign merchants as members of the city’s body politic.

Such inclusiveness was an important aspect of the 1549 entry’s multivalent “rhetoric of place.”²⁸⁹ As other scholars have shown, the processional route commemorated the town’s jurisdictional historicity, serving as the symbolic armature upon which the political covenant of the entry hung. In rehearsing the city’s spatial genealogy, that is, by architecturally marking progression into the *Antwerp Vrije* and traversing portions of the old city walls as the physical boundaries of the urban community, the procession served as a kind of ritualized journey that conjoined the city’s past, present, and future.²⁹⁰ The entry’s decorative program and stagecraft enhanced the notional limits of that symbolic, ritualized itinerary, and the foreign arches in particular ‘located’ within the city the greater geographical extensions of Antwerp as a commercial hub. In other words, the organizers of the entry seem to have made every effort to position the foreign arches in areas of the processional route that reflected these trading nations’ respective zones of influence (Figure 2.10).

Produced after Grapheus’s 1527 declaration that “Antwerp is unto itself the entire world” and before his 1565 topographical description of the city’s “living, calculated likeness,” the 1549 entry stands as the performative apogee of Grapheus’s life-long interest in eulogizing Antwerp’s singularity as a place of worldly agglomerations. While the civic program portrayed Antwerp as a new Rome, claiming as part of its own heritage the *Aeneid*’s diasporic foundation story, the

sheer magnificence of the event broadcast the city's worldly prestige.²⁹¹ In the introduction, Grapheus's ambitions are transparent:

We have traveled through many countries in Europe, we have seen very large triumphs in Rome, in Italy and in various other countries and cities; we know some old, upstanding, reputable men who claim to have seen with wonder similar things in various foreign countries: but neither we nor they have ever seen anything that, in comparison to our things, was as costly or as monumental, or as expeditious, or with such crowds.²⁹²

Though the immediate comparison is to Italy, Grapheus here asserts the preeminence of Antwerp's entry on an international scale. He references a social network of culturally mobile informants, positioning himself as a worldly purveyor of entry trends. Empowered with the knowledge contained in these anonymous reports, he favorably compares local traditions to similar ceremonies abroad.

Grapheus undoubtedly knew that one of the ways Antwerp's *blijde inkomst* distinguished itself from entries in other cities was through the material contributions of its foreign merchants—a cultural contribution that, as we will see, was measured both spatially and financially. Evoking the moral economy of the entry's reciprocities, the festival book recalls the “expressions of gratitude,” with which the emperor and his son were welcomed by “the whole city, the municipality, the community, the nobility, the merchants, the nations, and various foreigners from over the whole world who had come to this city.”²⁹³ Although only five of the nine foreign nations that were to have joined the procession erected arches along the processional route (Spanish, Genoese, Florentines, English, Germans), Grapheus's program had counted on their combined presence, in both the procession and the ceremonial stagecraft, to bolster the city's image as an encompassing emporium.²⁹⁴ According to his own statements, Grapheus was the inventor of the entire program, including all but two of the foreign arches. Only the Spanish and Genoese hired countrymen to craft their edifices, and even then it seems that Grapheus had supplied information about the general themes of the entry to these foreign designers so that they could better integrate their contributions into the rest of the entry's program.²⁹⁵

Although Grapheus revisits some of messages and concepts that had emerged in the 1520 entry program, these ideas evolve into broader claims about the origins of Antwerp's liberties and its cultural significance as a site of convergences. For example, the intramuros program began with the customary welcoming tableau, which showed Antwerpia yielding to Prince Philip (Figure 2.11). Personifications of Loyalty, Gratitude, Reverence, Obedience, Love and Candor accompanied the maiden city and Clemency stood as an attribute of the prince. Antwerpia's headdress, which reproduced in miniature the spire of *Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk*, harkened back to Gillis's metonymic evocation of the crown as an architectonic symbol of urban sovereignty. However, verses inscribed at the base of the stage addressed the filial piety of Philip as a traveler, ventriloquizing Anchises's first words to Aeneas after his journey to Tartarus.²⁹⁶ The Virgilian citation emphasizes reconciliation, evoking proleptically prophecies of the foundation of the Roman Empire, its prosperity, laws, and civilizing customs.²⁹⁷ References to the *Aeneid* recur in civic program and foreign arches, feigning hope for Philip's ascension as Holy Roman Emperor while insinuating Antwerp's legendary foundation by the Roman centurion, Brabo.

The four stages that followed the welcoming tableau made manifest the international connectivity of the city (Figure 2.10). Quite deliberately, the first of the foreign arches to welcome Prince Philip into Antwerp was the Spanish arch on *Gasthuisstraat* (Figure 2.12). While the iconography of the statuary positioned Philip between seven Virtues (theological and cardinal) and a royal lineage of seven Spanish Worthies, the pyrotechnic, theatrical displays

honored the prince as a devout Catholic prince—a crusading liberator who would bring peace to his empire and the Spanish people as both a modern-day Saint James and as a new Augustus.²⁹⁸ With its allusions to the prince’s homeland, the arch served as a dislocated homecoming, a reception into an expatriate community that was serving Spain’s trading interests abroad.²⁹⁹

Though the placement of the Spanish arch immediately after the first civic tableau made quickly apparent the international extensions of Antwerp as a centrifugal emporium, reuniting Philip, an Aeneas-like, displaced traveler, with his Spanish subjects, *Gasthuisstraat* was also a logical, if not meaningful site for the Spanish arch. As the name suggests, *Gasthuisstraat* had traditionally been associated with the neighborhood’s concentration of hostelers, who provided accommodations to occasional, seasonal, and fair-time travelers.³⁰⁰ Recent research into Antwerp’s Spanish merchant community at mid-century would seem to indicate that the erection of a ‘Spanish’ arch was somewhat of a happy reification, since the Spanish merchants—fragmented into Aragonese, Castilian, and other provincial demographics—almost never sought identification as a singular nation.³⁰¹ Spanish traders nevertheless had one of longest and strongest historical affiliations with the city. The vast majority of Spanish merchants were peripatetic, temporary visitors, who stayed in the city intermittently over the course of many years; those who remained longer in the city tended to settle more permanently, integrating, intermarrying, and dwelling in properties all over the city. Thus the arch’s position at this location on the processional route was not only a diplomatic acknowledgment of Philip’s identity as a Spanish prince, but it also commemorated the historical trading activities of Spanish merchants in the city.

Presenting an allegorical celebration of the city’s commercial topology, the Arch of the River Scheldt (Figure 2.13) served as a buffer between the next two foreign-merchant ephemeral structures: the arches of the Genoese and Florentine merchants, which were placed on *Gasthuisstraat* and *Huidevettersstraat* respectively (Figure 2.10). A tableau vivant on the uppermost register of the multi-tiered arch represented topographic personifications of Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal and England, identified by inscriptions and in Grapheus’s text as Antwerp’s five principal merchant colonies (“*de principale viue Natien vanden Coopluyden in dese Stadt hun residentie houdende*”).³⁰² Positioned as it was between the Genoese and Florentine arches, the Arch of the River Scheldt served as an important segue, conceptually integrating the Spanish and Italian arches into the civic program and anticipating the appearance of other foreign arches later in the procession. The personification of Italy also served the immediate purpose of assimilating the greater diversity of Antwerp’s Italian merchant communities into a single figure. Grapheus’s abridgment not only reflected common parlance and allowed for a more legible (i.e., less crowded) tableau, it notionally included the merchant nations of Milan and Lucca, who processed in the convoy but didn’t erect arches.³⁰³

The figurative creation of a ‘unified’ Italy may have, moreover, registered the city organizers’ desire for the Italian merchants to have collaboratively offered a single arch, as Guicciardini’s later comments imply.³⁰⁴ The Italian merchants, however, resisted incorporation. Even within their respective ‘*naties*,’ individual Florentine and Genoese traders preferred to maintain residences apart from the houses the city had awarded their colonies.³⁰⁵ Although the placement of the Florentine arch on *Huidevettersstraat* marked their official headquarters, the Genoese house was located near the *Oude Beurs*, that is, in a different district.³⁰⁶ The placement of the Genoese arch on the processional route may thus have been something of a concession, an expeditious means of observing a geographical organization that would have mirrored the configuration of the Italian merchants in the procession.³⁰⁷

Like the Genoese, the arch of the English merchants was slightly removed from the English Pand and from the Merchant Adventurers' activities centered on *Wolstraat*, perhaps because the areas of the processional route that ran closest to both the English Quarter and the Genoese outpost were occupied by a series of six civic arches and tableau, which appeared at intervals between arches of Florence and England (Figure 2.10).³⁰⁸ The placement of the English arch at the entry of the *Grote Markt*, the heart of the city, however, was a great honor. Not only was their position more proximate than the Genoese were to their urban sphere of influence, their arch was also located along the thoroughfares that connected the English colony to the Scheldt harbor.

The presences of the other foreign trading nations—the Germans and the Hansa—were marked more precisely in the processional route. Since the entry convoy passed near their trading house, *De Cluyse*, the Hanseatic merchants illuminated the façade of their headquarters with a vast quantity of costly wax lights in lieu of erecting an ephemeral arch.³⁰⁹ The German arch appeared near the end of the entry, very close to the Fugger house on *Steenhouwersvest*, in an area of town where many merchants from Southern Germany settled.³¹⁰ Located in the same part of town as the city Mint, it was, moreover, conceptually appropriate to find the arch of these foreign financiers and bullion traders adjacent to the source that regulated Antwerp's currency.

Inserted within a cluster of three foreign-sponsored edifices and proleptically signaling the appearance of the other trading nations, the Arch of the Scheldt brought rhetorical continuity to these material displays of generosity, coalescing what may otherwise appear to be disparate contributions of foreigners into the city's imaginary league of nations. Indeed, the stagecraft of the tableau literalized the relationship between Antwerp's commercial protagonists and the Scheldt—the source and medium of their connectivity. Surrounded by their barreled, boxed and bundled cargo, the foreign merchants were represented at the waterfront. Set against three window-like paintings that showed a cityscape, a seascape, and a landscape—evocations of the city's telluric and maritime traffic—the trading nations appeared under the protection of Mercury and Commerce (*Negotiatio*). Scaldis was shown in the register immediately below, steering a gondola for his consort, Antwerpia (not shown in Coecke's illustration). Inscriptions hailed Scaldis as, “the bringer of all kinds of goods” [*“Scaldis aenbren gere van allerley goet,”*] stating that, “where a good prince is present, all things are fortunate, prosperous, thriving.” [*Daer een goet Prince tegewoirdich is/daer sijn alle dingen geluckich/voerspoodich/welvarende.*]

With the exception of the Spanish structure, all the foreign arches echoed this urban-fluvial motif. The Genoese arch referenced its position on the Ligurian Sea and represented two local river deities, who together formed the hydrographic boundaries of their republic. The portico erected by the Florentines included personifications of the Arno and three other rivers. Figurations of Oceanus Britannicus and Tamesis, the god of the Thames, appeared in the edifice of the English Merchant Adventurers. The arch of the German nations contained glorifications of the Danube, Rhine, Elbe and Vistula. Persistent and recursive, this fluvial, maritime imagery underscored the multiplicity of trade routes that linked the city on the Scheldt with its trading partners. Rendering commercial mobility mythological, each itinerary defined Antwerp as an essential coordinate within a set of termini (origination/destination).

By marking the processional route as a liminal space, the processional movements also rehearsed the Scheldt as a ‘source’ that brought wealth to the greater empire. A colonnade comprising 1,100 pilasters delineated the pathway; swags of the cloth hung along the intercolumniations, visually differentiating the route from its urban setting. These textiles were decorated with a combination of imperial and civic imagery: the Habsburg arms and heraldic

portraits of the royal family and their devices alternated with armorials of the city seal. Also interspersing the imperial imagery was a civic impresa that Grapheus had invented. Figures of Faith, Fidelity, and the Fountainhead appeared as an emblematic triad, accompanying verses that proclaimed, “Antwerp, the Metropolis of the Margravate of the Holy Roman Empire” (*Antverpia, Marchionatus Sacri Imperii Metropolis*). Faith, shown as a white dog, bore the inscription “With never-stained faith,” (“*Fide numquam polluta*”); Fidelity, represented as a hand holding lilies, combined with the verse, “Always with honesty,” (“*Candore integro semper*”); and in a theologically infused allusion to the Scheldt as the city’s connective wellspring, the Fountainhead was defined as, “The source that irrigates all,” (“*Fons irrigans Omnia*”).³¹¹ The argumentation asserted an unambiguous reciprocity: as long as the Habsburg overlords acted as beneficent guardians of the loyal, pious the people of Antwerp, the city’s prosperity, brought by the waters of the Scheldt, would replenish and ‘irrigate’ their imperium. Sublimating the kinetics of traveling, linked figuratively to a fluvial network of trading partners, the procession reiterated Antwerp’s cosmopolitan inclusivity and ritualized the maritime movements that brought wealth to the empire.³¹²

Building up to the mechanical submission of the Druon Antigoon automaton to Prince Philip at the Grote Markt, and anticipating the three, genealogically themed arches that preceded the Arch of the Mint and the German Arch, the six stages that appeared between the Florentine and English arches cemented the themes of the civic program. Although the content of this program has been described elsewhere, what bears mentioning here is the extent to which Grapheus situated Antwerp as a world stage—a place whose international convergences engendered broad-minded political perspectives. The Arch of Equity envisioned how Philip’s enlightened administration would catalyze the coming of a new golden age: a female personification of Justice, (*Aequitas/Gerechtigheyt*), dressed in gold and standing on a golden globe, doubled as a typology for Astraea, a theme and interpretation that had also appeared in Gillis’s entry program.³¹³ In a clear allusion to Hesiod’s *Work and Days*, Grapheus explains that “under the greatness of this prince, all things will be golden, the whole world will have a golden aspect, [...] there will be golden times, the iron age will perish” (“*dat onder de grootheyt vandesen Price/alle dingen sullen gulden sijn/de geheele werelt sale en gulden aenscowaen hebben/[...] het sullen gulden tijden wordden/de ijseren werelt sal van selfs vergaen.*”)³¹⁴ The Arch of Equity’s visually equation of the Golden Age with a Habsburg terrestrial imperium, represented as a golden globe, established the program’s interest in global reunification.³¹⁵ Signally the liberal means by which Philip would achieve this objective, the next stage, the Arch of Peace, contrived a dialectical arrangement of personifications, which registered the city’s commercial interests—Peace, Freedom, Concord, Good Government, Abundance and Profit triumphed over War, Rage, Madness, Tyranny, Discord, Scarcity, and Inflation.

The arches of the foreign merchants played an important representative function within this overall program, substantiating a European commercial confederation upon which the civic program built. The Tableau of the Provinces alluded to an expanded regional network, representing female personifications of the Habsburgs’ transalpine territories—Austria, Burgundia, Brabantia, Gelria, Flandria, Artesia, Hannonia, Hollandia, Zelandia, and Frisia. The other ephemeral arches addressed Habsburg imperium beyond Christendom. The Tableau of Philip’s Future portrayed the prince as a new Augustus—a liberator of Africa, Asia, and Europe—who would expand the empire to include Ethiopians, Garamantes (Africans), Indians, and the Thulians at the earth’s ends. The Tableau of the Conquest over the Turks further elaborated upon this crusading rhetoric, proleptically depicting Philip’s victory over the Moors,

Arabs, Saracenes, Agarenes, and Mameluks and the emancipation of the cities and regions held captive by the Turks.³¹⁶

Within the context of the entry, these future victories over despots dwelling beyond the borders of the empire found a historical parallel in the associations conjured by the effigy of Druon Antigoon at the Grote Markt—a story that pertained not only to the benefits that followed from vanquishing tyranny internally, but also to the origins of Philip’s Brabantine ducal title and to Antwerp’s republican foundation. For just as Phillip was exhorted to aspire to the beneficent imperial leadership of Augustus, so should he honor his successorship of Brabo, the first Duke of Brabant, who liberated Antwerp and its merchants from Antigoon’s terroristic control of the Scheldt.³¹⁷ The effigy and its mechanical capitulation to the imperial convoy provided a rationale that brought into harmony Antwerp’s republican identity and its commercial service to the larger empire.³¹⁸ As other scholars have noted, the Druon Antigoon automaton functioned meaningfully within Grapheus’s recreation of the Grote Markt as new Forum Romanum, that is, as modern analogue of that original, central marketplace of the Roman Empire.³¹⁹ This mis-en-scène reassertion of Antwerp’s Roman heritage made the Grote Markt conform to the regular, rectilinear plan of its ancient prototype—a physical alteration of the marketplace accomplished through the positioning of the English Arch and Lambert van Noort’s temporary Town Hall.³²⁰

These absorptions in the precedence of Rome were part not just of the entry’s rhetoric of place but of its very construction of space, for the Antwerp foot, as Grapheus explains in his preface, is equivalent to the Roman foot.³²¹ This emulative metric underlay the construction of both the ephemeral arches and the relative scaling of the illustrations in the festival book, creating thereby an integral sympathy. Grapheus repeatedly dwells on the significance of scaling, and on the importance of proportion, particularly with regard to the representativeness of the engravings in the festival book. He discusses, for instance, how to account for certain distortions introduced by the miniaturization of the monumental works, and how to decipher the measurements in order to mentally recreate the decorations with greater accuracy. He had, as the reader will remember from the previous chapter, more than casual interests in the visual numeracies yielded from the technologies of surveying and cartography, and it is likely that his fascination with questions of scale and architectural proportion evolved during his collaboration with Pieter Coecke van Aelst, the artist who illustrated the festival book.³²² A printmaker, painter, and tapestry designer, Coecke had translated several Serlian and Vitruvian architectural treatises into Dutch, French, and German.³²³ As the city’s foremost expert on Serlio, who was admired also for his work for the French court at Fontainebleau, Coecke most likely oversaw the production of entry’s stagecraft, which extrapolated its visual rhetorical language from Serlian design principles.³²⁴ Coecke was also an exceptionally well-travelled artist; he had journeyed to Rome and had accompanied the imperial ambassador Cornelius Schepperus to the Ottoman Court in Istanbul with the hope of selling tapestries to the sultan. As a prominent member of the *Gilde van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Lof*, the religious confraternity that had served as an important engine of patronage for foreign merchants in other civic rituals, he would have also been in a strong position to facilitate commissions from the trading nations.

Despite the proliferation of Roman-isms in the entry, there was nothing orthodoxly classical about the stagecraft; the ‘Manneristic’ ornamental vocabulary in particular was a synthesis—a Brabantine reinterpretation of Roman grotesques and strapwork motifs popularized locally by Cornelis Bos, who had worked with Coecke on his Serlian treatises.³²⁵ The translation of Roman-ish ornament and architecture into a local idiom was also one of the visual means by which the entry showcased Antwerp’s cosmopolitanism. Encompassing many cultures, the

stylistic metabolization of Brabantine, Classical, Italian, and even French sources forged a transnational form, which in turn evoked the multitude of visual traditions that characterized the diverse inputs of the city's markets.³²⁶ This was an erudite, self-consciously heterodox aesthetic that had been forged by a generation of outward-looking, market-oriented artists, whose products appealed to the culturally mobile: in this instance, the international audiences that converged in the city for the entry. By integrating local and modern design principles into what would have been recognized in many of the stages as the general form of a triumphal arch, the stagecraft transmuted a visual language that had been used for militaristic valorization in order to signal to topologies engendered by the new Habsburg imperium.

While Grapheus recognized implicitly the cultural significance of the foreign merchants' sponsorship as a representation of the city's cosmopolitanism, he offers a bald accounting of the relative value of each arch. In the preface, Grapheus singles out the structures erected by the Germans and the Genoese. According to his reckoning, the German arch used approximately 36,000 feet of wooden planks and the Genoese spent roughly 234 guilders on iron nails alone.³²⁷ In the main text, he details the program and architectural configuration of each arch and describes the materials used. He also quantifies the total expenditures of each trading nation, referencing how much each trading nation spent and how many workmen they employed, in essence publicly ranking their relative munificence. Valued at 9,000 guilders, the Genoese arch cost the most, employing 280 workmen. The Spanish spent 6,000 guilders and employed 190 laborers. The English employed 261 painters, sculptors and carpenters, spending 4,200 guilders. The Germans hired 90 workmen and artists, investing 3,200 guilders. The Florentines hired more than 120 artists and other workers, spending approximately 3,600 guilders on their structure, a figure that must not have include the Labors of Hercules tapestry cycle, which hung in the intercolumniation of their portico.³²⁸

Though Graphaeus celebrates the entry as a public work that showcased both the ingenuity of Antwerp craftsmen and the materials that could be sourced on the local market, he was far more discrete about the city's expenditures. The introduction instead exhorts the local readership to remember the communal efforts that went into the making of the entry:

Haven't you seen the unbelievable number of workmen? of painters? of architects? of sculptors? of joiners? of sawyers? of lumberers? of wood cutters? of carpenters? of smiths? and other such [workers, who have been] laboring day and night [...] with axes, hammers, saws, drills, rulers, compasses, squares, fathoms, chisels, tongs, paint, pencils, etc., chiding each other, yelling, running like ants, delighting in their work, and arguing amongst themselves about the value of their labor.³²⁹

Elsewhere, he alludes to the quantities of expensive materials used to fabricate the decorations:

[...H]ow many barrels of linseed oil were consumed for this: because the greatest part of the work was done in oil paint. Who could express the power of the quantity of the hammered gold, the hammered silver, the hammered tin, which is called foil, used to overlay all the innumerable, large woodworks, columns, pilasters, arches, stages, armorials, paintings, and sculptures?³³⁰

Extolling the material splendor of the entry and the work it created for city artists, what Grapheus here observes in order to commemorate the entry as a public benefit, others would remember as utter prodigality. In his *Chronycke van Nederlandt*, Josse de Weert denounced the entry as wasteful spending. Writing with historical hindsight, he regarded the bad weather that dogged the city on the day of the ceremonies as heavenly retribution:

[It] was as beautiful as one could have possibly wished. But then around noon the

weather became so changed and ugly, raining so heavily into the night, that everyone let themselves think that it was a plague from almighty God, because of the needless expenses made for the king's entry, for garments made of golden, silver, and silk cloth, for the nineteen tableaux vivants, and for the clothing the burghers had made, which was worth a lot of money but had not yet been paid for. And on account of the tableaux vivants, which cost five thousand guilders, the all-powerful Lord miraculously displayed His wrath.³³¹

Though Grapheus himself acknowledged the difficulties posed by the storm, particularly insofar as the rain made it difficult, if not unpleasant, to observe the fine craftsmanship, his remembrances of the tempest were otherwise blithe. In keeping with the themes from the *Aeneid*, he blames the fury of Juno, who in her anger with Venus, exacted her "aquatic vengeance" against the city, destroying in the process the "volcanic plays," (i.e., the generative, creative works,) of her son Vulcan.³³² But clearly, other the people of Antwerp's memories of the entry's 'benefits' registered concerns about spending that had become excessive.

As Josse de Weert's condemnation suggests, the entry was contentiously pricey, and Grapheus's reticence about civic expenditures masked the extent to which the event exceeded its budget. While a bursar at the city's treasury complained about having insufficient funding at his disposal, "to bear the heavy expenses that were submitted to him" [*om te vervallen de zware kosten by hem verlegt ende betalt*],³³³ it is difficult if not impossible to quantify how much the city spent.³³³ Contemporaries offered various figures without explaining their calculations. Guicciardi indicates that the general costs of the entry were 130,000 crowns; Joose de Weert mentions that the tableau vivants within the civic program alone cost 5,000 guilders.³³⁴ Modern historians have estimated that the total costs of the entry were closer to 260,000 florins, which is approximately 100,000 florins more than the city spent on rebuilding the *Stadshuis*.³³⁵ What is, however, clear from historical sources is that the city attempted to cover its outstanding bills not only by selling the moveable paintings and sculptural works that ornamented the stages but also by compelling contributions from the corporate bodies that had profited most from the event's production.³³⁶ The literary chambers, craft and artist guilds, and civic militia all received solicitations from the city; not everyone complied, but those that did, did so only begrudgingly and belatedly.

In addition to the chronic overspending, Josse de Weert's negative memories of the pageantry—his recollection of extravagances so unnecessary as to elicit divine retribution—had probably been colored by the spectacle at the Arch of the Mint. Erected not by the city but rather by the Mintmasters, the Arch of the Mint glorified currency as a means of exchange, registering Antwerp's status as the financial capital of Europe (Figure 2.14). A painting inserted into a lunette on the upper register of the arch showed God the Father presenting money to mankind, who was depicted as a kneeling supplicant. This 'original' benefit, Grapheus explains, was bestowed on a grateful Fallen Man in order to support his life's work.³³⁷ On the lower register, Saturn was represented as a smith, minting specie for Juno Moneta, the goddess of money, and her daughters: Wealth (*Opulentia*), Abundance (*Copia*), Commerce (*Negotiatio*), and Civility (*Civilitas*).

The tableau, moreover, contrived a Roman-izing demonstration of liberality, a largess that was perhaps more profligate than prudent.³³⁸ Special specie were produced for the occasion, and at a designated moment during the performance, Moneta threw handfuls of the coins into the audience. Functioning as a complement to the arch's iconography, this performance indicated that the mintmasters were antiquarians and numismatists; they seem to have had a working knowledge of the ancient Roman customs that lent meaning to the symbols they were using.³³⁹

For the iconography of generosity in imperial Rome was associated with the distribution of coins (*congiaria*) to the people, and on these coins, personifications of Liberality often appeared as a reverse-side attribute of the emperor's obverse likeness (Figure 2.15).³⁴⁰

But rather than greeting this generosity with decorous felicity, the crowd that gathered before the stage disintegrated into grappling and fisticuffs. A brief account of the skirmish appears in Grapheus's description of the Arch of the Mint's program:

Also seen during the performance was how Saturn liberally gave the coins that he forged to the goddess Moneta, who (in similar liberality) distributed a great quantity to the commonwealth [...]. And just there, one could have seen an admirable and strange spectacle, everyone searching and hastening after the dispensed currency, begging with their hands outstretched, elbowing each other around, the one trying to take money out of the hands of another who received it, [...] stepping on each other, beating and punching each other, pulling hair, insulting and cursing at each other and making various cries, clamors, howls, and vociferations during the pushing and pulling that they made there.³⁴¹

In distancing himself from the cacophony of the melee and its iterative acts of violence, the syntax of Grapheus's description (in both the French and Flemish editions) itself degrades, so that prepositions that differentiate subject from object, agent from recipient are either elided or perplexed. Although the tableau's allegory undoubtedly intended to thematize the generousities afforded by the people of Antwerp industry, and to propose the urban community's commercial success as a source of solidarity, ironically, the performance put a spotlight on social tensions.³⁴² As Aquinas and various patristic sources had recognized, liberality was, after all, not the same thing as charity.³⁴³

Grapheus's gloss illuminates some of the slippages to which the program and its production were prone. Liberal and munificent forms of spending were, at least theoretically, supposed to promote civic cohesion, not discord. Tensions, however, evidently proliferated: the foreign merchants squabbled over precedence, guilds resented surrendering part of their profits, and the burghers brawled. Not only did the pageantry fail to instantiate balanced spending, in the case of the Arch of the Mint, its ambition overstepped, upstaging—and usurping for the republic—a display of munificence that had traditionally been the reserve of the prince. When Philip II, observing tradition, disbursed coins to the spectators during the festivities that followed the entry, embarrassment about the previous day's altercation at the Mint undoubtedly tainted his largess.³⁴⁴

Classical moral philosophers had, however, warned about the potential destabilizing affects endemic to this form of public spending. As Erasmus's interlocutors, Grapheus and Gilles would have been familiar with his admonishment in the *Institutio*, "They are also wrong who win the hearts of the masses by largesses, feasts, and gross indulgence. It is true that some popular favor, instead of affection, is gained by these means, but it is neither genuine nor permanent. In the meanwhile the greed of the populace is developed."³⁴⁵ Erasmus's circumspection about these forms of public spending followed from his close reading of Cicero. While the Roman orator allows that a case could be made "for lavish distribution, [...] if it is either necessary or beneficial," he specifies that, "the rule of the intermediate course is best." Cicero argued moreover that the "the fruit of liberality," ran deeper than extravagance on public events like the *adventus* rituals, writing that:

Aristotle speaks with [...] weight and truth when he reprimands us for not being amazed at such squandering of money, the purpose of which is to soothe the masses. [...] With regard to this enormous wastage and endless expense, however, we are not greatly

surprised—and that though it serves no necessity and enhances no one’s standing; indeed, though the very delight of the masses lasts but for a brief and paltry moment, and though that delight belongs only to the most frivolous, for whom the moment that their satiety dies, so does the very memory of their pleasure.³⁴⁶

The ephemerality of these types of benefits, Cicero suggests, made for poor fiscal policy. And yet, despite these warnings, Grapheus, like Gillis before him and Bochius after him, sought to harness the potential of the *blijde inkomst* as a useful form of public spending. Showcasing patronage of arts and literature as a source of social wealth within the city, the entry promoted a classicizing moral economic language that encouraged the people of Antwerp to relate their political liberties to their spending habits. By conscripting foreign merchants as contributors to the entry, the entry galvanized these communities as promoters of Antwerp’s cosmopolitan mystique, expanding the traditional local and regional limits of the entry’s rhetoric of place.³⁴⁷

While the city of Antwerp was richer, more populous, and perhaps even more diverse in 1549 than it had been in 1520, and than it would be in 1594, the urban community also felt more profoundly the growing socio-economic disparities that accompanied the city’s growth. Accompanying the city’s international luxury and transit markets was a covert market for religious beliefs.³⁴⁸ Antwerp, as its Catholic overlords understood, was considered a safe haven for confessional pluralism: religious toleration was good for business. Already in 1549, the people of Antwerp experienced the tightening religious controls of the Habsburgs, and some of the city’s artists, including the mannerist Cornelis Bos, had fled the city fearing religious persecution.³⁴⁹ Grapheus himself had been briefly condemned as a heretic for publishing a Lutheran-sympathetic text—verses he was forced to recant in order to reassume his position as City Secretary.³⁵⁰

The narrative of Antwerp’s rise and fall is, of course, well known and need not be rehearsed here. But even in 1549, city leaders were aware of rising tensions in the city. Magistrates were alert to rising anti-Habsburg sentiments and knew that the citizenry of Antwerp were suspicious of their new, Spanish-born prince. City officials also observed the growing equation of reformatory zeal and the anti-materialistic agitations for economic justice, and yet they also knew that condoning confessional pluralism and permitting proselytization could provoke a crack down that would drive away merchants and impede international commerce.³⁵¹ In its public address of members of the imperial court, visiting and resident foreigners, and citizens, the entry thus had to treat with delicacy a minefield of political, religious, and economic themes. With its idealistic, anodyne view of public benefits, the 1549 entry attempted to conceal both the reality of social inequality and the implausibility of maintaining confessional coexistence.

Despite its best efforts to forefront a picture of urban harmony, the entry exposed social tensions created by the foreign nations’ unequal privileges and the citizenry’s uneven economic circumstances; its efficacy as a means of endearing the Spanish prince to city was also a failure. Philip II hardly showed Antwerp the kind of preferential treatment it sought.³⁵² The city, in turn, denounced Philip as a tyrant; the mythopoeic language that had been used to associate the prince with Brabo was now used to associate him with Druon Antigoon. Within the Act of Segregation (1581), the States General would use against the Habsburg prince the conditions of governance outlined in the Inauguration Charter, the covenant he had sworn to uphold as part of the *blijde inkomst* ceremonies.³⁵³

IV. Conclusion

In 1594 Joannes Bochius remembered the 1549 entry quite differently than his contemporary Josse de Weert. Although his reading of classical moral economic treatises may have been more selective than his text would lead his readers to believe, his rose-colored interpretation of Antwerp's more prosperous era indicates that he was convinced by Grapheus's commemoration of the tremendous communal resources and efforts that went into making the ceremonies. In emulating Grapheus's example, Bochius's account registers his belief in the entry's efficacy as an engine of patronage, a public work that would successfully create employment for the city's craftsmen, printers, and artists, and generate income for its commodity provisioners. His appeal to the city's remaining trading nations, in particular, signals the desire of city officials to publicly commemorate the importance of these communities' spending habits as individuals and corporations.

The inclusion of the foreign merchants into the procession and in arches placed along the processional route was fundamental to the city's rhetoric of incorporation. By visually incorporating different segments of urban society and coordinating their contributions, the entry harmonized the diversity of the city and rendered it legible. Certainly, by 1549 this became a means by which the people of Antwerp conceptualized the political foundation of their city as a commercial metropolis—the *Mercatorum Emporium*—a republic whose liberties fostered an urban culture of international entrepreneurship.

During the *blijde inkomst* the city transformed itself into a spatial itinerary: the stagecraft marked the intervals of a political progress that reinscribed Antwerp's cosmopolitan image using an international, humanistic language of forms. But the entry also entailed a re-conceptualization and re-packaging of Antwerp's urban space: the network of streets and fluvial arteries that ordinarily diffused movements throughout the city and gave Antwerp discernable form was reduced to a single, symbolic processional route. Visually distinguished from the rest of the urban environment by swaths of cloth and temporary architecture, this symbolic conduit channeled the kinetic experience of the city, a transfiguration that progressively revealed Antwerp's singularity and cosmopolitan character to its regal visitors. Monumental arches, stages with tableaux vivants, and gigantic figurative floats were erected at designated intervals, compartmentalizing and associating certain districts with particular allegorical messages and urban demographics. Historical self-consciousness regarding the city's morphology also helped determine the route itself, which dramatized the penetration of the boundaries of the city (*extra / intra muros*) and traversed a portion of the old city walls.

Understood as a means of rationalizing the cultural mobility that impacted the city, the joyous entry's rhetoric of place instantiated not just local history but the cosmopolitan influences of its trading nations and the global empire to which it belonged.³⁵⁴ Just as the processional pathway integrated foreign demographics as attributes of the Antwerp metropolis, so too did the city symbolically assimilate itself within the Habsburgs' expanding, worldly empire. But Antwerp's identity as a place of cultural mixing inflected through other spatial registers as well: on a formal level, each tableau choreographed an interplay of classical and vernacular themes and imagery; the stages (and their engraved facsimiles) melded Italian architectural orders and local mannerist decorative modes.³⁵⁵ Inflected through the recurrent fluvial and maritime imagery, the procession also self-consciously ritualized the kinetics of traveling, suggesting that the city was a microcosm of mobility, movements of people, materials, and ideas that had perceptibly shaped the urban core from the inside out.

The joyous entry also provided the people of Antwerp with a forum to enunciate their civic ethos and to rehearse their more cherished cultural myths.³⁵⁶ As a self-image of the city—an event collectively produced and performed by thousands of city residents—the montage of tableaux and arches reflected back an ideal view of both the urban community and its prince. Insofar as the entry was a political institution, it attempted to speak a transnational visual and performative language that simultaneously addressed members of the royal entourage, the people of Antwerp, and foreigners residing in or visiting the city.

As a demonstration of coordinated corporate and civic patronage, the *blijde inkomst* engaged the visiting sovereign in a discussion about the social importance of benefits as a form of cultural policy. Functioning as a means of introducing the prince to the particularity and privileged status of the city, the program of the entry encouraged the visiting sovereign to reciprocate both materially, by serving as a patron to the city's literary and artistic talent, and politically, by pursuing policies that would safeguard Antwerp's fortunes. In rehearsing the city's political covenant with its overlord, the pageantry also enunciated Antwerp's self-image as an imperial cosmopolis and international emporium, performatively celebrating the connectivity, prosperity, and perspective engendered by the centripetal appeal of the city's markets. While the primary object of the entry was to endear the emperor to the urban community, putting him under obligations of gratitude to recognize the townspeople's generosity, the event's production did promote some level of social cohesion, exposing the urban community to classical concepts on the ethics of useful spending. Certainly, in providing employment for hundreds, even thousands of laborers, the entry encouraged collaboration, information sharing, and intellectual discourse.

Chapter Three. Interlude.

“No common merchandise”: Albrecht Dürer’s reciprocity

“A fractal person is never a unit standing in relation to an aggregate, or an aggregate standing in relation to a unit, but always an entity with relationship integrally implied.”—Roy Wagner³⁵⁷

Indicative of the city’s rhetoric of incorporation, the citizens of Antwerp have historically regarded the German artist Albrecht Dürer as one of their own.³⁵⁸ At some point toward the end of his stay in Antwerp in 1521, city officials attempted to entice Dürer into opening a workshop in the city by offering him citizenship and tax exemptions.³⁵⁹ Nearly thirty years later, in 1549, the Guild of St. Luke, which had feted Dürer so resplendently in the days after his arrival, commissioned a gilt-work chalice that bore the likenesses of Dürer and Raphael, exalting these artists as successors to Apelles and Zeuxis (Figure 3.1).³⁶⁰ In the 1560s, Cornelis van Dalem, a wealthy merchant and landscape painter, had a portrait bust of Dürer installed as part of the sculptural program for his house; inscribed with the titular *Germanorum Decus* [Glory of Germany], Dürer’s effigy was conceived as the counterpart of Jan van Eyck, proclaimed as the *Belgarum Splendor* [Brilliance of Belgium]. Flanking a female personification of *Pictura*, the busts praised these artists as paragons of the craft (Figure 3.2–3.3).³⁶¹ A complete set of Dürer’s prints was the centerpiece of Abraham Ortelius’s ‘museum’—a socially experimental collection designed to facilitate material connoisseurship amongst Antwerp antiquarians.³⁶² Even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Dürer’s residency in Antwerp was remembered as a moment of significant cultural exchange between Germany and the Low Countries; whereas the Antwerp painter Henri Leys romanticized Dürer’s presence at the *ommegang* procession of 1520 (Figure 3.4), the city of Nuremberg donated a commemorative plaque to hang on *Wolstraat*, where Jobst Planckfelt’s inn used to stand (Figure 3.5).

Culturally distinct from the Dürer Renaissance of 1570–1630, when Dürer’s work was venerated as materializations of his presence, Antwerp’s peculiar devotion to Dürer was inextricably bound to the city’s self-understanding as an inclusive cosmopolis.³⁶³ Dürer, like so many foreigners before and after him, perpetuated this view of the city on the Scheldt in his travel journal [*Tagebuch*], a text that through its emphasis on financial transactions serendipitously registered the city’s dominant commercial culture. Although Dürer was at the time of his journey developing an applied, craft-based theory of measurement and proportion, his diary is absorbed with calculations of different sort. Offering neither ekphrastic commentary nor technical critique of the Netherlandish artworks he encountered, the *Tagebuch* charts Dürer’s social mobility through itemized transactions, suggesting the extent to which relationships in the worldly metropolis were qualified through material exchange. With its prosaic bookkeeping of traveling expenses and interpersonal exchanges, the journal provides a picture of the artist as both a traveler in search of orientation and a businessman deeply concerned with the bottom line.³⁶⁴ At the same time, the artworks Dürer gifted, sold, and exchanged during his stay extended his social agency and celebrity. For if the “artist’s oeuvre is” as Alfred Gell has argued, “artistic consciousness (personhood in the cognitive, temporal sense) writ large and rendered public and accessible,” Dürer effectively distributed his genius by disseminating his work not in singles but in sets and series.³⁶⁵

A travel account rendered idiosyncratic by its financial preoccupations, the *Tagebuch* speaks to the material and socio-economic dimensions of Dürer’s mobility. From gambling bets

to social debts, the *Tagebuch*'s recursive reckonings register Dürer's process of assessing relative values as he navigated Antwerp's world market. Throughout his journey Dürer diligently recorded both earnings and expenditures. This social accounting was hardly petty, though it has sometimes been characterized as such. By fastidiously tracking both his formal and informal transactions, Dürer was not only in a better position to spontaneously appraise the real and perceived value of his artworks in relation to other types of circulating commodities but also to respond to the symmetrical and asymmetrical spending tendencies of the social circles within which he moved. This calculus of reciprocity, as I will call it, recognized implicitly the social agencies of things: it was Dürer's way of reconciling the ambiguities of the gift economy with the transactional exactness of the barter and marketplace economies.³⁶⁶

Though Dürer effectively used his corpus of prints as a medium of exchange, it wasn't just the commoditized artworks but also the intellectual proficiencies he accumulated as an artist and printmaker that facilitated his movements between Antwerp's different knowledge communities. Perhaps more vividly than any other contemporary source, Dürer's journal suggests what it was like for a newcomer, albeit a well-connected one, to navigate Antwerp's international networks, to find his way amongst the city's different, socially overlapping communities of artists, merchants, astronomers, musicians, and bureaucrats. At the same time, Dürer's pecuniary focus and acquisitive interests provide glimpses of the types of things that were circulating in Antwerp as forms of social currency—both on the open market and in more intimate settings (Tables 3.3–3.5). His litanies of the things exchanged and accumulated, though sometimes tedious to modern readers, instantiate both his concern with commensurability and his happenstance acquisitiveness. Thus, offering a reassessment of Dürer's conduct in Antwerp, this chapter considers the behavioral similarities that allied Dürer as a traveling businessman with Antwerp's artistic and foreign merchant communities. It examines, among other issues, how Dürer comported himself as a liberal man of means, an internationally reputable artist who exploited the situational variability of his sojourn to promote his work.

Portraiture, it should be noted, seems to have played a particularly important role in these contexts, where the performativity of artistic skill and the creation of circulative likenesses found value as commodities that enhanced sociability.³⁶⁷ With their ontological vacillation between object and subject, portraits were particular kinds of commodities, peculiar deposits of social interactivity. As objects detachable from both the artist and the sitter, that is, as demonstrations of both artistic virtuosity and patronly resourcefulness, the portrait-as-gift socially promoted the transactional bonds that extended between both parties.³⁶⁸ Indeed, the portraits Dürer made during his travels stand as material manifestations of socio-economic bonds that were negotiated according to tacit rules of exchange.

In what follows, I offer an integrated analysis of the socio-spatial and economic aspects of Dürer's travels in the Low Countries, touching upon how Dürer's portraiture enterprise makes manifest his topological understanding. Examining the generic intermediacy of the *Tagebuch* and its visual counterpart, the silverpoint sketchbook (*Büchlein*), I discuss Dürer's conceptualization of the material, social and physical aspects of his voyage. While my primary interest is to discuss how Dürer's participation in the gift economy extended his social agency, promulgating through artistic exchange a phenomenon that Gell calls "the distributed person," I also consider how Dürer's experiences reflected the cosmopolitan, material sociability of Antwerp's foreign merchant communities and how his exchanges with local artists reflected the international orientation and adaptability of art production in the city. In blurring the distinction between artworks, material culture, and other kinds of commodities, I draw upon anthropological theories

of art, which treat traded objects as functional extensions of human volition, as objects invested with the power to shape community relationships.³⁶⁹

The Carnival festivities of 1521 were good times for Albrecht Dürer. Having arrived in Antwerp roughly six months earlier, he was reaping the benefits of tireless networking. In the weeks before celebrations began, he received commissions to design the masquing costumes for both the Fuggers of Germany and the Bombellis of Genoa. The city's goldsmiths, many of whom had already purchased or traded in-kind for Dürer's drawings and engravings, held a banquet in honor of the artist and his wife at their guildhall on the Sunday before Shrove Tuesday. Later that same night, the burgomaster, Gerard van der Werve, invited Dürer to dinner at his house, where a party of costumed revelers spontaneously appeared, overtaking their intimate gathering.³⁷⁰ As the day of Mardi Gras approached, Tomé Lopez, the ambassador and former factor of the city's Portuguese trading post, personally invited Dürer to partake in the lavish entertainments at the *Feitoria de Flandres*.³⁷¹

Dürer's good fortune continued even after the festivities concluded. After a sixteen-game losing streak, he won a wager against the Hanseatic merchant Bernhard von Castell, collecting the tidy sum of two florins.³⁷² Dürer's luck, however, would prove fugitive. Of the twenty instances he mentions gambling [*verspielen*] in his journal [*Tagebuch*], this would be his only win (Table 3.1).

This 'Bernhard von Castell' was just one of many 'Bernhards' that Dürer met and portrayed during his travels in the Netherlands. Among them were Bernard van Orley, the celebrated tapestry designer and court artist, Bernhard Stecher, the manager of the Fugger's Antwerp offices, Bernhard von Kerpen, a courtier who was later appointed Hofmeister of Nassau, and an otherwise unidentified man who Dürer calls "little Bernhard of Brussels."³⁷³ It may therefore have been merely for specification's sake that Dürer mentions having made a charcoal portrait of Bernhard von Castell only a few sentences after noting his winnings, indicating that he is "the one from whom I won money."³⁷⁴

During his eleven-month stay in the Low Countries, Dürer made more than a hundred portraits of the people he met, the vast majority of which appear to have been unsolicited.³⁷⁵ While various entries in the *Tagebuch* indicate that Dürer's charcoal portraits held a market value of one florin, his bitter, itemized complaint that, "six people who I portrayed at Brussels gave me nothing" ("*Item: 6 persohn haben mir nichts geben, die ich zu Brüssel hab conterfet,*") indicates his tacit expectation that the recipients of his 'gifts' would financially or materially compensate him.³⁷⁶ Portraiture thus played an important role within Dürer's speculative enterprise: it was a strategy for cultivating patrons.³⁷⁷

Though certainly calculated, the generosity of Dürer's offering to his gambling opponent was nevertheless ambiguous. In recompensing Von Castell for half the money he wagered, Dürer's present may have been intended to cajole the merchant, that is, to assuage the embarrassment of losing so decisively to an otherwise inexperienced gambler. Indeed, if the oil portrait of Bernhard von Reesen represents, as scholars have argued, the same Danzig merchant, the affective liberality of Dürer's gift proved instrumental in eliciting a second, more lucrative commission (Figure 3.6).³⁷⁸ The charcoal portrait may, however, simultaneously be read as an antagonistic trophy, commemorating—as Dürer's own reference to the portrait would seem to imply—the merchant's defeat at the hand of the artist.

Understood within the broader context of the artist's journey, the anecdotal significance of this portrait's genesis begins to suggest some of the peculiar entanglements of Dürer's

Netherlandish production. Traveling in order to renew the imperial appointment granted to him by Maximilian I, Dürer had been among the multitudes of international visitors that assembled in the Low Countries for Charles V's coronation and the ensuing entry festivities. Present amongst the spectators that witnessed the emperor's *blijde inkomst* in Antwerp, Dürer was nevertheless a stranger to the emperor, and the attainment of his pension, as Dürer surely realized, would require both time and the intervention of several well-placed advocates.³⁷⁹

Though he could have stayed in any number of towns, Dürer established his home base in Antwerp, arriving in August 1520, when preparations for the entry were reaching a crescendo. Insofar as Dürer operated as a free agent during his travels, he had presumably been enticed by the city's cosmopolitan mystique and the rising celebrity of its art market. Indeed Dürer, alert to the merchandising opportunities afforded by the trip, sought to maximize the profitability of his risk-taking venture.

Thanks in part to his relationships with German merchants already established in Antwerp and with other traveling dignitaries, Dürer adapted quickly to life in the city on the Scheldt.³⁸⁰ As the events of Carnival suggest, he developed close relationships with both native Netherlanders and the international communities that gathered in the Low Countries for the both imperial coronation and the seasonal markets. Antwerp's foreign merchants were, in particular, his constant companions, and prominent members of the South German, Hanseatic, Portuguese, and Genoese merchant communities regularly welcomed him into their trading headquarters.

The timing of Dürer's journey was thus purposeful, and he stood to benefit from his travels in at least three ways. First, in seizing upon the opportuneness of the coronation to make his appeal to the emperor, he belonged to a subset of travelers that ventured on the happiness of the occasion to secure imperial favor. Second, as a cultural tourist, Dürer gained first-hand exposure to Netherlandish visual and material cultural traditions; he viewed Flemish Primitive altarpieces in situ, visited Margaret of Austria's vast collection, observed important religious and civic rituals, and toured architecturally innovative landmarks.³⁸¹ Third, as an artist wanting to expand his export business, Dürer sought to diversify his audiences to include affluent burgers, international merchants, and courtiers, and to develop alliances with the artists and agents who operated within Antwerp's transit market.

Dürer's behavior during Carnival suggests the extent to which Dürer's entrepreneurial tactics—and his approach to portraiture specifically—were implicated in the highly particular social circumstances of his travels. Indeed throughout his stay in the Low Countries, Dürer effectively leveraged his art as a medium of exchange. He brought with him an unspecified, copious volume of his print oeuvre to sell, trade, and gift, and he also made numerous designs, drawings, and portraits as he traveled. Using his art to position himself both socially and professionally, Dürer regularly gifted his creations to repay generousities, compel favors, and cement friendships; he bartered his work for services and goods in kind. While only a fraction of Dürer's dealings in Antwerp occurred within what could be considered marketplace settings, the artist participated in a spectrum of reciprocities that uniquely reflected the material orientation of the city's cosmopolitan sociability.³⁸² Dürer's *Tagebuch*, serving as an account of his rapid enmeshment in the commercial metropolis, provides a peculiar lens through which to view the artist's travels. Active in virtually every facet of the market economy's overlapping spheres of exchange, Dürer kept track of not only sales and purchases on the open market but also ecclesiastical donations, commissions, payments, tips, gifts, counter-gifts, quid-pro-quo exchanges, and loans.³⁸³

While Dürer's activity during the Mardi festivities show the artist's adaptation to and maneuvering within Antwerp's international social networks, the specific circumstances of the Von Castell portrait more specifically testify to Dürer's promotion of his creative skills in situations where the value regimes, ethics, and intellectual culture of the marketplace permeated sociability. Dürer's references to specific games, like *'speigel'* and *'konig'*, the latter of which was perhaps an early version of the game *'Königrufen,'* would seem to indicate that the games he played were multi-player, trick-taking card games.³⁸⁴ The game form may have mattered little to Dürer, since the gambling sessions were probably little more than pretexts leisurely to insinuate himself with potential clients, but for the international merchants with whom he fraternized the games were serious play.³⁸⁵ Gambling was a vital part of the city's mercantile subcultures: it socially extended the transactional culture of the marketplace, providing traveling businessmen with opportunities to expand and solidify their professional networks after business hours. The stakes created by wagering, moreover, gave merchants opportunities to demonstrate their honorability, credit worthiness, and perspicacity calculating probabilities and risks to trading partners outside of the halls of the exchange.³⁸⁶ That Dürer so intuitively recognized the performative and self-promotional spirit of these gambling sessions suggests not merely his tactical self-awareness of the socio-cultural mobility created by his journey but also his intellectual affinity with the town's entrepreneurs.

By exploiting the networking opportunities provided by these gambling sessions, Dürer was also following, perhaps unwittingly, the example of local artists. For decades before Dürer's visit, Antwerp printmakers had been exploiting the marketing opportunities created by merchants' gambling subculture. Indeed, an important segment of Antwerp's print industry specialized in the production of playing cards for export, and these printmakers' relationships with the city's international merchant communities were multifaceted.³⁸⁷ Insofar as suit-signs' iconography varied regionally—with coins, clubs, swords, bells, spades, hearts, and diamonds serving as the canonical pip symbols—printers tailored their products to conform to the conventions of the export audience. Antwerp playing cards exhibit such product differentiation: while the cards produced by Jehan Henault (Figure 3.7) bear French suit signs (hearts, spades, diamonds, clubs), other fragmentary sheets display the Spanish arcana (coins, swords, cups, and clubs) with the added customization of a Portuguese 'dragon' for the ace (Figure 3.8).³⁸⁸

Though the card makers were themselves a cosmopolitan bunch, many of whom had migrated to Antwerp from Lyon and other Continental printing capitals, their abilities to respond to international demand depended on close working relationships the city's merchants.³⁸⁹ Local printers not only relied on foreign merchants as buyers and distributors for their exports, their familiarity with specific regional iconographic variants was also, at least partly, attributable to the availability of exemplars brought to the city by foreign merchants.³⁹⁰ Furthermore, with names like the French "*Maîtresses*" and the Germanic "*Landsknechtspel*," the card games that were played in sixteenth-century Antwerp also appear to have been transmitted from other parts of Europe, suggesting that game forms—as well as the material cultural forms they entailed—moved along with both the cards and the players.³⁹¹ Within Antwerp, playing cards were not merely important export commodities; they contributed meaningfully to the social discourse of Antwerp's merchants and to the livelihood of many of its citizens. Playing cards became a means of dialoguing and connecting with foreign cultures, and Antwerp's own visual culture registered the internationalism of its consumers.

As Dürer's interaction with Von Castell suggests, gambling thus fostered transnational intellectual and visual cultural exchanges within and beyond Antwerp's inns and trading

colonies. For just as the production of playing cards responded to international trends in gaming culture, so too did the social conditions of gaming engender the participation of players from different origins, allowing merchants of different tongues to momentarily speak the same language.³⁹² As yet another example of the city's visually incorporative culture, Antwerp's print industry's production of playing cards registered and promulgated the international convergences that occurred within the city, and gambling served as an important forum for Dürer to observe the dynamic feedback loop that connected the city's artistic and printmaking communities to its foreign merchants. Beyond mere self promotion, then, Dürer's portrait of the Hanseatic merchant and its origin in the performative culture of gambling stands as a complex deposit of the material and social internationalism of the Antwerp context and of Dürer's experiences as a traveler.³⁹³ Being renowned for his own engravings and woodcuts, which he marketed internationally, Dürer appears to have been a quick study, emulating with alacrity the entrepreneurialism of Antwerp printmakers and the relationships they cultivated with the city's international merchants. Though gambling constituted an important trading zone, that is, a sphere of urban activity wherein the intellectual and visual cultural work of cultural transmission occurs, it was just one of the many ways that Dürer engaged in the city's commercial culture.³⁹⁴ What the circumstantial origins of the Von Castell portrait makes clear is that Dürer regularly turned chance encounters into business opportunities, and he manipulated the codes of liberal giving to gain professional and social advantage.

Dürer's tactical approach to exchange was evident even at the start of his journey. For his travels in Netherlands began in some sense with a quid-pro-quo exchange. Before setting out for the Low Countries, he traveled first to Bamberg to see Bishop Georg III Schenk von Limpurg about obtaining a toll exemption. Because Dürer would be traveling to Antwerp with a significant volume of prints and other artworks, he needed an exemption to release him from the duties charged to merchants carrying more "common" types of merchandise.³⁹⁵ Dürer had made the bishop's portrait a few years earlier and must have felt assured of the bishop's support, since he went out of his way to ask this favor of him. Not expecting to receive something for nothing, Dürer presented the prelate with several works: a painting of the Madonna, complete sets of the *Life of the Virgin* and the *Apocalypse* woodcuts, and a florin's worth of engravings.

The gift cost Dürer little.³⁹⁶ According to the wholesale prices Dürer charged for his works at that time, the combined value of the gifts was approximately 4 florins.³⁹⁷ Insofar as the commercial arteries linking Nuremberg to the Netherlands were heavily trafficked and highly regulated, with tariffs charged at every jurisdictional boundary and transshipment fees assessed at each point of lading, the overhead costs for Dürer may have amounted to as much as 50 florins.³⁹⁸ His gift to the bishop was thus a mere fraction of what the artist may have anticipated paying in tolls.

Since Dürer had experience marketing his artwork internationally, he would have had a fairly precise knowledge of the costs of the journey, including associated expenses for lodging and provisions. He also apparently knew that the tolls could be circumvented. Dürer's wife had often sold his prints at the Frankfurt fairs, and he employed colporteurs in exporting large volumes of work to retail outlets beyond Nuremberg.³⁹⁹ The fact that Dürer would, however, physically oversee the shipment of his artworks on his journey to the Netherlands seems to have opened up the possibility that his goods could 'pass' for personal belongings rather than saleable, and hence taxable, goods.⁴⁰⁰ It was this ambiguity, combined with the ecclesiastical exemption, which seems to have enabled Dürer to avoid paying the bulk of the tariffs. Dürer's generosity to

the bishop thus had ulterior motives: it was part of a calculated subterfuge aimed at minimizing his own travel expenses.

As his gift exchange with the Bishop of Bamberg indicates, from the beginning of his travels Dürer strategically leveraged his art and social contacts to gain economic advantage. Indeed, Dürer's resourcefulness and his sense of pride in his financial self-determination are evident from the opening line of his *Tagebuch*, where he states that he embarked on the voyage, "at my own charges and costs."⁴⁰¹ Judging from the *Tagebuch*'s vigilant bookkeeping, Dürer appears to have kept the journal primarily as a record of his expenses and transaction, perhaps under the advisement of his merchant contacts.⁴⁰² But the *Tagebuch* is idiosyncratic even as a business ledger, and it sets itself apart from contemporaneous merchants' journals in making its fiscal accounting a metric integral to the journey's spatial and social progress.⁴⁰³

Not unlike contemporary merchant travel accounts, Dürer conceptualizes the route according to the generic codes of an itinerary, that is, as a linear topology composed of different, discretely defined legs (Table 3.2b).⁴⁰⁴ Dürer's voyage to the Netherlands comprised three segments. From Bamberg, he, his wife, and their servant proceeded by boat along the Main River to Frankfurt. In Mainz, they changed boats and continued along the Rhine to Cologne, where their freight was unloaded. They then traveled overland, presumably by carriage, to Antwerp. Enumerating his itinerary, Dürer indicates each city they passed through and whenever possible he connects these places to persons who showed them some form of honor or hospitality (See Table 3.2).⁴⁰⁵ Dürer's account of the journey personalizes cities and towns through social exchange. Thus, despite Dürer's exposure to and interest in modern cartographic forms of spatial representation, he presented his voyage as a linear, socially delineated progress. The same general pattern holds for Dürer's account of his travels within the Low Countries, but there his descriptions of social exchanges become thicker.⁴⁰⁶

Consisting of a mere fifteen double-sided pages, the *Büchlein* upends the systematic socio-spatial organization established in the *Tagebuch*'s itinerary, conveying instead the artist's roving curiosity, his haphazard spatial mixings, and his arbitrary attentiveness to the people and things he encountered during the voyage. Dürer's sketchbook, serving as a personal visual record, observes first and foremost the economy of the page. About half of the compositions are composites, collocating onto a single sheet the people, places and things he encountered during his voyage. Twenty or so of these sketches present physiognomic, figure, and costume studies, and yet, despite the preponderance of human figures, Dürer renders with equal sensitivity the likenesses of various animals—dogs, horses, and lions—the visual qualities of Netherlandish material culture—tables, vessels and floor tiles—as well as landscapes, cityscapes and architectural monuments (Figures 3.9–3.11).

Compositional co-presence in the sketchbook, however, belies spatial and temporal co-presence. For the *Büchlein* present imaginary continuities: discrete encounters with people and places comeingle compositionally. Dürer sketches of, for example, Casper Sturm (Figure 3.12), whom Dürer met in Aachen, and Aert Braun (Figure 3.13), an acquaintance from Antwerp, juxtapose their respective likenesses with fluvial landscapes that were made when the artist traveled between Nuremberg and the Netherlands.⁴⁰⁷ Despite the asynchronicity in both drawings, Dürer harmonizes the half-length portraits with the landscape setting without entirely concealing their spatio-temporal disjuncture. Whereas the craggy horizon line extends behind Braun, fictively surrounding him, the Sturm's bust serves as the landscape's terminus. Perhaps merely bespeaking the artist's desire for compositional unity or comparative study, Dürer

figuratively associated the sitters with the landscapes, creating a visual homology to his ‘humanization’ of places through social exchanges.

The conflations and compilations in the *Büchlein* sketches nevertheless represent certain disruptions—unfixities within Dürer’s experience. Suspending and even confounding the reliable coordinates of orientation, the drawings entertain the liminality of constant traveling. The sketches preserve Dürer’s visual responses to the shifting social and spatial contexts of his journey. Incidental but not inconsequential, such visual disjunctures truncate continuities that were meaningful to the artist, inflecting thereby the random interconnectedness of Dürer’s Netherlandish network.

One of the more significant nodes within Dürer’s Antwerp network was the *Engelenborch*, Jobst Planckfelt’s inn on *Wolstraat*. Upon arriving in Antwerp, Dürer proceeded directly to the *Engelenborch*, establishing himself in an area of the city associated with English wool trade.⁴⁰⁸ Planckfelt himself was a soap-maker and merchant (Figure 3.14) and like other innkeepers he functioned as a cultural intermediary for visiting foreigners.

Dürer’s exchanges with his host are suggestive of the intricate tallying that was a consequence of Antwerp’s intersecting gift, barter, and market economies. Although Dürer had initially arranged to pay Planckfelt eleven florins monthly for room and board, it is clear from the *Tagebuch* that he sometimes paid his rent in kind and that gift giving muddied the terms of their agreement. Throughout the course of his stay, Dürer made portraits of Jobst and his wife; he gave Planckfelt four books (presumably the *Life of the Virgin*, the *Apocalypse*, and the Small and Large *Passion*) and an engraved *Jerome*. He also gave Planckfelt’s wife four other prints and his servant Friedrich two large books. Planckfelt reciprocated by giving Dürer a piece of white coral, coconuts from ‘India’, and a Turkish whip; he also purchased outright a small painting of the Madonna for two florins, and renegotiated the terms of Dürer’s lease to include more meals. In describing the settling of his bill, Dürer states in one instance that, “I have reckoned up with Jobst and I owe him 31 florins, which I paid him. Therein were charged and deducted two portrait heads which I painted in oils, for which he gave me five pounds of borax, Netherlandish weight.”⁴⁰⁹ Although Dürer’s formal agreement with Planckfelt undoubtedly provided the artist with a baseline for calculating what he owed his host, their bilateral exchanges and gestures of mutual hospitality blurred commensurability and relative value: for within Dürer’s calculus of reciprocity, two oil portraits held a value of five pounds of borax.⁴¹⁰ And yet, despite their outward displays of generosity, it is nevertheless clear that both parties—Dürer and Planckfelt—were actively assessing the perceived value of the other’s gifts.

As Dürer’s host, Planckfelt was also an important cultural intermediary, serving as a local resource, giving the artist a tour of the city, and arranging for him to see several of the city’s architectural landmarks.⁴¹¹ Planckfelt had, for instance, taken Dürer to see both the *Eeckhof*, the warehouse where city artists and craftsmen were preparing the monumental decorations for Charles V’s *blijde inkomst*, and the house of Burgomaster Arnold van Liere, the grand residence that would house the emperor and his court during their visit to Antwerp. Dürer drew both locations. Although Planckfelt brought Dürer’s attention to the significance of both sites, the sketches are devoid of particularizing social contexts. While his pen and ink study of the Antwerp harbor stressed the proximity of the *Eeckhof* to the harbor (Figure 3.15), the *Büchlein* extracts the house of Van Liere’s unusually faceted tower from its immediate architectural and urban context (Figure 3.16), miniaturizing and juxtaposing its monumental spire with a portrait of Lazarus Ravensburger, the factor of the Hochstätter’s firm in Lisbon whom Dürer would meet later in the year.

The *Büchlein*'s anachronic assimilation of Lazarus Ravensburger's likeness with the house of Van Liere points also to the expansion of Dürer social circles, which was composed at least partly of important German merchants, who had been either passing through or stationed in Antwerp. Merchants from Southern Germany were crucial players in Dürer's Netherlandish network: they not only helped him acclimate to Antwerp but introduced him to other communities of potential patrons.

Indeed, on the very evening of his arrival at the *Engelenborch*, Dürer dined with Bernhard Stecher, the influential and well-connected factor at the Fuggers' Antwerp offices, a place that served as another important node in Dürer's Netherlandish network. Dürer traded several 'gifts' with Stecher: in exchange for a whole set of his prints, portraits of Stecher, (two of) his wife, and her niece, and a little panel valued at six stuivers, Stecher treated Dürer to five costly meals, gave him 10 florins, a tortoise shell, and a Philip's florin. Stecher may have also been the one responsible for commissioning Dürer to design the Fuggers' Carnival costumes, which resulted in an Angel as compensation, but other Fugger agents, including Wolff Haller and Anton Haunolt, were also on friendly terms with the artist and the decision to employ Dürer could very well have been a corporate one.⁴¹²

Although Dürer rarely qualifies the contexts that enabled him to deepen his relationships beyond passing acquaintanceships, the dinners he had with Stecher represent another important trading zone. The *Tagebuch* contains more than 125 itemized references to dinner invitations, a figure which does not include his meals at the inn. In Antwerp as in other commercial metropolises, evening dinners, not unlike gambling sessions, were important networking opportunities for those in attendance. Then as now, prandial conviviality was an especially important cultural expression in Brabant as in Flanders, and Antwerp's foreign merchants often relied on evening gatherings to expand their professional networks.⁴¹³ Business hours may have been strictly regulated at the bourse by city ordinance and in the workshop by guild law, but dinners functionally extended the workday. Availing himself of these networking opportunities, Dürer seems to have appreciated these occasions, often noting the extravagant and sumptuous meals to which he was treated. Such mealtime liberality in Antwerp was more than mere conspicuous consumption. Whereas the 'costliness' of the food was a measure of the host's hospitality and epicurean discernment, the fine plate and table ornaments demonstrated both the host's refinement and, quite literally, his financial solvency. At the same time, the worldliness and knowledgeability of the guests also reflected the host's social capital, and there is no doubt that the merchants and dignitaries with whom he dined, deemed Dürer, an international reputed artist, to be an asset in these regards. By the same token, Dürer benefited from the opportunities to meet potential patrons.

The Fuggers weren't, of course, the only important German merchant family in Antwerp: Dürer also regularly dined with the principals and agents of the Hochstätter, Hirschvogel, and Imhof firms. However, perhaps because he was on firmer footing with his countrymen, Dürer appears to have been somewhat less affectively liberal in his dealings with Antwerp's South German merchants, at least in contrast to the other foreign demographics and Netherlanders with whom he interacted. In general, Dürer's countrymen compensated him at or above market-rate for the portraits and design work he made on their behalf, and as such these remunerative relationships, as we will see, throw Dürer's more speculative behavior, especially with courtiers in Mechelen and Brussels, into higher relief, at least insofar as many of Dürer's gifts to courtiers went unreciprocated (See Table 3.3).

That Dürer would make the most of his homeland connections is hardly surprising, but because his German merchant contacts had offices, correspondents, and informants throughout Europe and had even established outposts in the New World and Asia, they were uniquely positioned to facilitate Dürer's introduction to the international political and commercial elites moving through the region.⁴¹⁴ The Fuggers' Antwerp branch seems more generally to have served as a transnational hub for the courtly-cum-commercial communities that passed through the Low Countries. Certainly, as financial underwriters of both Habsburg debts and Portuguese voyages overseas, Antwerp's South German merchant community maintained close contacts with officials and courtiers in Brussels and Mechelen and with other foreign merchant groups in Antwerp. These diplomatic and commercial circles were somewhat interconnected: like the South Germans, the Genoese were important financiers of Portuguese overseas expeditions, and many of merchants who had posts in Lisbon also spent time in Antwerp.

Given the different coordinates of their respective itineraries, the fortuitous convergences of Dürer's countrymen in Antwerp for the coronation undoubtedly also contributed to the expansion his social network, especially within the first month of his arrival. While the Fuggers and other German traders must have been largely responsible for introducing Dürer to Antwerp's foreign merchants, his established relationships with Hans Ebner, Nicholas Haller, and Leonard Haller—the diplomatic envoy that transported the imperial jewels from Nuremberg to Aachen for the coronation and who were, during the early part of Dürer's journey, moving back and forth between Brussels and Antwerp—brought him into closer contact with an international courtly elite.⁴¹⁵ The professional differentiation of these personal networks was also to some degree geographically inflected. While his friendships with German dignitaries seem most often to have connected Dürer to either the imperial or English court, his German merchant contacts provided links to the Portuguese, Genoese, and Hanseatic merchant colonies.

Dürer's exchanges with the Portuguese were among the most intricately tracked in his journal, and it seems from the *Tagebuch* that Dürer initiated the relationship, as he had done with Von Castell, by making a charcoal portrait. His brief reference to the meeting, which occurred some time during his first stay in Antwerp (August 2–26, 1520), states simply, that he had dined with “the Portuguese factor's, whose portrait I have drawn in charcoal.” Though João Brandão was the factor of Portuguese house from 1514-1521, only two of the five portraits Dürer made of people associated with the *Feitoria de Flandres* can be positively identified: those of the diplomat Rodrigo Fernandes d'Alamada and the female servant of the trading colony, Katharina (Figure 3.18–3.19). But Dürer also gave them near complete editions of his printed oeuvre and paintings of *St. Jerome* and *St. Veronica*. In return, the Portuguese hosted dinners for Dürer on roughly twenty occasions; they gave him a sundry assortment of luxuries and exotic things that reflected the global extensions of their trading empire, including three porcelain dishes, several green and grey parrots, sugar loafs and sweetmeats, four ells of black satin, two ‘calicut’ cloths (probably chintz), an ornamental cap, a brown velvet bag, a green jug with myrobalans, French wine and oysters, six coconuts, six ells of black cloth for a cape, a ring worth five florins, fine pieces of coral, and ‘musk balls as they had been cut from the beast’—among other things (Table 3.3). Recalling origins as disparate as India, Africa, China, and Europe, such ‘Portuguese’ commodities were also at the same time contributing in no small measure to the ‘worlding’ of the Antwerp market. As such Dürer's litanies of generosity, recorded over the course of the better part of a year, show the extent to which Dürer's material exchanges reflected in small the greater commercial exchanges of the Antwerp market.

In contrast to his exchanges with the merchants at the *Feitoria de Flanders*, Dürer's transactions with Genoese merchants were altogether less miscellaneous. Dürer seems once again to have initiated these friendships by taking their portraits; for the *Tagebuch's* first reference to the Bombellis indicates, "I made charcoal portraits of these Genoese by name: Tomasin Florianus Romanus, native of Lucca, and his two brothers, named Vincentius and Gerhard, all three Bombelli. I have dined with Tomasin so often: IIIIIIIIIII." Dürer's running tally of his meals with Bombelli brothers indicates that they were also his frequent table companions: indeed, they dined with Dürer on approximately seventy separate occasions. Although the Bombellis also gave Dürer some exotic comestibles, their gifts most often consisted of textiles and swaths of cloth. Among the things they gifted to Dürer were: thirteen ells of good thick arras for a mantle and three and a half ells of satin to line it, four ells of gray damask for a doublet, four Brabant ells of the best satin, three big boxes of candied citron, a small alabaster bowl, medicine, plain white English cloth, printed Turkish cloth, and two little pots with capers and olives. In return Dürer gave them three florins worth of engravings and several other original designs, including drawings for Carnival masks, dagger grips and house murals. However, the majority of Dürer's gifts to the Bombellis were portraits of them and their extended family; he mentions making no fewer than eight portraits in a variety of different media—oil and silverpoint—as well as several more portraits in charcoal (Table 3.3.).

Some of the men Dürer befriended during his stay in Antwerp moved in circles that were truly international and transcended the professional distinctions between ambassadors and merchants. For example, several of the diplomats that Dürer met during his journey had begun their international careers as merchants. In addition to Tomé Lopez, the Portuguese ambassador who had attained his post at Brussels after many years of commercial service at the Antwerp *feitória*, Dürer received commissions from the likes of Lorenz Staiber, the Nuremberg merchant who had risen to the rank of imperial ambassador and who would be knighted by Henry VIII for his service to the Tudor court. These men, representing a particular commercial-diplomatic knowledge community that moved between Antwerp other remote court cities, had been recruited into royal service in part because their cultural mobility as merchants had equipped them practical experiences, personal contacts, linguistic skills, and movable wealth that could be put to the service of accomplishing political objectives.⁴¹⁶ Still other men maintained their merchant status even as they acted as diplomatic intermediaries. Such was the case with Hans Pfaffroth (Figure 3.20), a Danzig merchant who would negotiate on behalf of the Portuguese voyager Francesco Peção for the return of cargo stolen by his fellow Hanseats.⁴¹⁷ Their presence within Dürer's network suggests the complex professional interconnections that animated the circles within which Dürer moved.

Still other diplomats that Dürer would meet in Antwerp had shared connections to scholars and humanists from the artist's home city, and from these interactions it is often apparent that Dürer's exposure as a printmaker to different knowledge forms deepened his connections to these thinkers. When, for example, Dürer presented Agostino Scapinello, the Milanese ambassador to the English court, with his *Imagines* (Figures 3.17), the gift commemorated their mutual friendship with Konrad Heinfogel and Johann Stabius, the astronomical scholars with whom Dürer had collaborated in producing those studies of the northern and southern celestial hemispheres.⁴¹⁸ Shortly thereafter, Dürer mentions meeting Nicolas Kratzer, Henry VIII's Munich-born astronomer, who he describes as "very helpful and of great service to me in many matter." Dürer also made Kratzer portrait (Figure 3.21), and

though the astronomer was Dürer's countryman, it seems likely that their meeting occurred thanks to Scapinello.⁴¹⁹

Dürer's relationships with a locally situated, international network of circle of Erasmian humanists were also complexly interconnected. Although Desiderius Erasmus, whom Dürer would meet during his time in Brussels, had only been appointed as an imperial adviser four or so years earlier, he had been a thinker of great significance for urban rhetoricians and humanistic thinkers in the Low Countries.⁴²⁰ In Antwerp, he exchanged gifts with both Pieter Gillis and Cornelius Grapheus, both of whom were close with Erasmus. Other Erasmian thinkers, like Jakob Banisius, the diplomat, former papal legate, and imperial secretary who penned Dürer's supplication to the Charles V, may have known Dürer for some time, since they both had held offices under Maximilian.⁴²¹ More likely is that Banisius became familiar with Dürer's diverse output thanks to their mutual friends Willibald Pirckheimer, who had written some letters of introduction for Dürer for the voyage. Banisius, in addition to writing to the emperor on Dürer's behalf, may have helped introduce the artist to other potential patrons, for he hosted no fewer than four dinners in Dürer's honor. Dürer's substantial gifts to Banisius and his secretary—valued in excess of 14 florins—allowed Dürer to acknowledge and partially repay his social debt to Banisius. In addition to a charcoal portrait, he presented Banisius with a painting of *Veronica*, and prints containing range of religious and secular imagery, including a *St. Eustace*, *Melancholia*, a *St. Jerome*, *St. Anthony*, two 'new' *Marys*, two 'small' *Marys*, and a *Dancing Peasants*.⁴²²

In some instances the overlapping international trajectories of Dürer's social network poses problems for disentangling the origins of his contacts, especially since several of his acquaintances in Antwerp had established bases in multiple cities. Lazarus Ravensburger is a case in point. By the time Ravensburger arrive in Antwerp, sometime between December and April, Dürer was as intimately acquainted with the Portuguese trading colony as with South German merchant community, and he could have met Ravensburger through either channel. It is nevertheless clear that Ravensburger was a figure of considerable interest to Dürer, perhaps on account of either his connections to the Manueline court in Lisbon or his knowledge of the exotic commodities that moved with Portuguese spice trade.⁴²³ Indeed, Dürer seems to have initiated the exchanges with Ravensburger by presenting him with "three books," a gift which prompted Ravensburger to give Durer, a big fish scale, five snail shells, four silver medals, five copper ones, two little dried fishes and a white coral, four reed arrows and another white coral, a sugar loaf, and a nice dinner. Interestingly, the sundry quality of Ravensburger's counter-gifts bore a closer affinity to the things Dürer received from the Portuguese than his own countrymen, suggestive of qualitative differences in gifting culture related to commodity trades in which the merchants were active.

Unlike the ephemeral quality of Dürer's exchanges with the international merchants of Antwerp and the traveling dignitaries who were present in the region for the coronation ceremonies, Dürer's interactions with Netherlandish artists set the stage for more enduring visual cultural exchanges. Amongst Antwerp's artists, Dürer's reputation apparently preceded him.⁴²⁴ Only a day or two after Dürer's arrival, the Saint Luke's Guild organized a banquet in his honor at their hall on the *Grote Markt*. Expediting Dürer's induction into the city's creative communities, the reception typified Antwerpeners' culturally ingrained sense of hospitality and conviviality. While the goldsmiths' guild would, as we have already seen, throw a lavish reception for Dürer during Carnival, his journal entry concerning this earlier experience is more

detailed, registering both his gratitude at the manner in which he was greeted and his candid amazement. He writes:

[T]he painters invited me to their hall with my wife and maid, where everything was of silver, and they had other costly ornaments and very costly meats; and all their wives were there too; and as I was being led to the table, everyone on both sides stood up as if they were leading some great lord. There were among them men of high position, who all showed me the greatest respect and bowed low to me, and said they would do everything in their power to serve and please me. And as I sat there in honor, there came the messenger of the Town Council with two servants and presented to me four bottles of wine from the Magistrates of Antwerp, who told him to say that they wished thereby to show their respect for me and to assure me of their good-will; wherefore I returned them my humble thanks and offered my humble services. Thereupon came Master Peter, the town carpenter, and gave me two bottles of wine with offer of his willing service; so when we had spent a long time together merrily, till late into the night, they accompanied us home with lanterns in great honor. They begged me to be assured of their good-will, and promised that in whatever I did they would help me in every way; so I thanked them, and laid down to sleep.⁴²⁵

Recounting the various kindnesses shown to him at the painters' guildhall, Dürer mentions the sumptuous foods, exquisite silver vessels, and costly decorations. He stresses the great honor shown to him [*“verehren”*] in physical gestures of genuflection [*“tieffen naigen”*; *“do ich zu tisch geführe ward, do stund das volck auf beeden seyten, als führet man einen großen herren”*] and accompaniment [*“da belaiten sie uns mit wintlichern... heim”*], in verbal oaths of assistance [*“und sie sagten, sie wolten alles das thun, als viel möglich, was sie westen, das mir liebe”*; *“mit erbietung seinen willigen dienst”*], and in material gifts of wine. Interestingly both in its performative and material valences, what the painters enacted was an almost diplomatic demonstration of their goodwill toward a foreign artist, a generosity that would become the basis for prolonged exchanges.⁴²⁶ Indeed, in the months that followed, many of the city's artists would call upon Dürer either for design work or to trade in-kind for his prints (Table 3.3). And these material exchanges of artwork set the stage for at least a generation of stylistic emulations and iconographic appropriations of Dürer's work in Antwerp.⁴²⁷

The courtesies Antwerp artists showed Dürer—a foreigner—were exceptional for the period and exemplified the city's incorporative, cosmopolitan culture. Even within Dürer's own experience, the warm welcoming he received in Antwerp contrasted with the hostility he had encountered in Venice, where the painters' guilds forced him to pay dues and surrender part of the profits he had received for his commission from the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* German merchant community.⁴²⁸ While Dürer's shopping for Pirckheimer in Venice anticipated his own acquisitive behaviors in Antwerp, there was little about his interactions with Venetian artists that could have prepared him for the openness and generosity shown to him by Antwerp artists.⁴²⁹

Interested more in collaboration than competition, Antwerp artists and craftsmen had a long history of dialoguing with and responding to the visual innovations of German print culture.⁴³⁰ It is likely that they regarded Dürer's visit to the city as an opportunity to engage directly with an inventive artist who could help them adapt their own products to meet the visual trends of external markets. Perhaps because of this desire to expand their own stylistic and iconographic repertoires, Antwerp's artistic communities went out of their way to facilitate Dürer production during his stay: they lent him their assistants, provided him with art supplies, employed him as a draughtsman, and eagerly traded their works for his (Table 3.3). Antwerp

artists working in a variety of genres and media, including the landscape painter Joachim Patinir, the printmaker and glass painter Dirk Vellert, and a number of important glaziers and goldsmiths, including Alexander of Bruchsal, Hennen Doghens, Aert van Ort, and Stephen Capello, all sought out work by Dürer (Table 3.3).⁴³¹

Dürer also connected with artists when he traveled to Mechelen, Brussels, Ghent and Bruges, but even when he stayed in Antwerp he was able to meet a number of important artists not just from Flanders, Brabant, and the Northern Netherlands, but from other parts of Europe. Thanks in part to the international dynamism and relative openness of Antwerp's art market, many artists from throughout the Low Countries traveled with some regularity to the city in order to sell their work. Dürer would, for example, meet and exchange works with both Lucas van Leyden and Jan Provoost, both of whom were known to have marketed their work in Antwerp. He also appears to have met in Antwerp several important artists who had court appointments, including a "Master Mark," a goldsmith from Bruges who had been active at Margaret of Austria's court in Mechelen and a "Master Jean," perhaps Jean Mone, a French sculptor active at Charles V's court.⁴³² Also in Antwerp, Dürer came into contact with Tommaso Vincidor, a member of Raphael's studio, who had become a very important person in the Brussels tapestry industry. Acting first as the courier for Raphael's cartoons for the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries, Vincidor remained in the Low Countries from some time, producing cartoons for other papal commissions.⁴³³ Perhaps alerted to Dürer's presence in Antwerp by Bernhard van Orley, Vincidor, according to the *Tagebuch's* account, sought out Dürer. Although it was Vincidor who initiated the gift exchanges with Dürer, presenting him with some Italian prints and an antique gold ring worth 10 florins, he also agreed to broker a deal for Dürer with one of his colleagues in Rome, trading a complete set of Dürer's prints for some of Raphael's work.⁴³⁴

Dürer arrived in Antwerp at a time when the *blijde inkomst's* themes of circular giving and princely beneficence were informing urban discourse. However, his behavior in Antwerp serves as a practical counterpoint to the theoretical issues deployed in Gillis's entry.⁴³⁵ Although Dürer's pragmatic approach to interpersonal exchange may contrast with the entry's idealistic, literary rhetoric, he was clearly alert to the social expediency of liberal spending, particularly as an instrument of integration. But the joyous entry circumstances also would have given Dürer particular insights into the city's interest in patronage as a bond that strengthened the commonwealth, for Pieter Gillis's joyous entry program, with its recurrent gift-giving themes, involved city administrators, rhetoricians, and artists in its production. In addition to witnessing the ceremonies, Dürer had, in the weeks leading up to the main event, seen first hand the preparations for the entry, and the entry's themes must have resounded with, if not in some manner informed, his behavior in Antwerp.

Shortly after his reception at the painters' guildhall, perhaps prompted by the artists he met, he paid two stuivers for a personal preview of the entry tableaux stored at the *Eeckhof*, the warehouse where the city's painters and joiners were constructing the decorative stagecraft.⁴³⁶ Having previously collaborated with Willibald Pirckheimer on Maximilian I's *Triumphal Chariot*, Dürer had worked with similar imagery and would have had at least a basic understanding of the entry's moral philosophical themes.⁴³⁷ But Dürer's *Triumphal Chariot*, being neither performed nor fabricated, had only ever been a pageant on paper. And though Dürer would later pay one stuiver for Gillis's account of the program, perhaps as a personal memento to share with Pirckheimer upon his return, his comments in the *Tagebuch* suggest that he had been primarily interested in the public work's supra-iconographic qualities.⁴³⁸ He specifically mentions the fineness of the pageantry's craftsmanship—its scale and architectural

configuration, and using monetary value as a qualitative integer, he comments the work would cost the city's artisans 4,000 florins to produce.

As a traveling businessman interested in expanding his export business, Dürer must have also appreciated entry's emphasis on patronage relationships. The themes of the tableaux, underscoring not only the worldliness of the empire serviced by Antwerp's markets but also the importance of generosity for the perpetuation of the arts, may have inspired Dürer's own speculative, liberal behavior. For shortly after his tour of the *Eeckhof*, Dürer met the entry's mastermind, Pieter Gillis, to whom he gave two of his largest, most ambitious engravings: *St. Eustace* and *Nemesis* (Figures 3.22–3.23).⁴³⁹ Dürer's exposure to the entry's themes, it seems, informed his choice of gifts. The *Nemesis* in particular, with its mixture of Greek and Roman mythology and its oblique references to fortune (the sphere), temperance (the bridle), benefits (the gilt chalice), and the fate of the commonwealth (the townscape), appealed to specific ideas that Gillis had explored in the entry tableaux.

Although Gillis seems not to have reciprocated Dürer's generosity, other city bureaucrats were keen to exchange with the artist and showed special interest in his work. In exchange for a whole set of Dürer's prints, Adrian Herbouts, the Antwerp town orator, gave Dürer a painting of *Lot and his Daughters* by Joachim Patinir, knowing perhaps the Dürer had become good friends with the landscape painter. Gillis's collaborator on the entry, Cornelius Grapheus, who shared Dürer deep interest in Luther's writings, gave Dürer a copy of *Babylonian Captivity* [*Von der babylonischen Gefengknuss der Kirchen*] in exchange for a chalk portrait and three books. And Lorenz Sterk, the Tax Collector (*Rentmeister*) of Brabant, gave Dürer a child's head on linen, light wood reed, weapon from Calcutta, a Spanish fur, an ivory whistle, a fine piece of porcelain, and gave Dürer 20 florins in exchange for a *St. Jerome*, a *Melancholy*, a whole set of prints, and an oil portrait (which Dürer estimates as having been worth 25 florins).

While Dürer's speculative gift giving tactics often paid off with merchants, dignitaries, bureaucrats and artists in Antwerp, this was not usually the case with the courtiers he met. Although comparatively fewer of his gifts to figures connected with the courts in Brussels and Mechelen were reciprocated, Dürer was particularly disappointed in Margaret of Austria's failure to recognize his gifts to her. In exchange for works of arts valued at 30 florins—including an engraved *Passion*, a *St. Jerome* engraved on copper, a whole set of prints, and two drawings on parchment—Dürer received from the Habsburg Regent only a vague promise to speak to Charles V on his behalf. Margaret was known as a great collector of art and Dürer had surely hoped that she would become his patroness. Alas, much to his chagrin, Margaret was repelled by portrait that Dürer had made of her father, Maximilian I; the incident, which must have been quite embarrassing for Dürer, is described in his *Tagebuch*, where he writes:

I have been to Lady Margaret's, and I let her see my [portrait of Maximilian I]. I would have presented it to her, but she disliked it so much that I took it away again. That Friday Lady Margaret showed me all her beautiful things, and among them I saw about forty small pictures in oils, the like of which for cleanness and excellence I have never seen. And there I saw other good works by Jan [Van Eyck] and Jacopo [de' Barbari]. I asked [her] for Jacopo's little book, but she said she had promised it to her painter; then I saw many other costly things and a fine library.

Dürer's liberality, at least in this instance, misgauged both the situation and his standing. Not only was his gift—a symbolic extension of his previous relationship with the emperor and of his artistic genius—denied, the failure of his generosity deprived him of the power, though not his desire, to effectively compel counter-gifts. Though Dürer had to be publically gracious about

Margaret of Austria's disdain for his portrait of the former emperor, the sting of rejection, perhaps only compounded by his subsequent viewing of the Regent's fine collection of Netherlandish and Italian painting, colored Dürer's private account of financial loss. For later in the *Tagebuch*, he would express, "In all my activities, expenditures, sales, and other dealings in the Netherlands, in all my affairs with high and low, I have suffered loss, and Lady Margaret in particular gave me nothing for what I gave her and did for her."⁴⁴⁰

Dürer's utter disappointment that his many generousities failed to provide new revenue streams stands as the unfortunate upshot of the *Tagebuch*'s calculus of reciprocities. It divulges a sense of loss, which accompanied Dürer's risky ventures. Though Dürer wagered with his art and not his money, he nevertheless expected that his talents would be recognized through material forms of compensation, proclaiming in yet another instance that, "I have done many drawings and other things to serve people, and for the greater part of my work I have received nothing."⁴⁴¹ Dürer's apparent frustration with the chronic non-observance of the rules of underlying reciprocity suggests the extent to which he was relying on the proceeds from the sales of his prints and other work to help offset both his traveling expenses and his sundry purchases. Dürer, however, seems to have spent more than he earned. He splurged on clothing, shoes, curiosities, and artworks during his stay in Antwerp (Table 3.2). Shortly before returning to Nuremberg he borrowed one hundred florins from Alexander Imhof, a loan that presumably allowed the artist to settle his bills and cover the costs of the voyage home.⁴⁴²

Exposing the materialism that enhanced Dürer's social mobility within the international network that found its center in Brabant during the autumn of 1520, Dürer's calculus of reciprocity suggests that artwork held value as a medium of exchange. Indeed, artistic entrepreneurship entailed speculative behaviors that allied artists and merchants. A registration of his numeracy, Dürer's bookkeeping in the *Tagebuch* was in some sense an attempt to locate social harmonies, to document quantitatively the beneficences that squared the circle connecting liberal giving and patronage. Analogous in some measure to his interests in the proportionalities of the human form, Dürer's calculus of reciprocity was an attempt to locate variable harmonic coordinates within social relationships (Figure 3.24).

Conclusion:

Evoking the intersecting political, commercial, and cultural networks that converged in the Low Countries during Charles V's imperial coronation, Dürer's *Tagebuch* registers the topological contingencies of his journey, mapping the interconnectedness of particular people and places. His experience in Antwerp speaks meaningfully to the social and economic function of art as both a medium and means of exchange—a commodity that served simultaneously as a vehicle for intercultural dialogue and transmission. While the sketchbook's asynchronous compositions speak to Dürer's personal interests as a traveler, laying bare his mentally aggregative, inchoate processes of visual discovery, the autonomous, charcoal portraits that Dürer so often made as 'gifts' to prospective patrons serve as a visual trace of his social network. By providing a testimonial of the various social nodes, wherein Dürer effectively expanded his network, the *Tagebuch* affirms Antwerp's incorporative culture and cosmopolitan adaptability. Indeed, Dürer's full immersion in the transactional sociability of the Antwerp marketplace—at evening dinners, banquets, and gambling sessions—cemented his ties to different, interrelated urban communities: artists, city leaders, international merchants, and other traveling dignitaries.

Within each of these different contexts and communities, Dürer comported himself as a liberal man of means—an internationally respected and connected artist who leveraged his art as a medium of exchange. On the one hand, he was an entrepreneur in search of partnerships and

promoters. Although his primary goal was the attainment of an imperial pension, a quasi-courtly position that provided an honorific and annual income, he also strove to expand his customer base. As a purveyor of luxury goods, he gifted his artworks in order to both cultivate patrons and to elicit counter-gifts; he worked for commissions, sold his artworks en spec, and brokered deals with both individual buyers and agents who could distribute his works to other markets. On the other hand, Dürer behaved like a cultural tourist, an epicurean with a taste for the finer things, and a discerning collector with genuine interests in natural phenomena and the products of human ingenuity. Certainly, during his stay in Antwerp, he behaved like a consumer with substantial disposable income, purchasing artworks, maps, books, curiosities, and sundry provisions.

Registering the social, material, and cultural mixings that characterized Antwerp as a world market, Dürer's travels offer some perspective into the kinds of human and material resources that a well-connected foreigner or migrant artist utilized to acclimate to life in the city on the Scheldt. As such, Dürer's diary and the visual traces of his journey point to the spatial and social telescoping of marketplace, suggesting how the apparent randomness of the things circulating in Antwerp contributed to the city's cosmopolitan character, and how exchanging objects strengthened interpersonal alliances. At the same time, the petty accounting in Dürer's *Tagebuch* re-sensitizes us to the muddled experience of the market; it valuably restores an almost myopic preoccupation with the casual exchanges and arbitrary mixings that so often gave sociability its shape in the *Mercatorum Emporium*.

“There is no mountain so vast that it can hide from the gaze of man what is within it.”
—Paracelsus, *Archidoxis magica*⁴⁴³

“[O]bserve and study nature... inquire into the hidden and powerful working of the earth.”
—Willibald Pirckheimer, unpublished catechism⁴⁴⁴

Visible immediately beneath the black and gold Rem-family armorial within the rocky outcropping in the right foreground of Joachim Patinir’s *John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness*, a metallurgist’s hammer lays on the ground next to an anvil (Figure 4.1 a–b). Though small and easy to overlook, these details had probably been added, along with the heraldic device, at the buyer’s behest some time after the painting had been purchased.⁴⁴⁵ The landscape itself was evidently a stock composition. For a nearly identical panel, preserved in Brussels, indicates that the painting must have been a variation of a formula that Patinir and his studio produced en spec for sale on the open market (Figure 4.2).⁴⁴⁶ However, in being devoid of after-market customizations, the Brussels panel exemplifies the far more pervasive tendency, at least of the buyers purchasing Patinir’s work, *not* to inscribe the paintings with marks of ownership. Indeed, the only panels within Patinir’s extant oeuvre that contain heraldic devices are the four landscapes linked to Lucas Rem (1481-1541), an Augsburg merchant who was active in Antwerp between 1511 and 1528 (Figures 4.1; 4.3–4.5).⁴⁴⁷

Taken at face value, that is, as a sign of ownership, the heraldry appears to verify a series of acquisitions that Rem made in Antwerp circa 1517. Rem mentions the purchases in his journal [*Tagebuch*], implying that these collecting activities coincided with one of the more successful periods of his career—a time when he was traveling with great frequency between Lisbon, Antwerp, and Augsburg as an agent for the Welser-Vöhlhlin Company.⁴⁴⁸ In the section of his journal dedicated to a “Remembrance of my goods” [*Memoria meins guottz*], wherein Rem describes the dissolution of his contract with the Welser-Vöhlhlin Company and traces the sources of capital that enabled him to establish a trading firm with his brothers Hans and Andreas, he states that his personal profits during the six years between 1511–1517 had amounted to a sum between 900 and 1000 florins.⁴⁴⁹ Some of these earnings, he indicates, were spent on various luxuries. During “the first three years in Lisbon,” Rem indicates that he bought “many and strange, novel parrots, cats and other curious, funny things,” and then during “the last three years in Antwerp,” he purchased “paintings, panels, [and] cloth, most of which were traded and given away.”⁴⁵⁰

As the only autographic comment within Rem’s *Tagebuch* on his activities as an art buyer, this well-known passage often stands as the sum and substance of the merchant’s artistic patronage.⁴⁵¹ While the remark may sufficiently convey the merchant’s interest in Antwerp painting schools—signaling moreover the importance of humor, curiosity, strangeness, and novelty as cognitive pleasures elicited from the things purchased—it provides a superficial, if not slightly skewed impression of his artistic patronage.⁴⁵² Rem was, in fact, an active participant in Antwerp’s luxury markets. Other sections of his journal, including the chapter devoted to his wedding and the gifts given and received on that occasion, indicate that Rem spent substantial sums—hundreds of florins—on fine clothing and textiles in Antwerp; he also made significant expenditures on costly gems, jewelry, silver plate and gilt-ware vessels.⁴⁵³ However, unlike the

paintings, the textiles and plate, as fairly liquid forms of storing wealth, were probably melted down, repurposed, or worn away in the generations that followed.⁴⁵⁴

And whereas the *Tagebuch*'s references to buying activities would seem to imply a circumscribed buying period, Rem evidently continued to buy artworks in the following years. Amongst the acquisitions that postdate his 1517 purchases is the winged altarpiece that the merchant ordered from Quentin Massys (Figure 4.6).⁴⁵⁵ The commission must have occurred sometime after Rem's wedding to Anna Ochainen in 1518, since the exterior wings of the triptych represent the merchant and his wife in the guises of their name saints; Lucas and Anna stand together as 'living' niche sculptures on plinths that bear their respective burgher arms.⁴⁵⁶

In linking Rem's armorial to his physiognomy, Massys's altarpiece provides useful evidence. Its image of Rem appears to correspond to the profile likeness contained within a 1530 portrait medallion, which Rem is believed to have commissioned from Friedrich Hagenauer, a medalist who was just setting up shop in Augsburg at the time (Figure 4.7).⁴⁵⁷ Since there's no evidence to suggest that Anna Ochainen ever traveled to Antwerp, Rem had probably furnished Massys with a portrait study of his wife created by artists in Augsburg.⁴⁵⁸ Indeed, Leonard Beck's 1505 portrait, sometimes claimed on the basis of the armorial to represent Lucas Rem, though its likeness is not entirely consonant with those created by Massys and Hagenauer, would seem to suggest that Rem and his family had been commissioning portraits in their native city from an earlier date (Figure 4.8).

Compared to other works within Massys's oeuvre, the triptych also displays peculiarities that are suggestive of the merchant's involvement in the commission. Unusual for Massys was the Pygmalionesque effect of the demi-grisaille, a technique that traces back to the Ghent Altarpiece's *Annunciation* scene, but which had found application in an Antwerp studio context only a decade or so earlier in the exterior wings of the Master of Frankfurt's eponymous altarpiece for the Dominican Church in Frankfurt (Figure 4.9).⁴⁵⁹ Although the visual effects of the technique may have already been familiar to him from altarpieces in Germany, Rem would have had many opportunities to see the Master of Frankfurt's altarpiece, since he traveled so frequently to the Frankfurt fairs.⁴⁶⁰

Massys's portrait also effectively overlays the merchant's likeness with spiritually symbolic registers of resemblance. Gazing beyond the Virgin and Child statuette held by his wife, who is shown in the form of an *Anna Selbdritt*, Rem appears introspective, as if internalizing St. Luke's miraculous vision of the Virgin and Child. The book held within Rem's hands, the canonical attribute of the Evangelists, recalls both bible and account book, implying through its conflation the merchant's ethical business practices. And the Evangelist's apocalyptic aspect—the bull that lies at Rem's feet—doubles as the merchant's heraldic beast, visually reiterating the central motif in the armorial below. Even though a contract has not survived, it seems likely that it was Rem who specified the themes and their treatment of his altarpiece.

Although these paintings would therefore seem to represent substantial investments of time and money, they did not figure into Rem's assessment of his assets. His journal contains no itemized account of the number, subject matter, or value of the artworks he acquired.⁴⁶¹ Provenance research has therefore had to rely entirely on the presence of heraldic shields. Armorial are, however, complex patronal signatures. For even as the coats of arms preserve an enduring identification between Rem and his moveable property, variations within the heraldry pose certain interpretive problems.⁴⁶²

The most basic form of the Rem family coat of arms displays a yellow shield embellished with a striding black ox, an onomastic symbol that served as the Rems' canting arms (Figures

4.6d; 4.8).⁴⁶³ Modifications and elaborations to these heraldic forms are nevertheless evident in the Patinir paintings. On a few armorials, yellow and black mantling hangs suspended around the helmet; the bull reappears as the crest, surmounting a golden pillow and shown in three-quarters stance (Figures 4.1b; 4.4b; 4.5b). The form of the tilting helmet also varies. Whereas three of the four paintings show armorials with *Topfhelme* (great helms), a more modern *Stechhelm* with an articulated bascinet is incorporated into the coat of arm on *The Rest on the Flight to Egypt* (compare 4.4b and 4.5b).⁴⁶⁴ The latter panel is also the only Patinir composition to include the Ochainen burger arms, an addition which compelled the movement of the Rem armorial from the sinister into the dexter position; since there are no signs of his armorial in the underpainting, it would seem as though Rem had the armorials painting after his wedding, perhaps hinting that the panel was given to his wife.⁴⁶⁵ These divergences within the heraldic markers on *The Rest on the Flight to Egypt* would thus seem to suggest that the armorials were added at different times and perhaps even by different painters.

Other customizations are also apparent. Three of Patinir's landscapes have armorials with banderoles bearing the motto, "*Iszt Guot so gebs Got*," a German phrase meaning "What's good is given by God."⁴⁶⁶ However, on the fourth painting, *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness*, the banderole contains the Latin, "*Post tenebras spero lucem*," meaning "After darkness I hope for light," a verse taken from the Vulgate's Book of Job.⁴⁶⁷ On the same panels, enigmatic motifs adjacent to the coat of arms appear to coordinate with the mottos, implying individuated visual devises. Whereas the landscape with *St. John the Baptist* contains the coupling of an anvil and hammer, the armorials on the *Assumption of the Virgin* and the *Rest of the Flight to Egypt* have a partly up-turned deck of cards, where a three-of-hearts playing card is placed orthogonally above a royal sign, most likely a queen, of the same suit.

The typology of the playing cards seems quite neatly to coincide with Rem's devotional appeals to the Trinity (three of hearts) and the Virgin Mary (queen of hearts), an invocation that recurs in Rem's journal and informed the iconography of both Massys's altarpiece and Patinir's *Assumption*, but the significance of the device may run even deeper. Rem suggested in his *Tagebuch* that his artistic patronage had been made possible by some risky business ventures. Immediately after mentioning his 1511–17 acquisitions, Rem points to one rather unusual revenue stream that enabled his personal spending on luxuries. He indicates that on three separate occasions he "gambled" [*gelt gewonnen; verspilt*] on insurance securities [*Seguriern*] in the Netherlands, explaining that even though nothing had been lost he reaped returns of several hundred guilders.⁴⁶⁸ While the exploitation of a loophole in insurance speculation is in itself remarkable, the use of playing cards as a recursive personal device may have self-reflexively registered not only Rem's occupational interests in a cosmic emblematics of chance but also his alertness to the fiduciary origins of his patronage.

The repetition of the playing cards motif on two of the panels also helps to expose as outliers the heraldic markers on Patinir's *St. John the Baptist* panel. Whereas Massys's portrait provides a visual link between the merchant's likeness and the motto "*Iszt Guot so gebs Got*," and the armorials on the *Assumption of the Virgin* and the *Rest of the Flight to Egypt* connect this motto to the playing cards device, the altogether different heraldic emblems displayed in the *Baptist* panel may indicate that Rem either experimented with different personal devices or gifted the painting to a close relative, perhaps one of his four brothers. If the painting did not remain in his collection, the *Baptist* panel would have therefore belonged to that subset of paintings that Rem mentions having subsequently "traded and given away." For even if the application of armorials is something of an anomaly within Patinir's extant oeuvre, it was a

common practice in Germany and the Netherlands. Indeed, within Rem's social circle many of his relatives and colleagues had their coats of arms painted on their portraits and religious commissions.⁴⁶⁹

The armorials within Rem's painting collection, as emblems that make individual identity subordinate to family belonging, should nevertheless remind us that the merchant's access to the Antwerp art market, especially after 1518, increased through his family business.⁴⁷⁰ The Welser-Vöhlin firm had depended on Rem's regular trips to Antwerp for the distribution of their products to markets in Northern and Eastern Europe.⁴⁷¹ Although Rem became increasingly critical of Welser-Vöhlin's fiscal mismanagement and complained about being overworked, deprived of vacation time, and deceived out of his rightful compensation, he retained the family-oriented business model when he established an independent firm with his brothers in 1518. Perhaps because he felt his brothers were inexperienced and that they hadn't received the rigorous training he himself had had, Rem remained an active principal and continued to travel to Antwerp frequently after setting up the new firm.⁴⁷² But whereas before 1518 he operated as a somewhat solitary agent, after setting up the Rem Company, his presence in Antwerp multiplied through his factors, as he increasingly relied on his relatives Utz Hanolt and Jörg Meiting, whom he employed as business associates. While Hanolt and Meiting appear to have been patrons in their own rights, the fact that both became part of Dürer's social network during his stay in Antwerp, when Rem himself was not in the city, indicates that the agents of the Rem firm maintained connections to the local arts scene.⁴⁷³ Thus, Rem's approach to the visual cultural traditions of the Netherlands, and more specifically to the market orientation of Antwerp art products, extended quite organically from the commercial pursuits of a diverse community of merchants, all of whom helped normalize the process of moving between cultures. What is significant about the diffusion of Rem's agency after he set up his own firm is not only that his relatives multiplied his presence in the city but also that his nodes for accessing what was happening in the city, commercially and culturally, increased with the employment of each new business associate.

This chapter will not attempt definitely to solve the enigma of the armorials. It will, however, take as a certain form of evidence the personal devices that appeared alongside these unstable identity markers. Taken together with their accompanying mottos, the hammer-and-anvil and playing-card motifs represent the patron's efforts to personalize the paintings. Distinct from signifying modes merchants more commonly used as identity markers, these signs—departing from both the arbitrary linguistic pictography of the canting arms and the runic cryptography of the merchant's mark—may signal Rem's process of relating to and quite literally reading himself into the paintings.⁴⁷⁴ In other words, the subsidiary motifs seem to encode, if only obliquely, aspects of Rem's intellectual culture. Whereas the playing cards register the merchant's understanding of the interpenetration of piety and chance in his risk-taking ventures, the hammer-and-anvil motif, particularly as read against the devotional content of that painting, evoke conceptions of the landscape as an immanent, transformable substance, a generative substrate that perpetually manifests the mysteries of divine incarnation.

Coupled with the Book of Job's evocation of moving through darkness to light (*Post tenebras spero lucem*/After darkness I hope for light), the latter idea finds certain parallels in the technological and religious culture of the Ore Mountains (*Erzgebirge*).⁴⁷⁵ For just as the presence of metal deposits and success in mining were conceived as divine benefits, so did their labor constitute a form of veneration.⁴⁷⁶ As a merchant who traded in alloys, metals, minerals, and

mordants, Rem would have traveled frequently through the industrial hinterlands of the Holy Roman Empire and his business would have brought him into contact with miners, metallurgists, and their syndicates.⁴⁷⁷ Indeed, Rem's early vocational education anticipated these interactions.

The son of Magdalene Welser, Lucas Rem was the nephew of one of the principals of the Welser-Vöhlin Company, the firm that had brought him into the family business and arranged for his education and training. Under the tutelage of the Welser-Vöhlin Company, Rem began his career in Venice, where he learned accounting and bookkeeping methods; Rem was, however, unhappy in Italy, and he asked his mentors to send him elsewhere.⁴⁷⁸ After completing his training in languages and currencies, he assumed successive posts in Lyon, Lisbon, and Antwerp, and for most of his career he remained very mobile.

Trained at the height of the Central European mining boom, when the trade in German metals was infusing the European economy with currency, Rem would have had some exposure to current theories about the subterranean genesis of metallic ores and the sensory-based techniques of prospecting.⁴⁷⁹ These forms of knowledge, as this chapter will eventually make clear, would have been available to Rem textually as well: around 1505, Ulrich Rülein von Calw's practical handbook, *Ein Nutzlich Bergbüchlein (A Useful Little Book on Mining)*, was circulating among the merchants of Nuremberg and Augsburg (Figure 4.10).⁴⁸⁰ Furthermore, as part of his vocational training, Rem had studied with a mint master in Lyon, where he learned the principles of assaying metals; for a merchant who dealt in bullion, a working knowledge of debasement and other fraudulent manipulations of coinage was necessary.⁴⁸¹ Many years later, when he came into possession of an operational mine, Rem's commentary on its value hints at his conversancy with discourses on prospecting.⁴⁸²

Evident even from our incomplete knowledge of his collection, Rem's sensibilities as a patron intersected importantly with his professional competencies.⁴⁸³ Unlike many of his contemporaries, Rem managed an extraordinarily diversified portfolio from early in his career: he dealt not only in sugar, spices, pigments and dyestuff but also in metals and textiles. Several of the commodities in which he dealt served as the raw materials for the very luxury crafts he collected, a fact that has heretofore been an unappreciated aspect of his 'connoisseurship.' Thus whereas Rem's journal testifies primarily to the merchant's concern with effective business administration on the one hand and with documenting his itinerary and property on the other, the allusions to his trove of fine textiles and silver plate, understood as registrations of his aesthetic interests as well as his expertise dealing in specific commodities, expands the intellectual and material cultural contexts within which the Antwerp paintings held currency.

Rem's intellectual, logistical, and social experiences as a merchant in Antwerp were heterogeneous. Between 1508 and 1532, Rem traveled on at least fifteen separate occasions to Antwerp, staying for various lengths of time from weeks to years. Although his journal provides an abridged overview of his travels during these years, unlike the socio-spatial topology outlined in Dürer's *Tagebuch*, Rem's account of his travel indicates only the principle destinations and stopping points that delineated his route. And not unlike Stephen Vaughan's complaint ("I am never at rest. I am [...] now here, now there, so that not without exceeding trouble can I satisfy all those to whom I minister"), with which this dissertation began, Rem groused about his grueling itinerary and about being compelled to work both "day and night."⁴⁸⁴

And unlike the transcontinental commercial thoroughfare and well-established interregional routes described by Dürer, Rem's itineraries were much more varied, geographically as well as topographically. His travels also differed qualitatively: although Rem usually traveled by horseback, on a few occasions he journeyed on the open seas, sailing to

important seaports to conduct business on behalf of the company.⁴⁸⁵ For Rem and his kinfolk played an important role in proto-merchant imperialist ventures, pursued under the auspices of the Portuguese crown, which expanded sugar cultivation in Madeira, the Azores, and the Canary Island, and intensified trade along the Barbary Coast.⁴⁸⁶ Historiographically, this Atlantic-based trade redrew the coordinates of global traffic, establishing Antwerp as one of its capitals. Rem's commercial itineraries thus brought him into contact very different kinds of port cities and productive landscapes—from international harbors and mining operations to domestic farmlands and exotic sugar plantations.

While Rem's experience working seasonal fairs and commodities markets in Italy, Portugal, France, Germany and the Netherlands certainly entailed traversing diverse landscapes, it also induced a capacity to discern international trends within different materials' regimes of value and to understand how those regimes of value intersected with artistic production.⁴⁸⁷ Rem's cultural mobility therefore meant that he not only had firsthand knowledge of the commercial traffic in raw materials that sustained Antwerp's dynamic artistic industries but that he also was in a position to appreciate the different visual traditions that Antwerp's more cosmopolitan and inventive artists synthesized.⁴⁸⁸ And perhaps most significantly, Rem appears to have had his finger on the pulse of art market innovations. For just as he commissioned a portrait medal from Hagenauer just when the medalist was establishing himself in Augsburg, so too did he acquire Patinir's paintings only a year or two after the artist began selling his paintings on the city's markets.⁴⁸⁹

Speculative as these inferences must be, given the many uncertainties that surround Rem's artistic patronage, in what follows I situate Rem's mobility within a broader consideration of the intellectual cultural significances of his Antwerp painting collection. The chapter attends to the complexities of Rem commissions; it visually evaluates the idiosyncrasy of Massys's altarpiece and interpretive polyvalence of Patinir's 'world landscapes' as significances that spoke cross-culturally. I examine the polyvalence of Patinir's terrestrial constructs and consider how Rem's expertise as merchant and different experiences as a traveler informed his interests in these landscapes.⁴⁹⁰ For Rem did not travel only for business. Integrated into his commercial journeys were a number of pilgrimages to holy places. Indeed, Rem's career as an international merchant made possible his visits to relic collections and religious sites throughout Europe. One other aspect of Rem's mobility is considered. As Rem chronicles his declining health, recounting in his journal bouts of protracted illness, chronic pain, and encounters with plague epidemics, he began traveling regularly to the thermal spas of Wildbad. The chapter thus delineates three overlapping conditions of mobility, ascribing visual and intellectual value to Rem's commercial, devotional, and therapeutic experiences of landscapes. Although the chapter retains a relatively orthodox understanding of Patinir's compositions as spiritually progressive landscapes, it promotes an expanded interpretation of the 'worlding' significances that Patinir's landscapes may have held for contemporary audiences.⁴⁹¹

Plagues, Pilgrimages, and Commercial Journeys

Lucas Rem most likely commissioned the Massys altarpiece as an ex-voto offering (Figure 4.6).⁴⁹² In 1505, Rem had been in Lisbon when plague struck the city. Pursuant to a trade agreement that Rem brokered with Manuel I the previous year, Rem had been supplying a fleet bound for the Indies at the time.⁴⁹³ As the outbreak spread, Rem tried to flee for the coast, but he was detained in the city for several months.⁴⁹⁴ In his *Tagebuch*, Rem laments that the epidemic had claimed the lives of several people in his household. The entry registers simultaneously

Rem's sorrow and pious gratitude, proclaiming that God, through the intercession of the Virgin, Saint Sebastian and Saint Roch, had save him.⁴⁹⁵ While almost every section of Rem's journal open with a pro forma prayer to Jesus and Mary (†*Jhus Maria*†), and on at least one other occasion he invokes the Trinity, the Virgin Mary and the armies of heaven (*Im namen der hayligen trivalentkaytt, Maria der edlen Junckfraw und gepererin und ales himlisch her*), Rem specifies his veneration of Saints Sebastian and Roch on this occasion only.⁴⁹⁶ Both saints were, of course, closely associated with the plague, sometimes ranking among the *Vierzehnheiligen*—the fourteen saints believed to be the most efficacious intercessors in matters of diseases and chronic illnesses.

The interior of the Massys altarpiece represents the same holy persons summoned in Rem's 1505 supplication. Flanking the central image of the Trinity and the Madonna and Child, Sebastian and Roch appear in the shallow foreground of a verdant, rolling landscape, which that recedes into a blue, mountainous horizon. The nearly continuous terrestrial setting that extends between the two wings, though disrupted by the visionary space of the central panel, presents the landscape as a theater for salvation history—a setting that through its very nature recalls the Story of Genesis's separation of the firmament from the waters, and the waters from the land. On the left wing, the early Christian martyr, Saint Sebastian is stripped down to his loincloth and tethered to a tree; spectators crowd the middle ground as the grimacing archer, dressed in shot silk and flamboyantly slashed garments, takes aim from an angle that, judging from the direction of the arrows that have already pierced through Sebastian's torso, defies forensic logic.⁴⁹⁷ On the right wing, the fourteenth-century confessor, Saint Roch is shown as a pilgrim, a characterization that was historically accurate to the life of the saint. He wears a pelerine, a cloak commonly worn by pilgrims at the turn of sixteenth century. The badges that decorate his hat show the sudarium and the keys of Saint Peter, mementos associated with the pilgrimage to Rome.⁴⁹⁸ An angel blesses Saint Roch, pulling back the cloak to reveal a blackened bubo, that outward manifestation of the plague. Juxtaposing an early Christian martyr with a ascetic saint, the side wings signal chronotopic distinctions between the origins of time and the present day, rhetorically asserting the efficacy of the saints, and their continual presence as mystical intercessors between heaven and earth.

On the center panel, two *Andachtsbilder*—the Throne of Mercy (*Gnadenstuhl*) and the Virgin and Child—appear as distinct, co-present emanations within a heavenly vault. Each radiates an otherworldly light. Their yellow and orange mandorlas are punctuated by pseudo-gothic tracery, the design of which probably coordinated with the architectural motifs of the no-longer extant frame.⁴⁹⁹ God the Father stands as an imposing figure, holding a scaled-down crucifix that bears his son's lifeless body. Positioned frontally, he directly engages the viewer; the Holy Spirit, represented as a dove, flies over his left shoulder. The cross surmounts a terrestrial globe, evoking the concept of Christ as *Salvator Mundi*. The Madonna's celestial attributes—the solar aura, starry crown, and moon underfoot—call forth an image of the Book of Revelations' Apocalyptic Woman.⁵⁰⁰ She casts her eyes demurely to the right; the diagonal axis of her gaze, intersecting first with the Christ Child and then with the crucifix, implies her sorrowful foreknowledge of her son's sacrifice.

Despite its deployment of fairly standard iconographies, the Rem altarpiece is both idiosyncratic and innovative. Its peculiar mixture of Netherlandish and German conventions suggests interventions and specifications demanded by the patron. For nowhere else in Netherlandish art does this exact formulation occur. The closest model is Rogier van der Weyden's *Diptych for Jeanne de France*, an extremely unusual work in its own right, which

neither Rem nor Massys was likely to have known (Figure 4.15). Displaying many of the same iconographical elements as the Rem altarpiece, Rogier's diptych represents the Crucifixion, the Virgin as Apocalyptic Woman, Christ as *Salvator Mundi*, and a Trinitarian conceptualization of God the Father. The configuration of these motifs is, however, entirely different. The left panel depicts Jeanne de France at her prie-dieu in a landscape. John the Baptist acts as an intercessory figure, mediating between Jeanne and the Madonna and Child, who in turn act as intercessors for God the Father. Banderoles successively link John of the Baptist to the Virgin and to God the Father, delineating the progress of her prayers. The central panel of the Rem altarpiece, however, removes the holy figures from an intercessory hierarchy, rendering them as simultaneous manifestations. Like Rogier, Massys segregated the otherworldly apparitions of divine father and mother, but in the Rem altarpiece the devotional act has moved outside the world represented in the painting. Whereas Rogier visualizes his patroness's prayers, using the scene's verisimilitude to assert her intense piety, Massys presents the holy figures *as* visionary experience, so that God the Father and the Virgin assume iconic centrality as the King and Queen of Heaven.

Massys's iconographical configuration, particularly in its rendering of the Trinity, also departs significantly from his Flemish predecessor. While Rogier presented the Crucifixion as a devotional image distinct from Trinitarian significance, Massys shows God the Father holding the cross, a devotional conceptualization of the Throne of Mercy (*Gnadenstuhl*) that was far more common in German art. Within the Netherlandish canon, Robert Campin's *Holy Trinity*, featuring the limp, deposed body of Christ resting on the lap of God the Father, standardized an emotive variant of the 'Throne of Mercy' as a kind of paternalistic pietà (Figure 4.16).⁵⁰¹ Germanic sensibility seemed to prefer the hieratic, triumphal configuration of the *Gnadenstuhl*, and Rem probably stipulated this variant, perhaps following a trend revived by Albrecht Dürer's *Trinity Altarpiece* (Figure 4.17), installed in 1511 in Nuremberg's *Zwölfbrüderhaus* (The House of the Twelve Brothers). Matthäus Landauer, the patron of Dürer's altarpiece, was a merchant active in the trade in precious metals, and it's likely that he and Rem were acquaintances and that Rem knew about Dürer's altarpiece.

The imagery of Massy's altarpiece also recalls Rem's experiences as a traveler, not merely in the side wings' inclusion of a visually traversable landscape, but in the relationship of its iconographic details to his commercial and spiritual journeys. In the months before the plague epidemic struck Lisbon, Rem had been traveling through Spain, arriving in the port city of Valencia for the celebration of St. Sebastian's feast day. The religious procession he witnessed there, described in his journal as "exceedingly beautiful and exquisite," had perhaps made his petitions to the saint that much more vivid.⁵⁰² The representation of Saint Roch as a pilgrim also inflected Rem's own spiritual experiences. In 1508, ten years or so before commissioning the altarpiece, Rem traveled with several colleagues along the Camino de Santiago and venerated the remains of Saint James at Santiago de Compostella, the first of many major pilgrimages.⁵⁰³

Coming and going from Augsburg, Rem had regularly visited a small pilgrimage chapel, Saint Leonhard.⁵⁰⁴ His journal also refers to a number of other, seemingly incidental visits to relics and wonder-working images that had been possible thanks to his commercial pursuits. During a sea voyage from Coruña to Middelburg, he visited an English cloister that claimed to have the finger of St. John the Baptist; while traveling between Lisbon and Madrid, he visited the Monastery of Santa Maria of Guadalupe, commenting not only on the wealth and remoteness of the monastery but also on the frequency of miracles.⁵⁰⁵

Accompanied by his brother Gilg, Rem also undertook an extended tour of pilgrimage sites in Italy circa 1509, beginning in Venice and proceeding from there to Rome.⁵⁰⁶ Rem stayed

nearly two weeks in Rome, and mentions specifically that he visited St. Peter's [*des Papst weissen palast*] and received entry to all the relic collections old and new [*al kirchen haltong alte und niu gepey sechen machet.*]⁵⁰⁷ Although his journal entry does not delineate his specific itinerary, his experience of the city, like that of any pilgrim, would have been selective and progressive, attuned less to the here-and-now than to the hereafter.⁵⁰⁸ Standing in for a pilgrim's mental image of Rome, the Limbourg Brothers' *Stations of Rome* represents the eternal city's sacred topography, suggesting the extent to which Christian travelers like Rem would have focused their devotional energy on particular holy sites (Figure 4.18). Thus by wearing emblems associated with two different pilgrimage sites in Rome, St. Roch served as an exemplar, who modeled memories of particular relics.

Rem's engagements with the wider world are also evoked through the inclusion of a terrestrial globe at the foot of the cross. Even as it serves as a symbol of Christ's imperium, the globe, turned to the South Asian and East African seaboard, recalls Rem's own involvement in Portuguese voyages as well as the South German knowledge community that had developed from investments in overseas ventures more generally. During his years in Lisbon, Rem had been very active at the Manueline court, where he served as a kind of commercial diplomat. He had obtained privileges for a select group of German merchants, which allowed them not only to underwrite and share the profits in several overseas expeditions but also to distribute a portion of the cargo from Lisbon's *Casa da Índia* to other important markets in Antwerp and Southern Germany.⁵⁰⁹

His work for the Welser-Vöhlhlin Company had, moreover, sometimes entailed overseas travel. Rem journeyed aboard a Castilian vessel in order to attend to company business in Madeira, Palma, the Azores, and the Canary Islands, where he stayed about a month. But even as a pilgrim he had been a passenger in galleons staffed by international crews, sailing under French and Genoese flags.⁵¹⁰ Rem's knowledge of discovery-era ventures was thus partly attributable to his access to an international network of merchants and mariners.⁵¹¹ He had almost certainly been among the merchants who underwrote Francesco d'Almeida's 1505 expedition to Goa—a voyage that was later described by one of Rem's colleagues, Balthasar Sprenger, in *Die Merfahrt* (1509), a travel account illustrated in Augsburg by Hans Burgkmair.⁵¹² But where Sprenger would comment on the Canaries with objective curiosity, describing two islands—one cultivated and civilized and one wild—rendering drawings of their inhabitants, and cataloguing their commodifiable flora and fauna, Rem would simply denounce the territory as an “accursed land” (*verfluocht land*).⁵¹³

In Massys's painting, the form of the terrestrial globe closely follows Martin Behaim's *Erdapfel*, one of the earliest globes to chart the commercial progress of the final decade of the fifteenth century.⁵¹⁴ Although the globe had been illuminated, featuring roughly 2,000 toponyms and numerous glosses from ancient, medieval, and contemporary sources, Massys's altarpiece shows an unpainted globe. Though it is unclear how Massys would have had knowledge of the globe or whether or not a printed edition of its gores had ever been undertaken for wider distribution, Behaim's social network did intersect with Rem's. A native of Nuremberg, Behaim was a merchant like Rem; his cartographic interests had evolved during tenures in Lisbon and Antwerp, residencies that were constitutive to the development of the globe he made for the Nuremberg City Council.⁵¹⁵ The humanist Conrad Peutinger, who had special interests in discovery literature and was related to Rem through marriage, also knew Behaim's work.⁵¹⁶

That Rem selected Massys as the artist to paint his altarpiece may also register his cultural mobility between Lisbon and Antwerp. Rem was active in Lisbon at a time when

members of the royal family, the court, and Portuguese merchants sought after Massys's paintings.⁵¹⁷ His interests in Massys may very well have been inspired by the fashion for Flemish art in Portugal.⁵¹⁸ It is also possible, given Rem's background in Lisbon, that Portuguese merchants facilitated Rem's initial contact with Massys in Antwerp. Rem's altarpiece may therefore also speak to a complex intercultural dynamic that connected German and Portuguese communities in Antwerp—a phenomenon, as discussed in the previous chapter, was also affirmed by Albrecht Dürer's travels.

Although Patinir's landscapes were popular exports, the fact that Rem had been active in Antwerp in the years immediately after the artist registered with the Guild of St. Luke would seem to confirm that Rem's first exposure to Patinir's work occurred in Antwerp.⁵¹⁹ With their integration of 'Andachtsbilder' into Flemish-style 'world landscapes,' Patinir's paintings innovated a visual language that seems to have resounded especially with Rem's experiences as a pilgrim and international merchant.⁵²⁰ Indeed, Patinir's compositions thematize travel, not just in their panoramic synthesis of nature's diversity, but in their narrative structure and their implied spatial progress from urbanized harbors to agricultural hinterlands to wilder, more remote terrains. As Reindert Falkenburg has shown, the biblical itineraries represented within Patinir's paintings stress the exemplarity of pilgrimage, using topographic heterogeneity not only as a source of visual pleasure but also a means of spiritual edification, that is, as sites that testified to and continued to manifest incarnational mysteries.⁵²¹ At the same time, through their inclusion of commercial imagery—from caravans to caravels—the iconographic details of Patinir's landscapes visually appealed to merchants' daily, practical experiences.⁵²²

That Rem bought at least four different compositions from Patinir suggests that he appreciated and related to the landscapes' different levels of significance. Allusions to maritime trade were a common leitmotif in Patinir's compositions and these themes spoke directly to Rem's travels overseas and commercial activities in Lisbon. Rem had, after all, not only lived in and traveled through many of Europe's most important international port cities; he had negotiated international trade agreements and outfitted ships with supplies for voyages overseas. With freight galleons visible in all but the *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, each painting Rem acquired from Patinir contains references to fluvial commerce, evocative of the River Scheldt's traffic. Indeed, discernible within the backgrounds of both the *Assumption* and *Baptist* panels are densely populated port cities with massive ships anchored in their harbors.

The diversity of the landscape also seems to have mattered to Rem, for even within the group of his four acquisitions, the primary religious narrative scenes take place in distinct settings: a cave, a mountain, a plain, and a forest. Rem would have encountered many of these topographies while traveling via the overland routes that connected Southern Germany to Western Europe, and the synthetic quality of the landscapes' diversity may have spoken meaningfully to the transience that dominated Rem's professional life. But whereas Rem says little about the significance of the landscape to his mercantile pursuits, his devotional interests as a pilgrim seem, at least on two occasions, to have been intensified by the sites' unusual topographies.

Registering a certain equation between holy presence and particular landscape features, Rem praised his piety-inducing spiritual journeys to the mountains of Montserrat and the caves of Sainte-Baume. In May of 1509, after completing his pilgrimage in Rome, Rem sailed on a French galleon to Cannes, continuing on horseback to Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume, the center of Mary Magdalene's cult.⁵²³ After visiting the exquisitely displayed relic collection and the wonderful pyx displayed on the high altar of the main cathedral, he went to the cave, where

according to legend Mary Magdalene lived as a penitent ascetic. Commenting on the wondrous caves, which he describes as ‘churchly’ with ‘many monks’, Rem states that the place where Magdalene had retreated was beautiful and piety-inducing (“*schön andechtig zuo sechen*”).⁵²⁴ When Rem visited the wonder-working statuette of the Madonna and Child, “*La Moreneta*,” in Montserrat in 1510, he noted the presence of numerous hermits living near the summit. Rem was apparently moved by mountainous topography, stating twice and in so many sentences that it was a praiseworthy pilgrimage [“*ain uberlobliche kirchfahrt*”; “*ein löbliche kirchfart*”].⁵²⁵

That the caves of St. Baume and the mountaintop of Montserrat elicited from Rem such devout sentiments points to perceptual priorities, experiences of specific holy sites that seem likely to have informed Rem’s reception of Patinir’s paintings. Indeed, two of the landscapes Rem purchased referred specifically to these topographical features. Whereas *St. Jerome in the Wilderness* represents the saint within his mountain hermitage, a scene that may have encouraged Rem to recall the ascetics of Montserrat, the *Assumption of the Virgin* visualized Mary’s heavenly ascension above a rocky cavern, a site that may have evoked for Rem the caves of Sainte-Baume.

Signaled partly by its rectilinear format, the *St. Jerome* panel was one of Patinir’s stock pieces, and Rem most likely purchased the painting as a ready made.⁵²⁶ For like the paintings of *St. John the Baptist Preaching* and the *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, variants of *Jerome* survive in other collections.⁵²⁷ The form and subject matter of the *Assumption of the Virgin*, however, indicate that the painting was most likely a commission. Its unusually shaped panel and inclusion of eight subsidiary grisaille scenes, a singularity within Patinir’s oeuvre, suggest that the painting responded, at least partly, to the patron’s directives. In the spandrels on the extreme left, St. James is shown over an angel holding his attribute, the scallop shell; on the right, St. Luke appears above a miniature of his bull (Figures 4.4d–e). Like the representation of his name-saint, the inclusion of St. James as a pilgrim appear to stand as an ego-reference to the patron, signaling Rem’s numerous spiritual journeys to Santiago da Compostella and other holy sites. Dialoguing with the central scene, the roundels amplify the painting’s recursive leitmotif of terrestrial immanence. Visually opposing the mysteries of the incarnation with the corporeal sublimation of the Christ and the Virgin, the circular scenes of the *Nativity* and the *Resurrection of Christ* are narratologically expanded in the squinch grisaille imagery, which depict the *Adoration of the Magi* and *Christ’s Ascension* (Figures 4.4d–e).

Although the iconography is not unusual in Germany art, as Albrecht Dürer’s 1510 woodcut indicates (4.19), scenes of the *Burial* and *Assumption of the Virgin* are something of a rarity in Netherlandish art. Aelbrecht Bouts’s *Assumption*, with its similarly shaped panel and parallel iconography, is typically regarded as Patinir’s prototype for the main panel, even though nothing is known about where the painting would have hung (Figure 4.20).⁵²⁸ Rem, however, may have encountered a different Netherlandish example during his travels in Spain. In the years before the merchant passed through the city, a convent in Burgos had commissioned an altarpiece from the Master of the St. Lucy Legend (Figure 4.21), a painting that showed the Virgin within an angelic congress, hovering between the Trinity and an expansive terrestrial setting.⁵²⁹

Rem had probably specified the subject, but Patinir’s treatment diverges from all these other compositions in several ways. In Rem’s *Assumption*, the landscape assumes much greater significance, occupying roughly two thirds of the composition. Mary’s body ascends toward the heavens not from a sarcophagus, but from a hillside crypt. The seraphim transporting her are dressed not in colorful garments but in white; their bodies nearly dissolve into the almost

iridescent, cloud-like ether of the celestial choir (Figure 4.4c). The subordination of the angels underscores the formal correspondence between the arrangement of Mary's robes and the shape of panel. Visually this has the effect of accentuating the body of the Virgin, whose destination between Christ and God the Father is marked by the Holy Spirit.

From the *Nativity* and *Adoration* to the *Resurrection*, *Ascension*, and *Assumption* scenes, the composition reiterates the leitmotifs of incarnation and dissipation, thematizing holy appearances and disappearances. Programmatically, the rivers, fields, forests, mountains, and caves function as perennial witnesses to the mystical comings and goings of divine forces. The landscape is made to participate in the generation of these cosmic secrets. Simultaneously imbricated with and disaggregated from matter, the transformational powers of the Trinity and Virgin are enacted within and expressed through the natural world.

Suggesting the efficacy and immanence asserted by particular topographic locales, the placement of devotional imagery within visually compartmentalized landscapes might have appealed Rem's mystical experiences as a pilgrim. With their compelling syntheses of the world's topographic diversity, Patinir's compositions also offered Rem novel, visual rationalizations of his kinesthetic experiences of continental and marine travel. Although these lateral journeys across the earth's surface made Rem an ideal viewer for Patinir's landscapes, his vocational training and commercial investments in Southern Germany equipped him with skills and proficiencies that may have encouraged him to read and appreciate the significances of the landscapes beyond its surface.

Subterranean Ventures: Mining and the Genesis of Metals

Dating between 1525 and 1530, Hans Sebald Beham's broadside, *The Saxon Silver Mine*, extols the freedom of miners, the nobility of their labor, and the divine beneficence that repays their industry (Figure 4.22).⁵³⁰ The final lines of the rhyming verse declare, "As they freely enter the mountain, God gives profit to all miners, aye, today and always, God wills the fortune [that yields] lead, copper, silver and gold" ["*Wie sie frey faren in berck hinyn/Got geb allen Berckknechten gwyn/Heut und allzeyt ja das Got wolt/Gluck zu Bley Kupffer Silbr und Golt.*"] The accompanying image condenses into a single view an accurate sense of the diverse and coordinated labor of a mining operation. At the center of the composition, two men stand beside a winch, the access point for a vertical shaft. Workers on the right side of the mountain are shown entering and exiting the tunnels laterally. Some of the miners use axes to burrow through the rock; others push trollies that either have already been loaded with ore or will be. To the left, the workers are shown breaking up the ore, laundering it, and preparing it for the furnace. Two workers appear before the forge; the position of their hammers would suggest that they are hammering out cakes of metal, though the anvil is bare. Visible in the background is a village, presumably a settlement established by the miners. In the upper left corner is the coat of arms of the county of Wittenberg, on the right, the arms of the Electorate of Saxony. These principalities, like the emperor himself, claimed a percentage of the miner's yields. In exchange the political powers allowed the miners to freely work the territory, granting them extensive rights, land grants for settlement, and the privilege of self-government.⁵³¹ Thus when the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I had a masque portrayed in his *Weisskunig* (Figure 4.23), showing a dance in which all the courtiers dressed as miners, the masquerade was not a parodic mimicry: it was a celebration of both the workers' 'noble' and 'pious' industry and their contribution to the wealth of the empire.

And yet, despite the declaratively ‘German’ landscape—for this area belonged to the Saxon heartland to which Martin Luther would address his 1520 tract “To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation” [*An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*]—the mountainous setting resembles more strongly the rock formations of Patinir’s landscapes than anything produced by the so-called Danube School.⁵³² Read, for example, against Albrecht Altdörfer’s contemplative *Danubian Landscape* (Figure 4.24), which captures the quite grandeur of the mountains from a clearing in the forest, the polylobed, peculiarly faceted rock formations in Patinir’s *St. Jerome in the Wilderness* appear as hyper-stylized, fanciful constructs presented from a disembodied aerial perspective.⁵³³ If topographical verism had been the point of Beham’s woodcut, he would have had better models. Patinir’s works had, however, found ready markets in Germany, and perhaps especially so amongst merchants. For at around the same time as Rem was acquiring works by the landscape painter, another German patron commissioned a different version of *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* for a church in Nuremberg (Figure 4.25a–b).⁵³⁴ Although Nuremberg and Augsburg were at least a full day’s journey from the *Erzgebirge* region represented in Beham’s woodcut, the merchants of those two cities, and the Fuggers in particular, were heavily invested in the area, and it is possible that Beham self-consciously modeled the mountains’ form after Patinir in order to appeal to the cosmopolitan aesthetics of these international businessmen.⁵³⁵

The southern Low Countries also had a domestic mining and metallurgical industry, but the Netherlandish operations, concentrated in present-day Wallonia, French Flanders, and northern France, produced coal, limestone, and iron, not precious metals. Perhaps because the labor of miners in the Low Countries was considered neither ‘noble’ nor ‘free,’ there was, at least judging from extant sources, little interest in realistically documenting these productive landscapes.⁵³⁶ When for example later fifteenth-century Flemish artists created such imagery (Figure 4.26), the representation was based not on first-hand observations of Netherlandish refineries, such as those in Patinir’s native Dinant, but on a fantastical imagination of Saxon metallurgy—envisioning an assaying furnace that taps molten metal from an anthropomorphic boulder.⁵³⁷ Contemporary to the Master of the Getty Froissart, the Housebook Master’s realistic rendering of a mining and smelting operation (Figure 4.27), presumably commissioned for a South German lord, points to an important difference between the Low Countries and Southern Germany. By the late fifteenth century, a thriving, patron-driven demand for technically accurate visual and textual documentation was shaping artistic production. Anticipating the technical treatises of the sixteenth century, the Housebook, in the pages that follow this mining landscape, depicts the inner workings of the assaying furnace and minting plant associated with the mine. While the manuscript provides illustrations of the equipment and how it is used, the text describes the process of refining ore, giving both metallurgical recipes and an alchemically informed method of reading the elements.⁵³⁸

Testifying to burgeoning German intellectual culture investments in mining and metallurgy, the Housebook speaks to the emergence of secular, craft-based naturalist discourses and the communicative media that was put to the service of sharing those knowledge forms with interested patrons.⁵³⁹ For the mining boom of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries not only altered international trade dynamics, transforming the landscape and the regional networks through which its products moved, but it also inspired new forms of inquiry into the subterrestrial genesis of matter.⁵⁴⁰ As princely authorities adopted policies to promote these developments, and the wealthiest banking families provided the capital for the application of new extractive technique, they employed naturalists, often with an understanding of both medicine and alchemy, to write tracts explicating the ‘science’ behind prospecting, mining, and

metallurgy.⁵⁴¹ These naturalists, in turn, depended on close partnerships with the miners, who served as their primary informants.

The earliest technical treatise on mining was Ulrich Rülein von Calw's *Little Book on Ores* (*Bergbüchlein*), originally published around 1505. By 1539 it had been reprinted in no fewer than five editions in various publishing centers suggests (4.28a).⁵⁴² Having studied medicine and mathematics at the University of Leipzig, Von Calw was the city physician of Freiburg, and he rose to prominence as a surveyor, civic engineer, mining developer and astrologist.⁵⁴³ Under the patronage of Elector of Saxony, George the Bearded, and the Duke of Saxony, Henry the Pious, Von Calw was actively involved in the foundation of several mining cities in Saxony.

That Von Calw depended on the practical experiences of the miners is evident from the form of the text. The opening paragraphs—written in the form of a dialogue between Daniel, the mining expert (*Bergverständiger*), and Young Knappius (a miner who has complete his apprenticeship is *ein Knappe*)—encourage the interested reader that knowledge is a form of compensation beyond the prospect of monetary gain:

Everyone should [...] use his intelligence and should educate himself diligently to become able to understand [...] from what matter, by what means, and where metals are generated by Nature. [...] But if his aim is solely and predominantly to profit and gain rather than the desire to know about the wondrous influences that Nature works under the earth by means of the mineral Power, it would cheapen and condemn this little book and the art.⁵⁴⁴

Alluding to the generative confluence of subterranean and celestial forces, Daniel espouses a numinous view of the natural world. He describes the cosmic synergies that enliven earthly phenomena:

[F]or ores to grow or to be born requires an agent [is needed] to exert an influence, and a passive thing or matter that is qualified to be influenced. In the words of the naturalists, the common maker of ore and all other things that are born is Heaven, with its movements, radiance, and influence. The influence of Heaven is diversified by the movement of the firmament and the countermovement of the seven planets. In this way, each metallic ore received an influence from its own particular planet, specifically assigned to it because of the characteristics of the planet and ore, and also because of their conformity in warmth, frigidity, moisture or dryness. Thus, gold is made by the Sun or his influence, silver by the Moon, tin by Jupiter, copper by Venus, iron by Mars, lead by Saturn, and quicksilver by Mercury.⁵⁴⁵

According to Daniel, matter itself is passive; the formation of ores is predicated dually on elemental action and astrological influence. A system of correspondences related to temperature, color, and other sense-related properties mark the efficacy and integrity of the bond between matter and these terrestrial and celestial forces. As expressive vehicles, the metals register these influences in their growth patterns, which can in turn, be deciphered by the trained eye. The author continues:

Although influence from Heaven and favorable characteristics of matter are essential in the making of every ore or metal, that alone is not enough. If the ore is to be born readily, the characteristics of the natural vessels in which the ore is to be made must also be favorable. These are the veins, such as steep veins, sloping veins, branch veins, cross veins [...]. It also requires channels or means of access through which the mineral- or ore-creating Power can easily enter these natural vessels. These are provided by the

stringers, such as hanging-wall, intersecting, sloping, and cross stringers, or by approaching flat veins [...].⁵⁴⁶

In the following chapter, the author provides a series of cross-sectional images of hillsides, plains, valleys, and mountains (4.29 a-b), laying out a methodology for ‘reading’ the terrain that would allow the reader to knowingly anticipate the growth and directional characteristics of the veins and stringers that run beneath the earth’s surface. Aspirational rather than demonstrable, Von Calw’s prospecting techniques imagine that the gaze of a man equipped with certain kinds of knowledge can decipher what lies beyond terrestrial boundaries. Despite certain insurmountable ambiguities in its procedures, the *Bergbüchlein* offers advice about the kinds of conditions where a mine can be profitably established and proposes a particular mode of engaging with the landscape’s visual significances.

Although Von Calw’s approach for gleaned significance from the topographical features of a landscape purports to secularity, its alchemically derived understanding of subterranean elemental agency inflected the mystical beliefs and religious folklore of his mining informants. As part of his work for the Elector and Duke of Saxony, Von Calw had been instrumental in establishing the charter and rights for the town of Annaberg in Saxony, one of many towns founded by miners during this period.⁵⁴⁷ When the mine proved profitable, the Saxon dukes formally recognized its success and the revenue its workers contributed to state coffers by granting the cooperative the privilege of minting coins. To commemorate the divine favor that had led to their collective fortune, the mining syndicate commissioned an altarpiece from Hans Hesse for their local church, *St. Annenkirche* (Figure 4.30). Dating to 1522, the polyptych presents a synthetic view of the mountainous landscape, anticipating Beham’s later woodcut. The inclusive mountain prospect of the *Annaberger Bergaltar*, as the altarpiece is known, depicts a landscape that has been visibly transformed by the miners’ labor, subtly alluding to the prophetic vision that inaugurated their profession.

Inserted within the left middle ground of the central panel is a reference to the mystical origins of the mining industry. According to a legend propagated throughout central European mining regions, the Prophet Daniel had a vision that culminated in the discovery of subterranean deposits.⁵⁴⁸ In the dream, Daniel climbs a tree and finds a nest with eggs of gold and silver. When he awoke the next morning and sought out the tree, an angel appeared to him, instructing him to look down through the tree’s root system to the golden and silver earth beneath. Constructing Daniel as the divinely sanctioned ‘discoverer’ of resources hidden from human sight as well as the ‘inventor’ of mining technology, the legend’s imagery sanctified miner’s visionary experience and informed the lexicon of miners, for a ‘nest’ [*ein Nest*] became the term that designated an accumulated lode, that is, a metalliferous vein.⁵⁴⁹ Thus, in presenting Daniel as the *Bergverständiger*, the exemplary prophetic connoisseur, Von Calw’s text alluded to one of the central mystical beliefs of his mining informants.

Within mining lore, Daniel was one of the most important holy figures, but many saints and martyrs were adapted to suit the religious needs of these communities. Then as now, mining was a dangerous occupation. Inclement underground ‘weather’ and exposure to toxic gases rendered miners and metal workers prone to disease and chronic sickness.⁵⁵⁰ From accidents, such as collapsing tunnels and explosions, to natural disasters, such as flooding and earthquakes, tragedy struck mining communities with some frequency. Subscribing to an enchanted worldview, wherein nature was animated by myriad maleficent and beneficent spirits, miners used their Christian piety as an antidote or weapon against the uncertainties and dangers endemic to their profession.⁵⁵¹ Miners and metallurgists invoked various saints to protect them from

potential catastrophe, sudden death, and physical suffering. A host of holy intercessors became associated with dangers of particular natural elements: Saint Erasmus was appealed to as a protector against fire, Saint Sebastian against sickness, Saint Barbara against sudden death and explosions; John the Baptist and Saint Christopher were most efficacious against the intrusion of water.⁵⁵² Saint Anna was associated with silver, Saint Margaret with enduring captivity and darkness. The Tyrolean counterpart of the *Annaberger Bergaltar*—the *Bergmannaltar* from Flitschl—testifies to the cultic significance of these holy helpers (Figure 4.31). Set into the side wings, Saints Erasmus, Sebastian, Margaret, and Anna sit in majesty; on the central panel, Daniel, presented in the guise of a miner and Saint Christopher appear in a *sacra conversazione* against a view of the town's mining complex.⁵⁵³

The miners' labor was understood as a form of devotion in its own right, and their religious culture extended into the landscape in which they worked. Within the mountain, shafts and tunnels were dedicated to and named after particular patron saints and Marian events, like the Annunciation and Assumption. Digging sites were ceremonially consecrated, and subterranean points of access were hung with crucifixes and other devotional imagery (Figure 4.32). Conflating hagiography and geology, the visual and devotional culture of miners cultivated a multidimensional sense of place.

Originating from an Augsburg workshop, illuminated perhaps by the workshop of Jörg Breu the Elder, the alchemical treatise, *Splendor Solis* (1532), synthesizes in secular hermetic form the religious and technological ideas that had been developing in the mining regions of Saxony and Tyrol for generations.⁵⁵⁴ Encrypting knowledge even as it purports to disclose it, the text simultaneously conjures wonder at the subterranean genesis of metals and renders their chemical behaviors mysterious. Given the subject of the text, the illustrations' imagery is appropriately amalgamated, sublimating Christian iconography as well as miners' visual and devotional culture. The illumination of the first parable of the third treatise shows miners working within a centrally positioned, Patiniresque mountain (4.33a). The text describes the salience of particular geological forms:

God first created the earth plain, crude, fat and very fruitful; without spirit, without sand, stone, hill, or valley. Through the influences of the planets and the operations of Nature the earth has now been transformed into manifold shapes: outward into hard rock, high hills and deep valleys; inwardly into rare things and colors such as the ores and their origins. With such things the earth has changed utterly from its first form, and this has been brought about in the following way. At first, when the earth was heaped up so thick [...] the steady action of the sun's heat caused therein a vehement, ardent, vaporous, and steamy warmth which permeated the whole earth right to the depths. This created in the coldness and humidity of the earth a strong vapor, misty and aerial. All these were enclosed in the earth. In the course of time they became too much for it, until at length they were so strong that the earth could not or would not contain them any longer [...]. Finally, in the regions of the earth where they were most concentrated, they upheaved in part of its surface here, another there, and deep valleys were made from many a hill and mountain. In the regions where such hills and mountains were made, the earth is at its very best, and there, too, the best ore is found.

Offering a valuation of nature's fecundity that is not entirely at odds with the Story of Genesis, the author portrays the earth's surface as a culmination of divine, astral, and elemental actions. The valleys and mountains are conceived not merely as settings for historical or religious action: they become narratives of action in their own right.

The author continues this discussion in the second parable of the third treatise, which deals more specifically with the mystical manifestation of metals (4.33b). Though the parable's illumination explicitly draws its iconography from the Daniel legend, the commentary elides the referent. The text also reimagines the dialogical structure of the *Bergbüchlein*, transfiguring the protagonists of the discourse—Daniel (*der Bergveränderer*) and Knappius (the novice miner)—into citations to exemplary authors: Hermes Trismegistus, Salienus, and Virgil. Within its short, parabolic discourse, the text imagines a single, metallic world tree that extends above and below the earth:

Hermes, the first Master of this Art, speaks thus: 'The water of the air which is between Heaven and Earth is the life of everything, for through its moisture and warmth it is the mean between the two contraries, fire and water.' The water has rained down on the earth: Heaven has opened and bedewed the earth.[...] The same flowering brings forth sundry colors and fruits, and in its midst there has grown up a great tree with a silver trunk, which extends to the ends of the earth. On its branches diverse birds were perching... The same tree brings forth manifold fruits: the first are the finest pearls; the second are called by the philosophers '*Terra foliata*'; the third of finest gold. This tree also gives forth healing fruits [...]. [O]f the herb Lunatica, [... Salienus has said], 'Its root is a metallic earth [...]. If one puts it for three days into mercury, it changes into perfect silver, and if one boils it further it turns into gold. This same gold turns 100 parts of mercury into the very finest gold.'⁵⁵⁵

Conceiving of metals as a form of elemental and celestial fructification, the alchemist envisions the tree as both an index and source of diversity, a mystical phenomenon that continues to work its efficacy through special substances. Matter is itself no longer inert, but animate, capable of magical, alchemical transformations.

This sort of alchemical thinking was also commonly promoted by physicians in the Holy Roman Empire, particularly among those who wrote about the salubrious agency of mineral and thermal springs and devised antidotes for the plague.⁵⁵⁶ These forms of knowledge were big business in port cities and market towns, due to the frequency of outbreaks.⁵⁵⁷ Indeed, Rem's experience with the 1505 Lisbon epidemic wasn't a solitary event; during his travels, he records numerous encounters with pestilences in various cities and describes succumbing on several occasions to serious illnesses.⁵⁵⁸ When Rem's health began to worsen in the autumn of 1521, he consulted medical practitioners in Antwerp, Regensburg, Ulm, and Augsburg. On their advice, he started a regime of treatments at the spas of Wildbad, a therapy which most likely entailed a combination of ingesting distillations and of bathing in the thermal springs.⁵⁵⁹ Given the confluence of heat, water, and mineral agency endemic to therapeutic springs, it is unsurprising that the balneological texts that survive from this period focus on elemental efficacies, their wondrous, curative agencies, employing terms and methodologies that trace back to common core of alchemical texts.⁵⁶⁰ Influenced by the same alchemical thinking that informed the naturalists writing about the subterranean genesis of metals, Rem's physicians would have promoted an enchanted, numinous understanding of elemental agency and its relationship to the human body.

Understood as constituting a broader religious and intellectual cultural context within which Rem moved, these prospecting, alchemical, and balneological discourses would have offered Rem alternative ways of thinking through and evaluating the topographical and landscape features in Patinir's landscapes. While the treatises on mining and alchemy suggest the extent to which elemental action had shaped the earth in particular ways, providing a

methodology for discerning what lies beneath, the devotional culture of miners and the mystical interests of alchemists visually associated particular topographies with both divine immanence and the mysteries of incarnation. As a paradigm of engaging with the landscape particularly and natural phenomena more generally, the prophetic vision at the heart of both the Daniel Legend and the *Splendor Solis* finds a curious homology in the prospecting methods of Von Calw's *Bergbuchlein*. Common to all is a practice of reading the terrestrial surface as a point of access to celestial and subterrestrial significances. Oscillating between the spiritual and the secular, between the numinous and the inert, the interrelationships between these technically informed modes of looking suggest a novel framework for interpreting the cross-cultural significances of Patinir's landscapes and their visual appeal to patrons like Lucas Rem, particularly in terms of how these ideas may have intersected with his visual contemplation of holy sites as a pilgrim.

Although there is no reason to think, at least based on the *Tagebuch*, that Rem would have had a deep engagement with Von Calw's treatises or alchemical manuscripts, his commercial activities would have brought him into regular contact with intellectual communities who were deeply invested in these knowledge forms. Indeed, to accompany his little book on mining, Von Calw also published a brief treatise on metallurgy, the *Probierbüchlein* (4.28b), which he expressly compiled, "with great care for the benefit of all mint masters, assay masters, goldsmiths, miners and dealers in metal."⁵⁶¹ That Rülein von Calw dedicated his book to these various crafts suggests a shared intellectual currency that circulated along with the metal being traded.

Conclusion: Numinous materiality, Cross-Cultural Exchange and the Reformation.

A certain vogue for gold and silver vessels that self-reflexively played with the subterranean origins of their own media emerged in Germany in the early sixteenth century. Known as *Handsteine*, these mounted pieces of metalliferous ore were fashioned as dimensional landscapes, suggesting that German goldsmiths and their patrons were interested in playing with the conceptual correspondence between the generative powers of the landscape and the precious materials extracted from it. Among the earliest examples of *Handsteine* were two reliquaries from Halle in Saxony (Figures 4.34a–b), an ecclesiastical collection that had been started by Archbishop Ernst of Saxony but was then greatly expanded by Albrecht of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mainz.⁵⁶² One reliquary shows miners digging through stone toward the gold stem beneath, evoking the generational fecundity of the metallic world tree (Figures 4.35), the other represents the Transfiguration of Christ, using the ore as a landscape that metonymically marks the mysteries of incarnation. Whereas the reliquary showing the Transfiguration metonymically plays with the visual paradox of holy transcendence by using a clump of ore, the reliquary with the mining scene suggests not only the terrestrial origins of the gold, but the sanctifying bones beneath the surface.⁵⁶³

The Halle relic collection, however, suffered the misfortune of becoming the target of Martin Luther's invectives shortly after it had come into existence. Subsidized partly by Johann Tetzel's sale of indulgences, the collection and its annual display was, to Luther, irredeemably tainted, epitomizing the spiritually corrupt policies of the Archbishop of Mainz. In a 1521 letter written on the occasion of what was probably the second public display of relics, Luther threatened to publish a tract defaming Albrecht, accusing the archbishop of promoting "an idol at Halle, which robs poor simple Christians of both their money and their souls."⁵⁶⁴

Unintimidated by Luther's invectives, the Archbishop continued to enrich his treasury, and to orchestrate elaborate displays of relics, even after reformatory circumstances forced him

to relocate the collection to Mainz.⁵⁶⁵ In Luther's 1542 *Neue Zeitung vom Rhein*, he describes the insultingly fabulous relics being promoted by the Archbishop. Understood as the culmination of Luther's criticism, the report seethes with cynicism:

Following inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the relics that His Grace had in Halle in Saxony have been transferred to the Church of St. Martin in Mainz. There they are annually worshiped with great ceremoniousness on the Sunday after St. Bartholomew's day. The festivities consist of the announcement of the contents of each reliquary and the simultaneous remission of many sins, so that the dear Rhinelanders should again be compelled to provide new clothes for the poor, holy bones, whose gowns were supposedly torn apart in Halle. Had the relics remained there any longer, they surely would have frozen to death. His princely Grace had also brought there, many remarkable things, of which one has never heard until now [...]. These include: a handsome piece of Moses' left horn—three flames from the burning bush—two feathers and an egg from the Holy Spirit—a corner of the banner with which Christ erupted triumphant from Hell, which still has a great lock of the Beelzebub's beard clinging to it—one half of Archangel Gabriel's wing—and [many other things]. A good friend told me in secret that according to his last Testament, His Grace the Archbishop would donate to the sanctuary an entire fifth of his own faithful, pious heart and the whole length of his truthful tongue. Whoever honors such a shrine with a golden guilder will obtain absolution for all of his previously committed sins and shall be permitted another ten years of sin, without jeopardizing his salvation. This is truly a great blessing [...] about which everyone was justifiably happy.⁵⁶⁶

Luther's report underscores the problematic status of 'holy bones' during the Reformation. Although his criticism was paradigmatic of longstanding theological ambivalences about the cult of the relics and the status of holy matter, the tone of Luther's narrative bespeaks a hard-line approach that criticism before the Ninety-Five Theses had cautiously avoided.

Luther takes aim not only at the Archbishop, but also at the social function of these ceremonial rituals as fraudulent forms of civic cohesion. In describing the cultic veneration of relics, Luther mocks the paradoxical ontology of holy matter as a ridiculous, deceitful farce. He satirizes the belief in relics as vibrant matter—stuff that transcended the metaphysical divide between the living and dead.⁵⁶⁷ Whereas throughout the medieval period, it had been the materiality of holy matter that manifest miraculous agency, to Luther, the horn, feathers, and hair particles within the reliquaries at Halle had no holy significance: relics and their splendidous clothing were 'merely things' evacuated of immanent potential.⁵⁶⁸ Indeed, Luther's rhetoric turns upon excessive 'thingness' of the relics and the reliquaries as enticements to idolatry. Relics and their precious encasements function not as the transformative means of salvation, but as material evocations of clerical greed.

Although the precious and scarce materials that were used to fabricate the reliquary vessels were shot through with symbolic religious concepts, artistic recipe books and alchemical treatises suggest that craftsmen of various specialties regarded the ores, deposits and pigments extracted from regional mines as matter saturated with cosmic, if not divine significance. Von Calw and the author of the *Splendor Solis* had both spoken about the heavenly influences contained within ore. These modes of interpreting materials were probably quite common in Halle, whose urban patriciates derived their wealth from 'white gold', that is: salt extracted from subterranean deposits.

These were issues that mattered to Rem. As someone who had come into regular contact with metallurgists and miners, as someone who had invested great efforts in seeing a number of important relic collections, and as someone who sought out the curative potential of the landscape, Rem encountered variants of these different discourses. Especially in light of Rem's later conversion to Protestantism, Luther's admonitions about the falsities of material immanence may have factored into Rem's reassessment of his religious beliefs.⁵⁶⁹ The revised motto on the *Landscape with the Sermon of St. John the Baptist*—"After darkness I hope for light"—coupled with the motifs of the hammer and anvil, evoke both the physical trial of Job and the transformation of faith. Perhaps retrospectively reevaluating his journey to see the finger of St. John the Baptist as a succumbing to fraudulent piety, Rem may have had the armorial painted as a means of affirming a change in his confessional commitments, an evangelical exhortation to consider the inward rather than outward expressions of truth.⁵⁷⁰

Antwerp's trade in mined substances influenced artistic production and made possible certain intellectual and visual cultural exchanges.⁵⁷¹ Whereas matter like cinnabar, a mineral that was excavated from subterranean deposits and then ground down and used as pigment, materially impacted the production of painting in Antwerp, intellectual cultural interests in the productivity of landscapes, combined with Reformist sensibilities, factored into a generational shift in the subject matter of paintings. Patinir may have never painted a mining landscape, but his followers certainly did. Even as Antwerp painters after Patinir emulated the birds-eye view, coloristic atmospheric perspective, and synthetic topographies that characterized his landscape formula, they diversified their output to include newly 'secularized' landscapes, a subset of which featured views of foundries and mining operations. This genre of industrialized vistas was, however, a German, not a Netherlandish, invention, and the painters who visually responded to interests in mining and metallurgy—artists like Herri met de Bles and Lucas van Valckenborch, both of whom appear to have found a ready market for their compositions—may have gotten their source material from Antwerp's German merchant communities (Figures 4.11–4.14).⁵⁷² The international patronage that supported these artists therefore seems to have shaped the contexts of production in Antwerp in important ways.⁵⁷³

As a collector interested not only in landscape painting but also in precious metalwork, Rem's social network seems to suggest that he was in fact connected to Antwerp's goldsmithing community. Suggestive perhaps of the close relationships that developed between suppliers of precious metals and the craftsmen who worked in these materials, the Augsburg merchant Conraet Imhof married the daughter of Jan van Vlierden, one of Antwerp's most prominent goldsmiths (Figure 4.34).⁵⁷⁴ Conraet Imhof was himself a close acquaintance of Lucas Rem; they both traveled between Augsburg and Antwerp and Imhof and several of his relatives attended Rem's wedding to Anna Ochainen in 1518.

And yet, despite the significant trade in German metals that occurred at the Antwerp market, there's little concrete evidence to suggest that German alchemical and metallurgical knowledge circulated in Antwerp until at least midcentury, when printers began publishing texts on the subject. In the decade after Herri met de Bles began painting his secular mining scenes, a series of broadsides promoting alchemical medicines and miraculous, healing springs were circulating, some of which provided directions from Antwerp (Figure 4.35).⁵⁷⁵ When Herri met de Bles and Lucas van Valckenborch were painting their secularized mining scenes in the 1540s and 80s respectively, the South German mining boom had bust, and with it the noble art of mining in Germany began to lose its luster. And yet, the same communities of miners found new

employment opportunities in new locales—in the New World and in England—with Antwerp’s German merchant community serving as talent brokers.⁵⁷⁶

Damião de Góis and the circularity of imperium

Without the habit of conceptualizing space, a traveller could not link his separate impressions to the nature of his route as a whole or extend them imaginatively to the unseen parts of the area through which he was passing; a man could not visualize the country to which he belonged.
–John Rigby Hale⁵⁷⁷

Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.
–Psalms 19:4⁵⁷⁸

A Latin poem appended to the first edition of Damião de Góis's *Legatio Magni Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Joannis ad Emanuelem Luistaniae Regem* [*The Great Embassy of Prester John the Emperor of India to King Manuel of Portugal*] (Antwerp, 1532), portrays the Portuguese diplomat and aspiring humanist in prayer within the study of his Antwerp residence. Góis had arrived in Antwerp in 1523, appointed by João III as the secretary of the *Feitoria de Flandres*, a position that entailed both fiscal and administrative oversight of the trading colony and its commercial engagements.⁵⁷⁹ Written by Cornelius Grapheus, the poem substantiates the two men's intellectual sympathy; for soon after his arrival in the city, Góis became Grapheus's patron, employing the city secretary as a Latin teacher and sponsoring his literary output. The poem, conceived after almost a decade of friendship, describes Góis's devotional genuflection before a *Crucifixion* scene by Quentin Massys, one of at least two paintings that he had acquired from the artist.⁵⁸⁰ Thus, even as the verses focus on Góis's affective piety, they commemorate his artistic patronage. Within the fiction of the poem, Góis directs his devotion toward the image, praying aloud:

I repent, O good Christ, I repent. I know that it is my fault that you, forsaken by all and bleeding from all sides, are hanging in the air nailed to this cross, so I supplicate before you, kneeling at your feet. This is me, your wretched Damião. Forgive me, forgive me; for you, though innocent, endure this punishment for all the evil of this world.⁵⁸¹

Positioning himself psychically as a penitent at the foot of the cross, Góis's response to the painting seems to turn on the cognitive mismatch between Christ's pitiable human form and the salvific gravity of his sacrifice.

Although provenance research has not satisfactorily identified the painting in Góis's collection, it probably resembled Massys's other crucifixion groups (Figure 5.1–5.3)—a formula that derived its devotional potency from a series of visual paradoxes. Stretched out and hanging lifeless upon the cross, Christ's meager body, with its saturnine, down-turned visage, is intentionally contrasted with the crystalline sky, the jewel-toned robes of his followers, and the colorism of the verdant landscape. The stillness and silence of Christ's expired corpse—a lingering trace of his suffering—is heightened by both the animism of his loincloth's suspended drapery and the emotional and gestural theatricism of his adherents.

Góis's prayer, notable also for its self-abnegating contrition, bespeaks his peculiar confessional allegiances. For even as it maintains the central significance of an artwork as a devotional tool, Góis's religious observance drifts from Catholic orthodoxy. With its emphasis on personal repentance and in its tacit affirmation of an unmediated line of communication between man and god, the prayer betrays certain affinities with reformist sensibilities.⁵⁸² Indeed,

a year before the poem was printed, Góis had traveled to Wittenberg, where he attended one of Martin Luther's sermons, dining afterwards with both Luther and Philip Melanchthon. Góis established friendships with both men, maintaining contact through epistolary exchanges.⁵⁸³

Though Góis's journey to Saxony had been motivated by personal interest, it followed on the heels of state business—diplomatic engagements with Protestant communities in Denmark and Lübeck ordered by the King of Portugal.⁵⁸⁴ Within five years of assuming his appointment in Antwerp, Góis had been increasingly employed an ambassador; he was dispatched on a number of occasions to negotiate financial and political matters with prominent Protestants. Though Luther and Melanchthon may have been the most famous reformers Góis met during these and other occasions, they were hardly the most reactionary. After completing a diplomatic embassy to the court of Frederick I of Denmark, perhaps part of a mission to convince the Protestant king of João's neutrality in a dispute over succession that had emerged between himself and Charles V, Góis attended a dinner party in the city of Schleswig, where he was mocked for his Catholic beliefs.⁵⁸⁵ Circulating at the dinner was a consecrated communion chalice, which had been filled with wine. Seeking to antagonize the Portuguese visitor for the amusement of the other, more religiously radical guests, the host prayed to God to transform the wine into blood and then offered the chalice to Góis. When Góis refused to drink from the goblet, the host denounced his faith as mere 'superstition' (*supersticioso*).⁵⁸⁶

Brought before the High Tribunal of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1571–72 after being imprisoned for nearly two years, Góis would be forced to recall these and other moments of his international career as instances of religious transgression. Having traversed so many of the confessional fault lines that fragmented Christendom after the Reformation, Góis, once he returned to his homeland, was perceived by a conservative, powerful few as having been 'othered' by his travels—corrupted by his contact with reformers and indoctrinated into cultural sensibilities that were offensive to his countryman. Having immersed himself in the epicurean luxuries and convivial dining culture of Flanders, Góis's hedonism was, it seems, a particular source of friction after his return. When an associate confronted him about his disinclination to observe ritual fasting, Góis thoughtlessly repeated a citation of Mark 7:15, "There is nothing from without a man, that entering into him can defile him," a verse that he had often heard irreverently cited at dinner parties in Brabant.⁵⁸⁷ To his Portuguese compatriots Góis's self-indulgence did not seem so harmless, and his comments, evincing a cultural persuasion rather than a religious conversion, were perceived as blasphemous.⁵⁸⁸

Enthralled by the intellectual vitality and cosmopolitan sociability of Antwerp, Góis had been very happy in Brabant, marrying a Dutch woman and having three children with her. Although he would have, according to his own admission, preferred to live out the rest of his life in the Low Countries, unfortunately for Góis, he was captured by French soldiers during Maarten van Rossum's 1542 siege of Leuven, putting an infelicitous end to what may have been a covert embassy. Despite any claims to diplomatic immunity he may have had, Góis was held hostage and ransomed for release.⁵⁸⁹ Though Góis paid his own ransom, the incident prompted João III to compel Góis to return to Lisbon, where he was appointed as the court historiographer and archivist of Torre do Tombo.

Understanding Góis's heterodoxy as an extension of his cultural relativism, this chapter provides a thematic analysis of some of the texts and artworks with which Góis was associated and situates these interests within a broader context of Portuguese engagements overseas. Born into a noble family, Góis did not have the rigorous formal mercantile training that Lucas Rem had. He nevertheless appears to have been an able and conscientious administrator, concerned

especially with problems of inflation and currency debasement, and he was known to have brokered some important financial and political arrangements on behalf of the Portuguese merchants in Antwerp with Margaret of Austria. Like many other Portuguese diplomats, his background was in international trade and finance, not politics or history.⁵⁹⁰ Befriending a number of prominent scholars during his travels, including the likes of Desiderius Erasmus and Pietro Bembo, Góis aspired to be a humanist himself, and though he would later try to devote himself to a life of learning, retiring from his post in Antwerp in order to enroll at Leuven's Busleiden University, he struggled with his limited abilities as a Latinist, a diffidence he was never to overcome despite several publications.

Having been raised since his youth at Manuel I's court, Góis was also knowledgeable about Portuguese exploration overseas. He had a nuanced understanding of the sciences of navigation and cartography, and he was deeply interested in astrology. Proud of the fact that Portuguese encounters in Africa, India, and Asia were altering Europeans' perception of the wider world, Góis was also convinced that the Portuguese would usher in a new world order. Even if he had an unusually broad and inclusive understanding of the Christian faith, he accepted unconditionally the Portuguese mission of spreading Christianity to foreign populations. Indeed, Grapheus's poem, in its subtle reference to Christ's redemption for "all the evil of this world" [*Qui totius pro orbis malo*], suggests the global dimensions of Góis's piety. A confirmation of Góis's confessional cosmopolitanism, the portrait was nevertheless incautious; it testified to a certain heterodoxy or religious relativism that would come back to haunt the sanguine statesman.

Shortly after returning to Lisbon, Góis's enemy at court, Simão Rodrigues, a Jesuit whose bad blood with Góis traced back to their first meeting in Padua in 1536, attempted on two separate occasions to have Góis denounced as heretic.⁵⁹¹ But so long as João III was alive, Góis, being a favorite at the court enjoyed considerable protection. The Portuguese king, being less dogmatic about matters of faith than Charles V, was averse to policies that would jeopardize revenues from international trade, even if, for the sake of neighborly amnesty, João had to dissimulate as if he was adopting the same policies—a geopolitical tight rope made all the more tense by his marriage to Charles's sister, Catherine of Austria.⁵⁹² As one of João's chosen emissaries in Northern Europe, Góis was frequently charged with communicating furtively the crown's conciliatory intentions toward its trading partners, many of whom were convinced Protestants.⁵⁹³ Although Góis would later confide in an Italian friend that he had felt "misplaced" in diplomatic service, João III had probably recognized that Góis's temperament, religious curiosity, and toleration were assets in an ambassador tasked with negotiating with Protestants.⁵⁹⁴

Góis's social circle in Antwerp had in fact also included many self-proclaimed Protestants. Grapheus, as the reader may remember, had been brought before the Flemish Inquisition only a couple years after giving Albrecht Dürer a Lutheran tract.⁵⁹⁵ In Antwerp as in Lisbon, Góis also maintained particularly close contact with German merchants and scholars. Since his service at Manueline court, Góis had developed relationships with a number of the German merchants, who were actively financing Portuguese voyages in Lisbon. Thanks in no small part to his friendship with Hans Jakob Fugger, Góis would later gain entrance to Conrad Peutinger's private library in Augsburg, a visit that allowed him to peruse the humanist's collection of travel literature and geographic texts.⁵⁹⁶

Góis's travels from Antwerp around 1531 mark a turning point, setting into motion a series of events that would prove fateful. After meeting with Luther and Melancthon and the more radical Protestant communities in Denmark, Góis retired his ambassadorial credentials. Though he continued to be active in the Low Countries as an art agent and factor at the Antwerp

feitoria, he declined a promotion so that he could pursue scholarship and travel. In the ensuing years, he continued to meet with a number of reform-minded individuals: in 1533 he traveled to Freiburg and Strasbourg, meeting with Martin Bucer, and the following year he would live with Erasmus for several months.

Amongst his peers, Góis was known for his generosity and as a proponent of religious tolerance, a man whose broad-mindedness and genuine curiosity about others engendered a relativism that was at odds with the dominant culture of his native country. The *Legatio*, the text to which Grapheus's poem was appended had, for instance, advocated that the Roman Catholic Church officially recognize the Christianity of the Ethiopians, even though their faith differed in several respects from Latin doctrine. It was during Góis's embassies of 1531, most specifically during his meeting with John Magnus, the exiled Archbishop of Uppsala, that Góis decided to write and publish his childhood memories of the Ethiopian emissaries.⁵⁹⁷

The most complete records of Góis's activities as a patron of the arts and as a royal art agent come from the Inquisitorial transcripts (Appendix 5.1).⁵⁹⁸ During his defense before the High Tribunal in 1572, Góis became exacerbated by the Inquisitors' relentlessness, stating that their inquiries in other aspects of his life had provided them with too little evidence, and that his 'false accuser,' not understanding the realities of commissioning art, were clutching at straws.⁵⁹⁹ What is nevertheless clear from his prepared account is that the artworks he commissioned for the crown spanned the gamut of Antwerp's creative sectors. Ranging from the monumental to the miniature arts, Góis purchased tapestries and illuminated manuscripts. Many of the artworks he originally bought for himself he gave away to others. In his defense, he also prepared from memory and account of the things he had sent and donated to the churches in Portugal. He had, for instance, sent many Flemish artworks to churches and monasteries in his hometown Alenquer, including: a polychrome wooden sculpture of the Ecce Homo (Figure 5.4), a collection of altar decorations (presumably arras and embroidered textiles), a painting of the *Mockery of Christ* by Hieronymous Bosch (Figure 5.5), and a *Crucifixion* retable by Quentin Massys.⁶⁰⁰ He mentions sending vestments of silk and silver chalices from Antwerp as well as a stained glassed window that featured an Annunciation scene. Even though most of these works are either lost or have not been identified, he was known to have kept his personal collection of artworks in his study, and as Grapheus's poem suggests his contemporaries found him to be 'very dedicated to his paintings.'

The transcripts of Góis's defense do not, however, provide a complete account of his collection, and passing references to other artworks appear in his chronicles and in his epistolary correspondence. One artwork not referenced in the trial was Dürer's portrait of Erasmus (Figure 5.6), which Góis acquired and cherished, claiming that, "When I began looking at [the portrait], the happiest memory of such of man, of such a host, evoked deepest emotion."⁶⁰¹ If the charcoal portrait of Góis by Dürer, known only through copies, indeed represents the Portuguese diplomat, Góis must have sought out the artist in Nuremberg during one of his trips to Germany, since their tenures in Antwerp did not intersect (Figure 5.7).⁶⁰²

In what follows Góis's activities on the Antwerp art market are set in relationship to specific themes and ideas that emerge in his writings. Attending to the underlying significances of these artworks for Portuguese cultural interests, I consider Góis's intermediacy as an art agent. Because Góis was deeply engaged in theorizing oversea expansion, discoveries, and the forms of knowledge afforded by cross-cultural contacts, the chapter situates Góis's activities as an art agent within broader networks of exchange, considering ultimately not only the exportation of Netherlandish art to Portugal but also the function and international resonances of Antwerp art in

missiological and diplomatic exchanges in Africa and India. Analysis of two texts written by Góis establishes the cosmographical interests and mystical proclivities explored visually the chapter.

History as a World Tree

In the late 1520s, after living in Antwerp for several years, Damião de Góis was charged with the task of coordinating a one-of-a-kind illuminated genealogy of the Portuguese royal line (Figure 5.8 a–i). Conceived, it seems, by Infante Dom Fernando, the son of Manuel I and brother of João III, the project entailed a cross-cultural collaboration between the Portuguese court artist António de Holanda and the Flemish illuminator Simon Bening. Góis's role in the commission was not, however, limited to that of art agent: he was to take an active role in its creation as the author of the accompanying descriptive lineage. Remembering the commission many years later, in his voluminous *Crónica do felicíssimo rei Dom Manuel*, Góis describes the circumstances of the commission, indicating that Fernando:

ordered me to find whatever chronicles I could either manuscripts or printed, in whatever language, so I ordered them all. And to compose a chronicle of the kings of Spain since the time of Noah and thereafter, I paid a great deal to learned men: salaries, pensions, and other favors. I ordered drawings of the tree and trunk of this line since the time of Noah to King Manuel, his father. He ordered it illuminated for himself by the principal master of this art in all of Europe, by name Simon of Bruges in Flanders. For this tree and other things I spent a great deal of money.⁶⁰³

Although Góis here attributes to Dom Fernando the selection of Simon Bening, this may have been simply a means of flattering the prince's patronage, for Góis had, at around the same time, purchased a Book of Hours from Bening (usually identified as the Hennessy Hours), a devotional text that Góis would subsequently give to Queen Catherine (Figure 5.9 a–e).⁶⁰⁴ Góis nevertheless makes clear that his role as intermediary involved the synchronization and harmonization of textual, material, and human resources, and that he invested significant sums of his own money in the project. For Góis, the commission also entailed no small amount of social capital: the involvement of various 'learned men,' he mentions, whose knowledge helped shape the project, predicated not just on financial remuneration but on Góis's personal, social indebtedness to them—for he had to leverage 'favors' as well as monetary funds in order to realize the project.

Work on the genealogy was underway by 1530, but the manuscript's illumination was never finished. Even though Bening anticipated dedicating himself to the venture for two years, the folios remained incomplete at the death of Dom Fernando in 1534, a delayed output that suggests the logistical difficulties of bringing the work to fruition.⁶⁰⁵ Comprised of thirteen folio pages, five completed by Bening and seven by Holanda, the manuscript visualizes the Portuguese line as a protean tree. Tracing a topology of blood, the meta-diagram inflects time and space—generation, dynasty, and territories. Presenting idealized, often fanciful likenesses of the Portuguese royals alongside their English, Burgundian, German, French, Italian and Spanish consorts, the illuminations, particularly the ten full-page folios, present a visually discontinuous, multicolored tree of life, an arbor animated with ancestors. The first page of the manuscript shows the ur-ancestors as wildmen, clothed in skins of a lion and leopard and holding shield with the Portuguese dragon (Figure 5.8 a). The line issues forth from Magog—the grandson of Noah and second son of Japheth—whose name signaled the topographical thresholds of the ends of the earths as well as apocalyptic futurity.⁶⁰⁶ The more recent generations, distinguished from the

third page onward by their modern attire, are sometimes presented as half-lengths fused to the branches, other times as full-lengths interlacing the serpentine boughs.

Anticipating his later role as archivist and court historiographer, Góis was interested in the project from a historical perspective, but he was also attentive to the visual conventions underlying the typology. In his *Livro de Linhagens*, the text that would have accompanied the Bening-Holanda illuminations, he states:

And if anyone thinks that this declaration is briefer than is required for such a lofty theme, may they be advised that genealogies are best seen in trees and drawings than explained in writing, and also that topics of such importance are not for people whom nature has not distinguished from beasts in knowledge and condition, other than in shape and use of speech, but they are for learned and refined men, brought up and experienced in the courts of Kings and Princes, and well-versed in their affairs.⁶⁰⁷

Even as Góis here unapologetically naturalizes the function and interest of the genealogical genre for those with noble blood, he suggests that the information contained therein is communicated better visually than textually. Restating the conventional knowledge about how such genealogies can and should be visualized, Góis's stress on the literary significance of the genre for historically minded princes and elites is not without irony.

Though the genre was itself biblical in origin, emerging not only from the ancestral litanies of the Book of Genesis's Tables of Nations and the genealogies of Jesus delineated in the Gospels of Luke and Matthew, visual exegetical tradition drew upon the visionary symbology of the Book of Isaiah's Tree of Jesse: "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots" (Isaiah 11:1).⁶⁰⁸ Though the subject was, during the Middle Ages, most often treated in illuminated manuscripts, stained-glass windows, and less often in stone relief, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, these visual genealogies were introduced to a variety of new media, including tapestries, prints, panel painting and wood sculpture. Indeed, the religious and secular variants of the theme experienced something of a revival in Netherlandish art at the turn of the century, and the imagery of the Portuguese manuscript seems to have followed this general vogue for genealogies. While a northern Netherlandish painter, identified as either Geertgen tot Sint Jans or Jan Mostaert, created one of the earliest panel paintings of the subject (Figure 5.10), a grisaille drawing of the Tree of Jesse by the Pseudo-Bles, one of the Antwerp mannerists, gestures toward the significance of the theme for the city's export-oriented production of compound altarpieces (Figure 5.11), where the subject was sometimes treated in wood carvings, offering consumers polychromed knock-offs of Heinrich Douvermann's splendid carved Jesse trees in the Rhenish churches of Xanten and Kalkar (Figure 5.12). When Margaret of Austria commissioned designs for a cycle of tapestries representing a genealogy of the Portuguese kings from the Antwerp tapestry agent Pieter van Aelst as early as 1511, it was probably based on contemporary Franco-Flemish tapestries of the Tree of Jesse (Figure 5.13).⁶⁰⁹ Following the Portuguese manuscript by about a decade, the Antwerp printmaker Robert Peril created colored woodcuts, a print series comprising twenty-two leafs, which showed the genealogical tree of the House of Habsburg (Figure 5.14). However, even as Peril's work, in tracing Charles V's royal lineage back to King Pharamond, a mythical king of the Franks, derived its visual language from biblical genealogy, the woodcut did not purport to link the dynasty to the biblical past.⁶¹⁰ Thus one of the peculiarities of the Portuguese genealogy was that it understood the exemplary family bloodlines of religious figures to be coextensive with those of the Kings of Portugal.

The idea of the Portuguese as a chosen people, linked to biblical prophecies, found expression in several of Góis's other writings. In *On Portuguese Matters* [*De Rebus et Imperio Lusitanorum*], a pamphlet that responded to a certain Italian bishop's criticisms of the Portuguese spice monopoly, Góis offered a peculiar justification of the crown's commercial engagements. On the one hand, he defended the Portuguese princes and the international merchants who underwrote the expenses of the expeditions overseas, turning the blame for the unjust pricing on the 'mercenary' retailers.⁶¹¹ On the other hand, Góis argued that Portuguese investments in the spice trade were motivated less by profit than by their mission to spread Christianity. Citing Psalms 19:4, "Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world," Góis's declamation overtly positions the Portuguese as modern-day fulfillments of biblical prophecies, which portended of a people who would rise to power, reuniting the world in devotion to Christ.⁶¹²

While Góis's jingoism—his belief in the evangelical exceptionalism of Portuguese ventures overseas—reflected the dominant political culture in discovery-era Portugal, his specific interests in global reunification through Christian devotion had been ignited during his childhood, when at the age of ten he served as a page at the court of Manuel I.⁶¹³ Góis had been present at the Lisbon court when a delegation from the Christian King of Ethiopia arrived with gifts for the King Manuel, seeking in particular oaths for military assistance against their Muslim rivals. Góis, like everyone else at the Portuguese court, equated the king represented by the ambassadors with the figure of Prester John, who according to medieval lore, was a descendant of the Biblical Magi, themselves descendants of the sons of Noah.⁶¹⁴ During his own diplomatic negotiations in northern Europe, Góis often spoke of the occasion, perhaps as a means of talking about the importance of Christian unity amongst reformist-minded groups. Encouraged by John Magnus, the exiled Archbishop of Uppsala, to whom the text is dedicated, Góis wrote about this embassy in his *Legatio* of 1532.⁶¹⁵ Translated into English the following year by Sir Thomas More's son, John More, the text found a lively audience amongst an international circle of humanists.⁶¹⁶ In the text, Góis stresses the commensurability of the Ethiopian faith, alluding simultaneously to the conversion of peoples in 'newly discovered' lands:

This empire of prester John ys reputed as great a maygne countre in a maner (yf yt be not greter) as all the remanaunt that nowe remayneth christened, except the new founden lands, that have ben becomen christened within few yeres of late. And therefore yt greatly may, and of reason greatly ought to rejoyce all good christen people, to perceive that though there are diverse thynges wherein they and we dyffere in rytes laws, customes, and ceremonyes: yet in all other thynges necessarily pertynyng as well to the vertues of faith and relygon, as all other vertues morall, they so farre forth accorde and agre wyth these christen nacyns of ours, and wyth the catholyque doctryn of the chyrche, that yt may well appere even by that thyng alone, that the spyрте of god hath wrought and worketh this full agreement and consent in so many thynges necessary to salvacyon, thoro we so many great countreys and regyyos as ours are and theyres both, y tone by so longe space hauvng so lytle accesse unto the tother, that of many yeres tyl nowe very late, we coule not wel tell whyther they were well cristened or not.⁶¹⁷

Góis believes that Latin Christians, particularly in an era of increased contact with non-Christian races, will, despite cultural and political differences, be comforted by the similarity of the Ethiopians' faith and morals. It is a sign of divine providence, he moreover suggests, that a common faith unites Europeans with these distant people. He goes on to argue that the Ethiopian

King sent a delegation in a parallel manner to that of Christian nations, which was in itself a indication of the equivalence of the nations:

[T]he emperor of that lande that nowe is, ason unto him that sent the embassatour un to the kynge Emanuell, dyd send not onely to the noble kynge of Portyngale that now is, sonne unto the said noble kynge Emanuell, but also to the popes holynesse that now is Clement of that name the vii by his embassatour, wuth his obedience after the maner of other christen prynces: by this treatyce and those letters yt doth I say well appere that the said emperor and all the chyrch, that ys to wytte all the christen people of that empire, be of the same faith that we be.⁶¹⁸

Stressing the compatibility of the Ethiopian's political representational system, Góis also describes the diplomatic gifts, which the ambassadors presented to Manuel I. As if to further confirm that the overseas visitors 'be of the same faith that we be,' Góis indicates that the embassy brought with them a most cherished relic, a gift that—through the origins of its very materiality—suggested not only their shared religion but also their common origins as descendants of Japheth and Ham respectively. Ventriloquizing the ambassadors, Góis remembers their speech:

We sende unto you by this our embassatour Mathew a crosse, made of the same selfe wood on which our savyour Jesu Cryste was crucyfied at Ihierusalem. A piece of this holy wood was brought unto us from Ihierusalem, of whyche we have made ii crosses, whereof the one styll remayneth wyth us, and thither we sende by our embassatour unto you. The colour of the wood is black, and hangeth at a lytteli sylver ryng.⁶¹⁹

Stained by the blood of Christ, the relic of the Holy Cross testified to a common devotional interest in venerating religious historical artifacts. As a diplomatic gift, the relic also subtly implied certain parallels in interpretive tradition, evoking the geographic dispersion of man after the fall and their reunification in devotion to Christ. According the Golden Legend, the timber of the True Cross was hewn from wood that traced back to the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.⁶²⁰ Jacopo de Voragine cites the interpretive tradition that Seth, the son of Adam, had cultivated the tree from seeds taken from the Garden of Eden. The ancestry of the wood thus imbricated with the ancestry of man. Mankind's fate was thus encrypted into the materiality of the wood of the tree; its fragments, reminders not only of the fall from grace but of Christ's redemption, completed the salvific circle of creation and incarnation.

Lisbon and the ends of the earth

It was no small matter to Góis that the Ethiopian embassy traveled to Lisbon, a city that had been so profoundly transformed by recent generations of navigators and overseas commercial engagements. As a royal chronicler, Góis celebrated both the political centralization and commercial decentralization that had been achieved thanks to the combined efforts of the kings of Portugal and the Portuguese explorers, whose travels connected the city to Africa, India, and Asia. For when the Portuguese wrested control of the spice trade from Venice in 1499, they opted for a decentralized system of distribution, establishing *feitorias*—strongholds and storehouses—in an number of important port cities. The head of all these *feitorias* was the *Casa da India* in Lisbon, a building with which Góis was intimately familiar. In his *Description of Lisbon*, [*Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio*] (1554), he portrays the building as the central landmark of the city, “a monument, executed in marvelous style and replete with the abundant spoils and plunderings from many nations and peoples,” “an opulent emporium, due to its aromas, pearls, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones brought to us from India,” and a “great depository of

gold and silver.”⁶²¹ Adjacent to the city’s market square and principal commercial thoroughfare, the *Rua Nova dos Mercadores*, “where every day merchants representing almost every people and region of the world flock together [...] joined by great throngs of people enjoying the advantages of business at the port,” the *Casa da Índia* and its material splendors had inspired Góis in a separate pamphlet *Hispania Urbis Ubertia et Potentia* (1541), to wax poetic about the various commodities that lined its corridors, a synecdoche that connected the city streets to the overseas itineraries of its explorers.

Although Góis would have had first-hand knowledge of the small bird’s eye view of Lisbon that had been included in Dom Fernando’s illuminated genealogy (Figure 5.8 i), he also knew that his native city, though famous, had seldom been represented either pictorially or textually. Recognizing a lacuna in the emerging literature, Góis conceived *Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio* as an armchair traveler’s guide to the city. Observing the codes of the *laudes civitatum* genre, De Góis undoubtedly intended the book for the amusement of his humanist friends abroad, a fact that is signaled first and foremost by its Latin prose.⁶²² Written after Góis’s appointment as the royal archivist at the Torre do Tombo, but before he had begun to write his chronicles of the reigns of Manuel I and João III, he was chiefly concerned with representing his city’s growth as a center of international trade. Indeed the text opens by proclaiming that only two cities in the world can claim to be “Queens of the Oceans”: Lisbon and Seville; for according to Góis’s logic, “it is under their direction and sovereignty today that navigation is carried out in all of the Orient and Occident.” And whereas the Guadalquivir River links Seville to the New World, Lisbon “claims for itself dominion over that part of the Ocean that extends from the mouth of the Tagus, to Africa and Asia along an immense maritime circuit.”⁶²³ Stressing Lisbon’s hydrographic connectivity even before he begins to describe Lisbon’s topography, Góis also praises not only the intrepid adventures of Portuguese explorers and their discovery of a sea route to India, but also the kings, who in consolidating the kingdom, “resolved to send exploratory voyages eastward into Indian waters beyond the Ethiopian coast already crossed by the Portuguese, but also to take the initiative to search for land routes.”⁶²⁴ Setting these daring “enterprises so fraught with risk,” against the maritime knowledge of the ancients, Góis suggests that the Portuguese, through their pioneering navigation, have eclipsed the geographic understanding of the Greeks and Romans, engendering for the first time in history knowledge of the seas beyond the ‘Pillars of Hercules.’ Mentioning the contributions of modern voyagers from Bartolomeu Dias and Lopo Infante to Vasco da Gama, Góis suggests that Portuguese navigators have revised knowledge of the world’s thresholds—surpassing the ethnographic models of Herodotus and Ptolemy.

Whereas Góis’s later chronicles would chart the city’s developments as a linear progression, focusing largely the relationship between urban development and royal policies, *Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio* conceived a praise of the city’s history through a description of urban spatiality. In his dedication to Prince Henrique, Góis writes: “In this description of Lisbon, I have attempted to paint with the most delicate brush possible all that I was able to uncover regarding the origin of the city proper and its beauty.”⁶²⁵ Although the *Description of Lisbon* may thus present itself as a literal representation, the text encodes a symbolic understanding of urban space. For Damião de Góis’s description allegorizes Lisbon as a city defined by its registration of imperial circuitry—the centripetal and centrifugal movements of its waterways as the aqueous channels that connected the center of the Portuguese empire to its overseas possessions. Lisbon’s allegorical circularity is moreover couched in ancient imperial and Christological meanings, suggestive of Portugal’s earthly fulfillment of Christ’s imperium.

Connecting the city to the ancients was integral to the genre, but Góis expands this historical geography to the city's Reconquest. After tracing the origins of the city's name from Ptolemy and Strabo to Pliny, based in part on antiquarian findings, Góis alludes to Lisbon's place at the periphery of the Roman Empire, a city visited by embassies from the imperial capital. Moving forward in time, Góis subtly links two periods of pagan rule: from Classical antiquity to the Moorish conquest. Functioning as an introductory excursus, the historical overview remembers the city at the moment of Reconquest, providing Góis with an opportunity to explain the emblems of the Portuguese royal arms, remembering Afonso Henrique mystical vision during the battles against the Moores:

Afonso saw Christ in the skies nailed to the cross and promising him victory. The king, inflamed with faith, responded with these words. "Lord, it is not necessary that you appear before me, for I firmly believe that you are the Son of God and the true Savior of the world. Go, then, and show yourself to the enemies of your religion, so that we may be spared great misfortune, and so they may come to believe that it is only through your death that the world has life and salvations." In memory of this miracle, Afonso ordered that upon his shield, which was only white until then, there be carved five smaller blue shields, signifying the five defeated kings. And in each of these smaller blue shields he arranged five white points—four corners with a center—recalling Christ's wounds. [...] This is why the kings of Portugal adopted, after that remarkable victory, such glorious and significant symbols as these. And just as these signs were granted from the high heavens by Christ, so we, fighting on beneath their guidance, spread the faith of Christ today throughout the vast universe.⁶²⁶

As a national emblem, the shields symbolized a collective Christian triumph. In Góis's time, the shield with the wounds of Christ would be increasingly shown alongside an armillary sphere, an addition that communicated to missiological spirit of Portuguese overseas ventures (Figure 5.16). Góis then relates the city's religious history to two important saints of the city: St. Vincent, whose relics consecrated the cathedral and St. Anthony, the Franciscan saint who became "known throughout the entire world, and his memory honored and proclaimed everywhere by all people."

Having dispensed with the historical geography of the city—its mythology, antiquity, and Christian past—Góis commences his account of the city's topography, beginning with the Tagus estuary and the inward flow of its waters, which bring navigators and mariners to its harbor. Moving progressively past the city's defensive structures, the Tower of Belém, which regulates sea traffic into the city, and the city walls, Góis conducts the reader into the city's hilly topography via an intimate side street, past religious sanctuaries and hospitals. Góis then moves the reader through the city, a built environment that finds its center in the market, itself a microcosm of international trade, signaled architecturally through the *Casa da India*. The urban itinerary leads back to the Tagus, and from the Tagus back out to the sea.

Góis's organization of the city presents a symbolic topology that turns on the city relationship to the Tagus and the sea:

[The] Tagus sets forth the laws and morns on every coast of the Ocean, in Africa and in Asia. The kings and princes of those provinces subject themselves to these laws either freely or by force, rendering service to the Portuguese and ever more frequently bound to the Christian faith. This is marked by the greatest of deference, not only in the realm of the Indies, but also in the territories of the Chinese and the confines of the Japanese, a people unknown in Europe until recently.

An imperial logic guides Góis's representation of Lisbon. The first phase of his description moves centripetally along the coast, through Lisbon's hinterlands, and up to the city walls, the second and third stages of the description move from the city walls to urban core, and the fourth stage culminates with the centrifugal flow of Tagus River to the rest of the world, returning to Portuguese possessions in Indian, China, and Africa. Understood as a spatial allegory, Góis's *Descriptio* attempted to make Lisbon's topography responsive to the global empire for which it was an epicenter.

Constituting a symbolic form, Góis's understanding of the circularity of imperium had perhaps been informed by the visual program of a tapestry cycle, known as the *Spheres*, which had been purchased in the Netherlands from Joris Vezeleer, an art dealer in Antwerp and Brussels, for João III's marriage to Catherine of Austria (Figures 5.15 a–c). Although there's no documentation to link Góis specifically to this cycle, the commission occurred between 1530–35, when Góis was still active in Antwerp, commissioning art for himself and the Portuguese royal family. At around the same time, Góis had been the principal agent for another cycle of tapestries, acquiring for the Portuguese king a cycle of the months. Also during those years, he purchased a Book of Hours from Simon Bening, a manuscript he presented to the queen after her wedding.

Although the iconography of the cycle of tapestries is complex, executed perhaps from cartoons by Bernard van Orley, the program centers on three spheres, showing Hercules holding a celestial globe (Figure 5.15a), Atlas lifting an armillary sphere (Figure 5.15b), and João III and Catherine appearing alongside a terrestrial globe (Figure 5.15c). Subsidiary scenes placed on either side of the central figure pertain for the most part to the occasionality of the royal wedding, dealing with themes of love, duty, and of the cosmic destiny of the Portuguese royal couple.⁶²⁷ Presenting a hybrid cosmographical diagram, the tapestry representing João III and Catherine in the guises of Jupiter and Juno also contains a terrestrial globe, turned to the face of the part of the globe guaranteed by treaty as their dominion, was modeled quite explicitly after Martin Behaim's globe, the so-called *Erdapfel* (Figure 5.15 details). Suspended between the sun and the moon and set before ocean waters that blend invisibly into the sky, the royal couple conduct the trade winds, as personifications of Abundance and Wisdom, Fame and Victory herald the benefits of their sovereignty.

The *Spheres* tapestries, presenting complex allegories of Portuguese worldly dominion, conceptualized a unique program, drawing its motifs from distinct visual technologies for representing the world three-dimensionally. Like other Portuguese traders active in international commerce, Góis had strong interests in navigational instrumentation and was connected to an international community of the cartographers. He had also been a zealous proponent of Portuguese global expansion, publicly admonishing Sebastian Munster for his misinformed representation of Portuguese exploits overseas in his *Cosmographia*.⁶²⁸ The *Descriptio*, with its construction of Lisbon as a global city, read the city using a symbolic formal language that was consistent with royal ideology.

There can be little doubt that Cornelius Grapheus was one of the intended readers of the *Descriptio*, and Góis's characterization of Lisbon as an international emporium would have mattered to Grapheus, particularly given the Antwerp city secretary's own efforts to portray the city on the Scheldt as a cosmopolitan reflection of the wider world served by the city's markets. Indeed, Grapheus's later contribution to Virgilius Bononiensis's 1565 monumental map of Antwerp shows some intellectual debt to the Portuguese humanist's spatial reckonings. As

discussed in Chapter One, Grapheus had conceived of an audience for the map that was comprised, at least partly, of armchair travelers. The collaborative work, which portrayed the city “according to its living, calculated likeness,” functioned as a kind of topographic chronicle, which characterized Antwerp’s development chiefly through an enumerative recitation of measurement, scale and infrastructural statistics.

Published a decade before Grapheus’s work on the map, Góis’s *Descriptio* may have sensitized Grapheus to this mercantile method. For as secretary for the Antwerp *feitoria*, Góis concerned himself with volumes of goods and economies of scale, and these proficiencies informed his reading of Lisbon as an emporium. For example, in moving from the north to the south side of the city, Góis pauses to remark on the general topological character of the city, remarking that the south side of the city:

From the temple of Santa Clara back to the Old Royal Palace, [...] the distance moving along the sea from the east toward the south measures about three thousand paces. This side of the city, then, is bathed by the sea, while the other three sides have access by land. As a result, with its five hills and many other extremely fertile and delightful valleys, the city encompasses a space whose perimeter may be calculated at seven thousand paces. It does not strike me as very easy, however, to make an exact drawing and description of Lisbon seeing as how it is settled on uneven, mountainous terrain. Nonetheless if one were to look out upon Lisbon, observing its placement and overall aspect within the global, panoramic view [...] it would no doubt be verified that the shape of the city resembles that of a fish bladder. If the ground were entirely flat it would appear from that side to have the form of an arch. As far as the city center is concerned its grandeur and magnificence are such that it stands up to any other European city, as much for the number of its inhabitants as for the beauty and variety of its buildings, indeed the houses are said to number over twenty thousand.⁶²⁹

That Góis’s imaginative deformation of Lisbon’s topography suggests a correspondence between the city’s form and the anatomy of an aquatic creature was no doubt a joke, and yet the idea of conceptually extracting the city’s integral form from different visual, spatial measures was a meaningful enterprise. Like Grapheus’s later work on the Bononiensis map, Góis’s numeracy functions as a descriptive metric for assessing and picturing the city. In addition to specifying distances measured according to the human gate, he provides a litany of other integers: Lisbon has, Góis, recites: 22 gates facing the sea and 16 gates facing the land, 77 towers; 131 confraternities, 25 parish churches in addition to monasteries and other religious institutions, more than 600 villas and country estates outside the city and 240 villages.⁶³⁰

Moving Images: situating Góis’s Antwerp activities in a global context

As Portuguese interventions in the spice trade transformed the commercial geography of Europe, prompting a shift from a Mediterranean- to an Atlantic-centered trade system, the Antwerp *feitoria* gave voyagers not only better access to the South German silver and copper essential to their transactions in Africa and India, but also to a supply of artworks that could double as diplomatic gifts and conversion tools. Góis diplomatic career and his engagements with different knowledge communities in and beyond Antwerp confirm that the Portuguese traffic in Antwerp have never been limited to the distribution and acquisition of particular commodities. Cultural and intellectual exchanges accompanied the trade in goods. As Albrecht Dürer’s transactions with Antwerp’s Portuguese merchant colony has already made clear, Portuguese travelers introduced to the city an array of commodities and artworks from

previously unknown territories in Asia and Africa, and Dürer would, thanks to his exchanges with Portuguese merchants, returned to Nuremberg with an assortment of things: exotic animals, coral, Chinese porcelain, an African saltcellar, medicine, perfume, fine textiles, jewelry, sweetmeats, and other comestibles. Myriad exotic objects—from humble natural specimens to the most refined ivory carvings—circulated in Antwerp thanks to Portuguese engagements with the wider world.

At the same time, as Dürer also realized, the Portuguese were avid collectors of Northern art, and just as they brought certain categories of things to the city, so did they take from Antwerp paintings, prints, and sculptures that would serve as their communicative media in port cities beyond Christendom. Indeed, Portuguese merchants, together with their Flemish dealers, were responsible for exporting vast quantities of artworks to the Iberian Peninsula and to their territories abroad. Antwerp art found its global itineraries thanks to Iberian explorers. Góis's patronage suggests that even as he bought and commissioned artworks for himself, he brokered contracts between the Portuguese court and Antwerp artists, obtained artworks to decorate churches in Portugal, and even gifted objects from his own personal collection to friends throughout Europe and members of the royal court.

Perhaps because Portuguese merchants and explorers could buy somewhat less expensive, 'serially-produced' paintings and sculptures in Antwerp, they sometimes used Flemish artworks to communicate the tenets of their faith during overseas voyages. Among Antwerp's most successful exports during this time were diminutive polychromed statuettes of the *Christ Child as Salvator Mundi* (Figures 5.18, 5.21). Manufactured in Mechelen and Brussels and sold at the *Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk* pand, these small carvings were exported by the crateful to port cities in Spain, Portugal, and the Americas, where they enhanced devotion and the proselytization efforts of mendicant friars.⁶³¹ Based on the survival of one of these statuettes in a collection in the Philippines, which has retained the trademarks of the Antwerp seal, it is known with some certainty that Ferdinand Magellan had, at least during his later voyages through India and the Spice Islands, used these sculptures as diplomatic gifts.⁶³²

And it is as diplomatic gifts that these *Christ Child* statuettes became complexly embedded in the intercultural communication of ideas that drew Portuguese explorers into dialogue with people in Asian and African port cities. A Goanese ivory, produced for the Jesuits, evokes the agency of such images in intercultural exchanges, visualizing what I am here describing as the global itinerary of the Christ-Child statuettes (Figure 5.19), an avenue of patronage that sets Góis's writings and behaviors in Antwerp within a broader discursive context. Suggesting the active missiological function of the Antwerp sculptures, the carving presents the Christ Child as the navigator of a galleon, an iconographical variant of the Church as a ship. The sails have been marked with the wounds of Christ, organized in the same manner as the Portuguese House of Avis's armorial shield, and as described so vividly in Góis's remembrances of Afonso I Henrique's mystical vision during the battle to recapture Lisbon from the Moors.

Representing a mere subset of the images used by Portuguese voyagers to introduce Christianity to indigenous peoples in Asia, Africa, and Brazil, the Antwerp statuettes, once positioned within the circuitry of diplomatic gift-giving, reflected back the mythic forms that proved most meaningful to the men who perceived themselves to be harbingers of a new world order.⁶³³ The popularity and demand for Antwerp Mannerist paintings of the Adoration of the Magi (Figure 5.23), pointing to a second category of exports that flooded Iberian markets during the discovery-era, bespoke the biblical narrative's exemplarity and its usefulness as a framework for conceptualizing cross-culture contacts. That Portuguese and Spanish explorers regarded the

journey of the stargazing Magi as a prefiguration of their own pursuits is confirmed pictorially on a great number of maps and manuscripts (Figures 5.24–25). Indeed, as discussed in Chapter Two, the Magi were, since the elaboration of their cult in the twelfth century, venerated as exemplary cultural intermediaries—travelers who heralded the promise of global reconciliation through material exchange and devotion to Christ. From an explorer’s point of view, this providential interpretation maintained the promise of extra-linguistic communication while simultaneously perpetuating a familiar cosmographic understanding of the world’s geography.

The Magi were also exemplary gift-givers. Their preternatural recognition of Christ as the Messiah was doubly affirmed by their astronomical abilities to discern cosmic messages written in the stars and by the symbolic materiality of their gifts, presenting the Christ Child with gold, frankincense and myrrh. Interpretive traditions held that all three substances were imbued with prophetic and devotional significance: gold symbolized pure love; frankincense signified the immateriality and incorruptibility of the spirit; and myrrh foreshadowed Christ’s mortal death. As objects endowed with extra-linguistic significance, the Magi’s gifts thus made materially manifest the foreign kings’ implicit recognition of the most profound Christian mysteries.⁶³⁴ Thus, in contrast to the tragic misrecognition that drives human agency in the Passion narrative, the Magi’s devotional deference to Christ, as concretized in their gifts, suggested the possibility of human perceptiveness.

Biblical commentaries dating back to the Pseudo-Jerome had also long associated the Magi, as symbolic representatives of the three continents, with the sons of Noah, and by extension to the worldview represented in T-O *mappaemundi*, where the names of Shem, Ham, and Japheth were conflated with the world’s three continents (Figure 5.26). In terms of salvation history, the Magi therefore presaged the future reunification of the world in devotion to Christ—the reconciliation of peoples that had been alienated from each other linguistically and geographically in the postdiluvian era.

Góis’s *Legatio*, in identifying the Ethiopian king as Prester John, that is, as a Christian descendent of the biblical Magi, affirmed a pervasive belief amongst a certain community of political propagandists that the Portuguese would bring about the fulfillment of the global reunification. Within the carefully constructed world of Góis’s text, Portuguese primacy was a foregone conclusion: they had already known and ‘discovered’ Ethiopia, but the Africans, in recognizing the power and piety of Manuel I and as the pursuers of reconciliation, ratified his belief in Portuguese exceptionalism.⁶³⁵ That the Ethiopian envoys came, moreover, with a relic of the Holy Cross, affirmed the ability of diplomatic gifts to speak across the divides of language and culture, to commensurate devotional difference. Believing that his readers would be reassured by the existence of communities of Christians beyond the ‘Pillars of Hercules,’ Góis also expresses naïve optimism about the willingness of the Roman Church to accommodate and value the diversity that the African Christians would bring to European religious communities.

Although gift-giving within the story of the Magi differed fundamentally from the functional significance of gifts as conversion tools within Portuguese diplomatic engagements, the story nevertheless enlivened their evangelization efforts in Africa, Asia, and the New World.⁶³⁶ Many objects produced within the intercultural contexts of Jesuit missions in Africa and Asian speak to the afterlife and prolongation of the Magi imagery.⁶³⁷ Suggesting the disparate visual traditions the voyagers’ gifts had to negotiate, these objects operated beyond the boundaries of colonial mimicry or cross-cultural syncretism, self-reflexively playing with the gift’s communicative function. An early seventeenth-century Congolese copper statuette of St. Anthony of Padua (Figure 5.20), for example, showing the common iconography of the saint

holding the Christ Child, exposes salient representational ambiguities. Read against the diplomatic usage of the Antwerp statuettes, the Congolese bronze collapses the ‘statuette as gift’ into the image of the friar, that is, the attributes that signaled his *Vita*. As a saint who came from Lisbon, veneration of St. Anthony, who was according to Góis, “known throughout the entire world, [...] honored and proclaimed everywhere by all people,” recalled Portugal’s place in salvation history. As a thing manufactured, the Congolese copper linked periphery and center to an exchange of imagery that was itself tautological. Functioning as both a register and trace of religious conversations, the statuette, suggestive of the afterlife of Antwerp imagery, also indicates that the recognition solicited by diplomatic gifts were not realized instantaneously: it was manufactured and inculcated over time.⁶³⁸

A seventeenth-century Goanese ivory sculpture of the *Christ Child as Good Shepherd* (Figure 5.22), the overall form of which recalls a world tree, suggests an alternative itinerary that the Antwerp statuettes may have followed, again thanks to Portuguese travelers.⁶³⁹ The sculpture’s many registers speak in complicated ways to the themes of Christ’s imperium. Episodes from the Nativity within the two lower tiers, including a scene of the Adoration, are presented as a world mountain, upon which the Christ Child sits, playing a sitar. A symmetrically arranged world tree extends behind the Christ Child, connecting him through its metaphorically arboreal bloodlines to a Crucifixion, the source of its salvific fructification. Rationalizing global geography through a Christ-centered imperial ideology and gift exchange, the tree signals both blood and wood—genealogy and the redemption of the world through Christ’s sacrifice. Refracted through the interpretive lens of a native Indian workshop, the sculpture presents a synthetic understand of many issues that had concerned Góis in his writing—on the Portuguese royal lineage on the one hand and on the embassy of the Ethiopians on the other—elongating and multiplying the discursive registers of Portuguese presentation and self-representations. The image also suggests the many-layered significances of gifts in the unfolding story of global reunification. While the sculpture suggests a metabolization of the diplomatic gifts of Portuguese explorers and the images used by missionaries, it also associates the gifts of the Magi with Christ’s self-sacrificial gift for, as Góis’s prayer had evoked, ‘all the evils of this world.’

Damião de Góis’s prosecution during the Inquisition in Portugal casts a tragic light on his worldliness as a cultural intermediary and the religious toleration he promoted in his writing. Having recast his native city as a global emporium, Góis was attentive to the topological significance of empire as a tie that binds. His experiences in Antwerp, and his integration into the city’s different international humanistic and commercial knowledge communities, it seems, played a vital role in shaping these sensitivities.

Coda.

Antwerp's ill-fated cosmopolitanism: translating the mobile city

When iconoclasts turned their fury upon Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Kerk in Antwerp (Figure 6.1), the London merchant Richard Clough reported the events to his employer, Sir Thomas Gresham, whose career as a mercer, merchant adventurer, royal financial agent and diplomat had been spent between London and Antwerp.⁶⁴⁰ Among the more vivid contemporary accounts of the *beeldenstorm*, Clough's letter to Gresham conveys not just a sense of solidarity with the Antwerp community, but a sense of belonging. He laments as an almost personal loss the tremendous destruction of church property, which had served the religious needs of the city's congregations, both native and foreign. At the same time, the letter bespeaks certain business-related anxieties regarding the inevitable Habsburg militaristic response and its impact on the city's merchants. He writes:

Sir, For that I have not received any letters from your Mastership of late, I have the less to write touching your affairs, all things being in good order heretofore (God be praised); but how long it shall so remain, God knows, for that we have had here this night past a marvellous stir, all the churches, chapels and houses of religion utterly defaced, and no kind of thing left whole within them, but broken and utterly destroyed, being done after such order and with so few folk that it is to be marvelled at. [... The iconoclasts] began with the image of Our Lady, which had been carried about the town [during the *ommegang*] on Sunday last, and utterly defaced her and her chapel, and, after, the whole church, which was the costliest church in Europe, and have so spoiled it that they have not left a place to sit in the church. [... After I saw that all should be quiet, I, with above ten thousand more, went into the churches to see what stir was there, and coming into Our Lady church, it looked like a hell, where were above 10,000 torches burning, and such a noise as if heaven and earth had got together, with falling of images and beating down of costly works, such sort that the spoil was so great that a man could not well pass through the church. So that, in fine, I cannot write you in ten sheets of paper the strange sight I saw there, organs and all destroyed; and from thence I went, as the rest of the people did, to all the houses of religion, where was like stir, breaking and spoiling all that there was.⁶⁴¹

Juxtaposing the healthful state of Gresham's accounts with the misfortunes of Antwerp's ecclesiastical collections, Clough's reportage vacillates between placation and premonition. Despite its reiterative stress on different techniques of ruination—defacement, destruction, spoiling, falling, beating, and breaking—the account claims that the damages exceeded verbal description.⁶⁴² It is nonetheless significant that Clough's attention to the visual and sensorial cacophony of destruction turns on a sense of waste—on the extravagance of violence.

In witnessing these historic events, Clough's alertness to the costliness of the image-breakers' vandalism had been based on a first-hand knowledge of the expense of both the materials and craftsmanship of the destroyed property. For in the months leading up to the *beeldenstorm*, Clough had been working with Gresham to acquire masonry, brick and statuary in Antwerp for the construction of a bourse in London, a structure that would later become known as the Royal Exchange (Figure 6.2).⁶⁴³ While the idea for a building an exchange in London traced back to Gresham's father Richard, who had himself been an important intermediary

between London and Antwerp, Thomas Gresham brought the project to fruition. From the start, Gresham sought to model the London Exchange after the Antwerp Bourse (*Nieuwe Beurs*), and, since he could not always be present in Antwerp, he relied on Clough as his acquisition agent (Figure 6.3). But Thomas Gresham did not only want the plan of the London Exchange to recall its Antwerp prototype, he insisted on importing Flemish materials as well as laborers, hiring a reputable Antwerp architect, Hendrijk van Paesschen and a crew of master stonemasons.⁶⁴⁴

Constructed on the eve of the iconoclastic fury, a calamity which, as Cough had anticipated, set off a series of events that led to repression, plundering, war, and mass migration, the Royal Exchange represented an important moment in the transmission of both architectural and financial knowledge from the Low Countries to England. As Daniel Roger's poem in the *Civitates* (*"De Magnificentia Urbis Antwerpianae"*) had made clear, the Antwerp Bourse occupied an important place in the English cultural imaginary. Eulogizing the exchange's concentrations and agglomerations, his verses ("Here dissonant rumor is heard, praise itself fills it/with various languages and various vestures/What an exquisite splendor to see and how wonderful in all other respects/The world at large flourishes in this world in small") paid tribute to the international topologies of the Antwerp emporium.⁶⁴⁵ As an encapsulation of and monument to the global extensions of the metropolis, the Antwerp bourse made emblematic the power of international commerce to bring the world together. Touted at its foundation as "an ornament to the city for the use of merchants of all nations and languages," Antwerp's *Nieuwe Beurs* had been erected in response to merchants' demand for better commercial infrastructure, and the building's dedication had explicitly commemorated its incorporative function. With its novel architectural form, the exchange had been championed as both an achievement of coordinated, civic patronage and as the hearth of the city's commercial cosmopolitanism.

Indeed, the exchange was perhaps the city's most identifiably transnational landmark, a functionally differentiated space that had, in its open-air courtyard, accommodated international financial and large-scale commodity transactions, and, in its enclosed upper-story galleries, offered urban residents and foreign merchants novel retail outlets to acquire luxury goods and artworks.⁶⁴⁶ An engraving, appearing first as an illustration within Lodovico Guicciardini's *Description of the Low Countries* (1567), had advertised these aspects of bourse's innovativeness. Conceived as an enshrinement of a market square, the building was defined by its porousness. The fluid transactional space of the peristylum synecdochically linked the building's capacity to encompass worldly diversity—the daily collection and dispersion of Antwerp's foreign merchants—to the urban setting. Whereas the ground plan of the bourse signaled the geographic mobility fostered by the city's transit trade and financial market, the elevation of the building—the second-floor galleries—implied the social mobility of these affluent foreign merchants as patrons of art. While the New Exchange's unprecedented insinuation of domestic luxury retail into the spaces of international finance and commodities markets heralded the global aspirations of Antwerp's export-oriented art trade, the structure of the building testifies to the extent to which foreign merchants were imagined as the cultural intermediaries who would actualize this ambition.⁶⁴⁷ The establishment of the New Exchange, thus, not unlike the city's sponsorship of Guicciardini's text, signaled the evolution of Antwerp's self-fashioning as a worldly metropolis, manifesting also the importance of civic patronage as an engine of social and professional cohesion. Indeed, as the dissertation had argued, Antwerp's success as an international hub predicated not just on the diversity of its trading partners, but also on the city's promotion of an inclusive, tolerant, and outward-looking civic culture.

In many ways, Gresham was exactly the type of high-level cultural intermediary that Antwerp merchants and artists hope for. During his residency in Antwerp, Gresham had become intimately acquainted with the New Exchange. He had personally utilized both aspects of the building. In brokering loans for the Tudor crown and in his wholesale commodity transactions, he had been a regular on the floor of the bourse. Gresham had also occasionally shopped upstairs in the sales galleries, acquiring fine textiles, metalwork, and other luxury crafts for his personal lodgings nearby, where he often hosted sumptuous dinner parties after business hours. In hiring Flemish masons and in acquiring the building materials for the Royal Exchange in Antwerp, he chose to patronize Antwerp artisans and merchants over London craftsmen, no doubt reflecting the bias, so clearly expressed by Sir Thomas Elyot, “If we wyll have any thinge well paynted, kerved, or embrawdred, to abandone our own countraymen and resorte unto straungers.”⁶⁴⁸

But whereas the Antwerp bourse had been a project underwritten by the city—a benefit that sought to locate the dislocated, giving concrete form to the domestic economy’s reliance upon international commercial networks—Gresham’s exchange instantiated the merchant’s personal liberality, declared throughout the building in the repetition of Gresham’s heraldic emblem: the golden grasshopper.⁶⁴⁹ At the same time, the Royal Exchange, located in close proximity to London’s provisions markets, memorialized English merchants’ engagements in a foreign metropolis. Indeed, the Royal Exchange emphatically declared its foreignness. While this was a sore point for English stonemasons, who vociferously protested Gresham’s employment of Flemish craftsmen, for the increasingly affluent London shoppers who craved Continental finery, the cosmopolitan architecture was an effective advertisement, signaling moreover London’s ambitions as a cultural and commercial metropolis.⁶⁵⁰ Indeed, the coincidence of these two events—the founding of an exchange in London and the eruption of religious violence in Antwerp—foreshadowed the end of a long and prosperous era of Anglo-Netherlandish commercial relations, and, with a simple spin of Fortune’s wheel, London merchants were set to profit from Antwerp’s decline.⁶⁵¹

The New Exchange was not the only building from Antwerp to be ‘translated’ to the capital cities of its trading partners.⁶⁵² In the Hanseatic city of Gdansk, for example, an Amsterdam architect would later build the so-called Green Gate after the Antwerp *Stadhuis*.⁶⁵³ Gresham’s project was, however, prescient, anticipating the changing, intertwined fates of London and Antwerp. For the construction of the Royal Exchange was not only a timely exploitation of building materials, abundantly available on the Antwerp market after the construction boom of 1540s–60s, it also testified to a literary traffic in Antwerp publications. The first edition of John Shute’s treatise, *The first and chief groundes of architecture used in all the famous monuments*, was published in 1563, the year that Gresham began negotiating with the aldermen of London to build an exchange (Figure 6.4). Insofar as Gresham and Shute shared an important patron at Elizabeth I’s court, Sir John Dudley, it is likely that the two men were aware of each other’s endeavors. Presenting an idiosyncratic study of the classical orders, Shute’s treatise acknowledges that his understanding of Vitruvius had been based at least partly on Flemish sources, an admission that can only refer to Pieter Coecke van Aelst’s Serlian translation, *Generale reglen der architectvren*, published in Antwerp in 1539 (Figure 6.5).⁶⁵⁴ Thus the physical translation of Antwerp-style monuments to London paralleled the linguistic and cultural retranslation of architectural publications.

Later translations of Antwerp architectural monuments beyond the banks of the Scheldt depended less on the transshipment of statuary and building materials, or for that matter of architectural treatises, than on the diaspora of talent—the city’s intellectual capital—that

followed the forced migrations of 1585. After the Fall of Antwerp, the Habsburg overlords compelled ‘heretics’ residing in the city to either convert or leave Antwerp permanently.⁶⁵⁵ Such intolerance was, as the Antwerp city council had long understood, bad for business. Powerless about the detrimental effects of this migration on the city’s commercial fortunes, magistrates had certainly appreciated the extent to which Antwerp’s porosity had invigorated the intellectual life of the city and brought wealth to its port. In prioritizing commercial liberties and cultural openness, Antwerp had, however, also given sanctuary to a heterodoxy that rendered the city and its merchants vulnerable. Antwerp’s fraught balancing act between civic independence and imperial fealty—exposed particularly during years of religious upheaval and war—guided its fateful pendulum shifts, first as a Habsburg city, then as a Calvinist Republic, then as a Habsburg city once more. The abuses of Spanish soldiers in Antwerp lent force to the momentum of those swings. Just as Frans Hogenberg’s visual chronicle of the Dutch Revolt had memorialized the Sack of Antwerp (Figure 6.6), so did an anonymous Flemish lyricist compose a lament to the city’s ill-fated cosmopolitanism:

O Netherlands, Netherlands! Noble place,
 Your magnificent crown above all other lands,
 A lovely, bejeweled spot, you were considered;
 Nowhere else has such riches and treasure,
 Where many acquired money,
 So that all powerful merchants eagerly sought you.
 They came to the Netherlands to seek prosperity,
 Because you had such abundant profit;
 But with bloody tears I must report,
 That you so highly esteemed have fallen;
 In you so many had grown prosperous,
 Living in peace and rest,
 Now one sees everyone ultimately consigned to sighing and trembling with fear,
 Because those who came to this land as friends want to ruin it.⁶⁵⁶

A former resident of Antwerp, Hogenberg’s visual depictions of the Spanish soldiers raping, despoiling, plundering, and murdering self-consciously undercuts the rhetorical associations of urban containment as either sanctification or security. Functioning as a form of reportage, his image of the city residents fleeing into the waters of Scheldt, the hydrographic lifeline of the city’s commerce, also subtly recalls the mytho-poetic symbolism of the Druon Antigoon legend. At the same time, the homology of crowns and towns, evoked also in the ballad, harkens back to a metaphor developed in both Erasmus’s *Institutio* and Pieter Gillis’s entry program. This homology underlies the visual metonymy in Hogenberg’s engraving, where the internationalism of the Spanish walls serves as a kind of perverse platform for the Spanish marauders’ devastating performances, the tragic aftermath of Spanish occupation. The visual codes of the encompassing city become inverted.

Functioning as a condemnation of Habsburg rule, Hogenberg’s engraving also makes clear that Philip II and his Regents failed in their most fundamental duties as custodians of the peace and prosperity of Antwerp. The Inauguration Charter, the political covenant underlying the *blijde inkomst*’s decorous oaths of reciprocity and flattering characterizations of princely magnificence, had been transgressed, a violation that nullified the Habsburg right to rule.

The balladeer also plaintively recasts the city’s cultural inclusiveness as naïveté. Stressing the falsity of the foreign friends who laid waste to the city, he disassociates Antwerp’s

cultural openness from the commercial pragmatism that had engendered it. But as this dissertation has made clear, Antwerp's cosmopolitanism had always been strategic, and the magistrates had often encouraged foreign merchants to perpetuate the city's mystique as global emporium through personal and corporate acts of liberality. What the poet does not therefore concede in his lamentation was that civic policy had misjudged the strength of Antwerp's position with its overlords, that is, the Habsburgs' willingness to tolerate, let alone honor, the liberties that had sustained Antwerp's commercial efflorescence.

Particularly during joyous entries, when the covenant between the city and its sovereign was ceremonially confirmed and when the city's assertion of its standing as a republic was the boldest, urban elites had adapted the language of benefits to suit their own cultural agendas, asserting in the process their own liberality. Drawn from classical moral philosophical texts, the language of benefits had also conditioned conceptualizations of patronage, and had been used, particularly during the joyous entry rituals, to negotiate tensions between imperial fealty and civic autonomy as well as to encourage foreign merchants to take an active role in contributing to the commercial metropolis. Filtered through the writings of Erasmus, the classical conceptions of liberty and liberality informed the Brabantine literati responsible for staging civic festivities over the course of the sixteenth century and in time infiltrated the lexicon of urban burghers, informing for example perceptions of the significance of Abraham Ortelius's world picture as well as Dürer's legacy in the city. Being a commercial creed, it is perhaps unsurprising to find that the entry rituals were underwritten by a thorough consideration of moral economic principles, and that the most erudite members of the city government were thinking about how an ethic of useful spending would not only speak to the interests of the city's merchants and burghers but also provide foreign demographics with a means of integration.

Even after city residents capitulated to the Spanish, promotions of generosity persisted as an integral part of the *blijde inkomst*'s rhetoric of incorporation—the means by which city realized and performed its cosmopolitan identification. That the entry's rhetoric of place also inflected through moral economic thought is further demonstrated in drawing of Martin de Vos (Figure 6.7), which clearly conflates a personification of the city with the figure of Liberality. Dated to 1585, the image, perhaps made as a tableau design for the joyous entry that welcomed Alexander Farnese after the city's capitulation to Spanish forces, presents an allegory of the reversals of Antwerp's fortune.⁶⁵⁷ Two images of *Antwerpia* appear at the center axis of the upper and lower registers of the stage. On the bottom, *Antwerpia* appears stripped down, sitting plaintively as marauding soldiers surround her, despoiling her financial, literary and artistic treasures. On top, she appears in majesty, dressed in a sumptuous gown, restored by overland and maritime trade, suggested respectively by the Hessian transporter on her right and the sailing galleon on her left. A careful student of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, De Vos overlays the image of restored *Antwerpia* with the attributes of Liberality (*Liberalitas*) and Public Happiness (*Felicitas Publica*) (Figures 6.8–6.9).⁶⁵⁸ Flanked by dyadic caryatids that disburse coins from their moneybags, she wears a particular, eagle-crowned headdress. This iconography, which has sometimes been misread as a Habsburg eagle, derives from an unusual excursus in Ripa's description of the figure of Liberality.⁶⁵⁹ In his interpretation of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, Ripa claims that an eagle, after satiating its appetite, will leave the carrion of its prey for other, less skillful hunters to eat.⁶⁶⁰ Though De Vos's drawing predates the publication of an illustrated version of Ripa's text, it is clear even from subsequent illustrations of the virtue that the Antwerp artist had been producing visual interpretations of his emblems. By presenting *Antwerpia* in the guise of Liberality, De Vos symbolically regenerates her customary splendor,

implying not only the restoration of international commerce, but also the reinstatement a civic culture where generosity—the golden mean of spending—reigned supreme.

NOTES

¹ British Library, Cotton MS Galba, folio 9r, spelling modernized. The quote also appears in Ian Blanchard's very informative biographical overview, "Vaughan, Stephen (b. in or before 1502, d. 1549)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28146>; See also Walter Cecil Richardson, *Stephen Vaughan, financial agent of Henry VIII: a study of financial relations with the Low Countries* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953); Ian Blanchard, "English royal borrowing at Antwerp, 1544–1574," in *Finances publiques et finances privées au bas moyen âge: actes du colloque tenu à Gand le 5–6 mai 1995*, ed. M. Boone and W. Prevenier (Leuven: Garant, 1996), 57–74.

² On the Antwerp headquarters of the English Merchant Adventurers, see Donald Harreld, "Trading Places: The Public and Private Spaces of Merchants in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp," *Journal of Urban History* 29 (2003), 657–669; Oskar de Smedt, *De Engelse Natie te Antwerpen in de 16de Eeuw (1496-1582)*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: Se Sikkel, 1954); Ian Blanchard, *International Economy in the 'Age of Discoveries': Antwerp and the English Merchants' World, 1470–1570*, (Stuttgart: Verlag Franz Steiner, 2009).

³ On Stephen Vaughan's significance as a financial agent see, Oskar de Smedt, "Stephen Vaughan, agent van de Engelsche kroon, en de Antwerpsche geldmarkt in den jaren 1544-1546," *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* 3 (1928), 229-56; W. C. Richardson, *Stephen Vaughan, financial agent of Henry VIII: a study of financial relations with the Low Countries*, op. cit.

⁴ For more on Vaughan's relationship with Cromwell, see: Geoffrey Elton, *Reform and Renewal, Thomas Cromwell and the Common Weal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973). The subject has also been treated recently in Chapter 2 of Tracy Borman, *Thomas Cromwell: The Untold Story of Henry VIII's Most Faithful Servant* (NY: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2014).

⁵ Thomas Campbell has, for example, suggested that Stephen Vaughan may have been involved in provisioning the king with tapestries. See Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestry at the Tudor Court* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 254, 299. For more on the development of luxury markets in London after the sixteenth century, see Linda Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Robert Batchelor, *London: The Selden Map And The Making Of A Global City, 1549-1689* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

⁶ On relationships between Londoners and foreigners see Deborah Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the scientific revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford University Press, 1986).

⁷ On the history of the Hansa in England, see Nils Jörn, *'With Money and Bloode': Der Londoner Stalhof im Spannungsfeld der Englisch-Hansischen Beziehungen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000); A general overview is provided in Philippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, trans. D.S. Ault and S.H. Steinberg (London, Macmillan, 1970).

⁸ These negotiations ultimately failed. David Daniell, *William Tyndale* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 209–217.

⁹ An Kint, "The Community of Commerce: Social Relations in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp" (PhD Diss., Columbia University, 1996), 28, see also 29, n. 8.

¹⁰ On Antwerp as a site for the sourcing of luxuries, see Ulinka Rublack, “Matter in the Material Renaissance,” *Past and Present* 219 (2013), 41-85; for the influence of Antwerp retailing see Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, op cit.; on luxury markets in Antwerp see Dan Ewing, “Marketing art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady's Pand,” *Art Bulletin* 72:4 (1990), 558–585; Filip Vermeyleen, *Painting for the market: commercialization of art in Antwerp's Golden Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003); Jan Van der Stock, *Antwerp, story of a metropolis, 16th-17th century* (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993). For the relationship of luxury demand to new productive technologies, see Sven Dupré, “Trading Luxury Glass, Picturing Collections and Consuming Objects of Knowledge in Early Seventeenth-Century Antwerp,” *Intellectual History Review* 20: 1 (2010), 53–78.

¹¹ Antwerp's growth as a ‘world metropolis’ is often linked explicitly to the overseas expeditions of the ‘Age of Discoveries’. See, for instance, the influential essay, Herman van der Wee and Jan Materné, “Antwerp as a world market in the sixteenth and seventeenth century” in *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis*, ed. Jan van der Stock, op. cit., 19–31.

¹² Though problematic, the concept of ‘renaissance individualism’ retains a certain heuristic value. Jacob Burckhardt, *The civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore (London: Penguin, 2004). See also John Jeffrey Martin, *Myths of Renaissance individualism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). Martin's work owes certain intellectual debt to Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

¹³ Though the anachronism of the epithet ‘merchant capitalist’ is objectionable because it seems to accept as inevitable the development of capitalism as theorized by Karl Marx, it still proves heuristically useful in primers on early modernity. The scholarship of Jacques Le Goff has, however, long since treated the cultural significances of medieval banking and commerce with greater sensitivity. See for instance the recent translation of Jacques Le Goff's *Le Moyen Age et l'argent: essai d'anthropologie historique: Money and the Middle Ages: an essay in historical anthropology*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012). For the most up-to-date take on these issues with regard to commercial developments in the Low Countries, see Martha C. Howell, *Commerce before capitalism in Europe, 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Bert de Munck's work on the transformation of urban production in Antwerp provides synthetic insight into the wide-scale changes in luxury industries affected by the shift from a Kauf to a Verlag system of production; see for instance: Bert de Munck, “One counter and your own account: redefining illicit labour in early modern Antwerp,” *Urban History* 37:1 (May 2010), p. 26-44; Bert de Munck, “Skills, Trust, and Changing Consumer Preferences: The Decline of Antwerp's Craft Guilds from the Perspective of the Product Market, circa 1500–1800,” *International Review of Social History* 53 (2008), 197–233.

¹⁴ On the history of avarice as it relates to the merchant's profession, see Richard Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Jacques Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages*, trans. Patricia Ranum (New York: Zone Books, 1988); Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978); Odd Langholm, *The Merchant in the Confessional: Trade and Price in the Pre-Reformation Penitential Handbooks* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); J. Gilchrist, *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969); Benjamin N. Nelson, “Religion: The

Usurer and the Merchant Prince: Italian Businessmen and the Ecclesiastical Law of Restitution, 1100–1550,” *The Journal of Economic History* 7 (1947), 140–122.

¹⁵ Geert de Clercq, *Ter Beurze. Geschiedenis van de aandelenhandel in België, 1300-1990* (Brugge: Van de Wiele Uitgeverij, 1993).

¹⁶ The emergence of a permanent market in Antwerp began with the gradual extension of fair times, a trend that Antwerp began in the 1460s. Ewing, “Marketing art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady's Pand,” op. cit. 559; See also Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy, fourteenth–sixteenth centuries*, 2 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963).

¹⁷ See for instance Robert Brenner, *Merchants & Revolution: commercial change, political conflict, and London's overseas traders, 1550–1653* (London: Verso, 2003); James Tracy, ed., *The Political economy of merchant empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); James Tracy, ed., *The Rise of merchant empires: long-distance trade in the early modern world, 1350–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels, eds., *Renaissance go-between: cultural exchange in early modern Europe* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005); Hans Cools et al., eds., *Your humble servant: agents in early modern Europe* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006).

¹⁸ Some general sources that have informed my thinking include: Peter Spufford, *Power and profit: the merchant in medieval Europe* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002); Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, trans. Frank D. Halsey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); Jacques Le Goff, *La bourse et la vie: économie et religion au Moyen Age* (Paris: Hachette, 1986); Bruno Blondé, ed., *Buyers and Sellers: Retail Circuits and Practices in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); James Murray, *Bruges, cradle of capitalism, 1280–1390* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); James Murray and Edwin Hunt, *A history of business in medieval Europe, 1200–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Donatella Calabi and Stephen Christensen, eds., *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (vol. 2, *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400-1700*) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Within this edited volume, see in particular Bruno Blondé, Oscar Gelderblom, and Peter Stabel, “Foreign Merchant communities in Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam.”

¹⁹ On the history of these fairs in the Low Countries see, Spufford, *Power and Profit*, op.cit.; Jean-Marie Yante, “Places et sociabilité urbaine en Hainaut (XIIIe–XVe siècle),” *Revue Belge de Philologie & d’Histoire* 89:2 (2011), p. 989–98. On visualizing the market and the social dynamics of the early modern consumer gaze see Elizabeth Honig, *Painting & the market in early modern Antwerp* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Larry Silver, *Genre Scenes & Landscapes: the rise of pictorial genres in the Antwerp art market* (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Jan Muylle et al, *Joachim Beuckelaer: het markt- en keukenstuk in de Nederlanden, 1550–1650* (Gent: Musuem voor Schone Kunsten 1986).

²⁰ Much has been written on the significance of the morphology of marketplace in Western Christendom and on the ‘carnavalesque’ spirit of fair time. A couple of the more important considerations include: Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750* (Cambridge University Press, 1986); Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The politics and poetics of transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).

²¹ Murray, *A history of business in medieval Europe, 1200–1550*, op. cit.

²² On Antwerp's foreign merchant colonies, see Jan-Albert Goris, *Études sur les Colonies Marchandes Méridionales à Anvers de 1488 à 1567* (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1925); E. Coornaerts, *Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers (fin du XVe-XVIe siècle)* (Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1961); Hans Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1567–1648), zur Geschichte einer Minderheit* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977); Oscar de Smedt, *De Engelse Natie te Antwerpen in de 16de Eeuw (1496-1582)*, op. cit.; Alsons Thijs, "Een 'gilde' van Breslaue kooplieden te Antwerpen (einde van de 15de – eerste helft van de 16de eeuw)," *Studia Historica Gandensia* 197 (1975), 353–367; Donald Harreld, *High Germans in the Low Countries: German merchants and commerce in golden age Antwerp* (Boston: Brill, 2004).

²³ Michael Limberger, "No town in the world provides more advantages: Economies of Agglomeration and the Golden Age of Antwerp," in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London*, ed. Patrick O'Brien et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Blonde, Stable, and Gelderblom, "Foreign Merchant communities in Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam," op. cit. On the term 'natie,' see An Kint, *The Community of Commerce: Social Relations in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp*, op. cit., 64, n. 29. On the problems of nationalism, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006).

²⁴ Merchants were, of course, a heterogeneous socio-economic group. Terms like *coopman*, *vercooper*, and *cooper* were used to describe transactions of all scales. Linguistic distinctions were not systematically made between retailers and wholesalers. There was however, a guild structure that represented all local merchants: many prominent merchants were members of the 'meerse' guild, which blurs the boundary between individual, independent merchants and those who belonged to a larger corporate entity. For a thorough overview see Kint, *The Community of Commerce: Social Relations in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp*, op. cit., 62–3. On the merchants' guild, see E. Geudens, *Het hoofdambacht der meerseniens*, (Antwerp: Dela Montagne, 1891). See also Hugo Soly, *Urbanisme en kapitalisme te Antwerpen in de 16e eeuw: De stedbouwkundige en industriële ondernemingen van Gilbert Van Schoonbeke* (Brussel: Historische Uitgeverij Pro Civitate, 1977).

²⁵ Wilfrid Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1959), 386.

²⁶ On subsidizing properties and building commercial infrastructure, see Soly, *Urbanisme en Capitalisme*, op. cit.; Soly et al., "De Schepenregisters als Bron voor de Conjunctuurgeschiedenis van Zuid- en Noordnederlandse Steden in het Ancien Régime. Een Concreet Voorbeeld: De Antwerpse Immobiliënmarkt in de 16de eeuw," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 87: 4 (1974), p. 521-544; Donald J. Harreld "Trading Places: The Public and Private Spaces of Merchants in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp," *Journal of Urban History* 29 (2003), 657-669.

²⁷ Goris, *Études sur les Colonies Marchandes Méridionales à Anvers de 1488 à 1567*, op. cit., 32.

²⁸ Paola Subacchi, "Italians in Antwerp in the second half of the sixteenth century," in *Minderheden in Westeuropese steden (16de-20ste eeuw)*, eds. H. Soly and A. K. L. Thijs (Bruxelles: Institut Historique Belge de Rome 1995), 73-90.

²⁹ Goris, *Études sur les Colonies Marchandes Méridionales à Anvers de 1488 à 1567*, op. cit., 58.

³⁰ For a concise, recent discussion of the residential patterns of Antwerp's foreign merchant communities, see Donald Harreld, "Trading Places: The Public and Private Spaces of Merchants in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp," *Journal of Urban History* 29 (2003), 657–669.

³¹ Local artisans (via guilds) often registered complaints (logged into *rekestboeken*) about preferential treatment of foreigners who resided only temporarily in Antwerp but were exempt from particular taxes, and thus made wider profit margins without the expectation that they would reinvest their capital in Antwerp. Interesting here is a real concern that the town council went too far in their negotiations with foreigners, to the extent that their enticements became a de rigueur bias in the world of Antwerp politics. Kint, *The Community of Commerce: Social Relations in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp*, op cit., 85.

³² This characterization of Antwerp's rising international significance was popularized in works by Immanuel Wallerstein and Fernand Braudel. Immanuel Wallerstein, *The modern world-system I: capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world-economy in the sixteenth century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974); Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

³³ However, the quantity of goods remaining in the city was non-negligible. Economic historians have estimated that as much as a third of the imported goods and raw materials remained in Antwerp for local consumption and as materials for local craftsmen.

³⁴ Van der Stock, ed. *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis*, op. cit.

³⁵ See volume 2, on "Mythical Thought" of Ernst Cassirer, *The philosophy of symbolic forms*, trans. Ralph Manheim (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953).

³⁶ Other words for merchants were used, including, *vercoopers* (sellers), *coopers* (buyers), and *kooplui* (merchants).

³⁷ Michael Limberger provides a nice summary of the historiography in "No town in the world provides more advantages: Economies of Agglomeration and the Golden Age of Antwerp," op. cit.

³⁸ Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250-1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 155.

³⁹ Kint, *The Community of Commerce*, op cit. 3–8. On prognostications, see also Herman Pleij, *Het gevleugelde woord: geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur, 1400-1560* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2007). On cosmopolitanism in late middle ages and early modern periods more generally, see John M. Ganim and Shayne Legassie, *Cosmopolitanism and the Middle Ages* (NY: Palgrave, 2013); David Adams & Galin Tihanov, *Enlightenment and Cosmopolitanism* (Leeds: Legenda, 2011); Margaret C. Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

⁴⁰ "[T]he rise of Antwerp was not generated from within. [...] Antwerp did not have her own native merchants of international standing: foreigners dominated the scene [...]. [T]he city was an economic innocent: other people came knocking at the door, moved in, and made her fortunes for her." Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World: Civilization and Capitalism 15th–18th century*, vol. 3 (New York: Harper & Row, 1982-84), 144–5.

⁴¹ See for instance Peter Burke, *Antwerp, a metropolis in comparative perspective* (Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993).

⁴² Some comparative sources include Jozef van Balberghe, *Mechelen contra Antwerpen en Brussel. De strijd om de stapelrechten tussen Mechelen-Antwerpen enerzijds; Mechelen-Brussel anderzijds. 1233-1785* (place of publication not identified, 1953); Edmond Roobaert, *Kunstenaars, opdrachtgevers en kunstverzamelingen te Brussel in de zestiende eeuw* (Brussel: Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, 2010).

⁴³ On the stylistic plurality of Antwerp mannerists, see Peter van den Brink, et al, *Extravagant!: a forgotten chapter of Antwerp painting, 1500-1538* (Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 2005); From the accompanying volume of the *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (2004-5), see in particular the following essays: Paul Vandebroek, "Late Gothic Mannerism: on the significance of a contrived style," 301-330; Stephen Goddard, "Assumed Knowledge. The use of prints in early sixteenth-century Antwerp workshops," 123-40; Micha Leeflang, "Workshop practices in early sixteenth-century Antwerp studios," 232-73. On the seventeenth-century complaint about the poor quality of Flemish exports flooding the Dutch market, see Eric Jan Sluijter, "Over Brabantse voddens, economische concurrentie, artistieke wedijver en de groei van de markt voor schilderijen in de eerste decennia van de zeventiende eeuw," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999), 112-143.

⁴⁴ Herman van der Wee and Jan Materné, "Antwerp as a World Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Antwerp, story of a metropolis*, op. cit., 20.

⁴⁵ Note for example the general correspondence between the names of city squares and streets with the occupational function or profile of inhabitants; i.e. the *Handschoenmarkt* was the place where glovers sold their products, many sculptors lived on *Steenhouwersvest*, etc. For in depth studies of the evolution of Antwerp's urban form from the late fifteenth to the late sixteenth century, see Rutger Thijs, *Tot cieraet deser stadt: Bouwtrant en bouwbeleid te Antwerpen van de middeleeuwen tot heden. Een cultuurhistorische studie over de bouwtrant en de ontwikkeling van het stedenbouwkundig beleid te Antwerpen van de 13de tot de 20ste eeuw* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1993); see Rutger Thijs, *Antwerpen: atlas van een stad in ontwikkeling* (Tielt: Lannoo, 2007).

⁴⁶ Kint, *The Community of Commerce: Social Relations in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp*, op cit.

⁴⁷ On Plantin, see Karen Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and engraved book illustrations in sixteenth-century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589): a bibliography of the works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden* (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1983).

⁴⁸ Quoted in Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, (London, 1960), p. 26; see also Michael Limberger, (in O'Brien) op. cit. 39 cf.; An Kint, "Community of Commerce" op. cit., 1-2.

⁴⁹ Neil de Marchi & Sophie Raux, eds. *Moving pictures: intra-European trade in images, 16th-18th centuries* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2014); Neil De Marchi and Hans Van Miegroet, eds., *Mapping markets for paintings in Europe 1450-1750* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); Michael North and David Ormrod, eds. *Art markets in Europe, 1400-1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Filip Vermeylen, *Painting for the market: commercialization of art in Antwerp's Golden Age*, op. cit; Larry Silver, *Peasant scenes and landscapes: the rise of pictorial genres in the Antwerp art market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); B. Dubbe and W. H. Vroom, "Mecenaat en kunstmarkt in de Nederlanden gedurende de zestiende eeuw," in *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: Noordnederlandse kunst 1525-1580*, eds. W.Th. Kloek et al., eds. ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1986); Maryan Ainsworth, ed., *Early Netherlandish painting at the*

crossroads: a critical look at current methodologies (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001).

⁵⁰ For an overview on patronage in the Low Countries see Maryan Ainsworth, “The Business of Art: Patrons, Clients, and Art Markets,” in *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: Early Netherlandish Painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, eds. Maryan Ainsworth and Keith Christensen (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 23-39; on Antwerp’s bourgeois consumers see, Maximiliaan Martens and Natasja Peeters, “Paintings in Antwerp houses (1532-1567),” in *Mapping markets for paintings*, op. cit., 35–51.

⁵¹ The classic source on the evolution of marketing mechanism in sixteenth-century Antwerp remains: Dan Ewing, “Marketing art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady’s Pand,” *Art Bulletin* (1990) 72:4, 558-584.

⁵² This list of art sales venues would include: Beghard Convent; St. John’s Church; Dominican Pand (*Preikheeren Pand*); Our Lady’s Pand (*Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk Pand*); Friday Market (*Vrijdagmarkt*), Parchment House, Painters’ Guild Hall at the *Grote Markt*, Spanish Pand, Tapestry Pand on *Cammerstraat (De Vette Hinne)*, Painters’ Pand (at the *Nieuwe Beurs*), the Tapissierspand on *Schuttershoven*, Jewelers’ Pand, Silversmiths’ Pand, Joiners’ Pand on the *Kerkhofstraat*; see dates of foundation in Ewing, “Marketing Art,” op. cit., 580 n. 159; also Wegg, *Antwerp*, op. cit., 234.

⁵³ Jan Van der Stock, *Printing images in Antwerp: the introduction of printmaking in a city: fifteenth century to 1585*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1998).

⁵⁴ Ewing, “Marketing art in Antwerp,” op. cit.

⁵⁵ Allison Celia Evans, “*Het Tapissierspand*: Interpreting the Success of the Antwerp Tapestry Market in the 1500s” (PhD Diss., Duke University, 2012).

⁵⁶ Katlijne van der Stighelen and Filip Vermeyle, “The Antwerp guild of Saint Luke and the marketing of paintings, 1400-1700.” in *Mapping markets for paintings*, op. cit, 188-208. See also Maximiliaan Martens, “Antwerp Painters: their Market and Networks.” *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten*, 2004–5, op. cit.

⁵⁷ On allowing Brabantine artists to sell at Antwerp markets, see Van der Stighelen & Vermeyle, *ibid.*; Evans, “*Het Tapissierspand*.” op. cit.

⁵⁸ For example in 1547, Jan Ympyn, published in Antwerp his treatise on the Italian methods of double entry bookkeeping, touting it as “new,” *Nieuwe Instructie en de Bewijs der looffelijcker* (Antwerp, 1547); Raymond de Roover, *Jan Ympyn: essai historique et technique sur le premier traite flamand de comptabilite* (Anvers: Veritas, 1928); Ceri Sullivan, *The Rhetoric of Credit: Merchants in Early Modern Writing* (London: Associated University Presses, 2002), 13; Basil Yamey, *Art and Accounting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 19.

⁵⁹ An English translation of Jan van der Straet (aka Stradanus) text has been published as: *New discoveries; the sciences, inventions, and discoveries of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as represented in 24 engravings issued in the early 1580's by Stradanus*. (Norwalk: Burndy Library, 1953).

⁶⁰ See quote in note 51.

⁶¹ My interests in topologies have been loosely inspired by several texts, including Graciela Chichilnisky, ed., *Topology and Markets* (Providence: American Mathematical Society, 1999).

⁶² John Rennie Short, *Making Space: Revisioning the World, 1475-1600* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004); Spufford *Power & Profit*, op. cit.

⁶³ The letter appears in *Epistolario Alba*, 2, 33–34, cited in Guido Marnef, *Antwerp in the age of Reformation: underground Protestantism in a commercial metropolis, 1550-1577*, trans. J.C. Grayson (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. xi.

⁶⁴ Cornelius Scribonius Graphaeus (possibly in collaboration with Pieter Gillis), *De nomine florentissimae civitatis Antverpiensis*, 1527 (Brussels, Royal Library, Inv. No V.H. 27.789 A I.P.) Translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

⁶⁵ “Unus liber regna, provincias, urbes, imo orbem terrae nobis tuo beneficio dedit.” The letter is reproduced in A. Gerlo and H.D.L. Vervliet, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse 1564-1606* (Antwerp, 1968). Quoted in Joost Depuyst, “‘Vale, Verum Antiquae Historiae Lumen’: Antiquarianism in the Correspondence between Justus Lipsius and Abraham Ortelius,” in *Iustus Lipsius, Europae Lumen Et Columen: Proceedings of the International Conference, (Leuven 17–19 September 1997)*, Gilbert Tournoy et al (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 1999) p. 37.

⁶⁶ I am here echoing Helgerson’s assertion made about the cognitive world-making function of sixteenth-century maps, “Maps let them see in a way never before possible the country—both country and nation—to which they belonged....” Richard Helgerson, “The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England,” *Representations* 16 (1986), 56.

⁶⁷ My interest here in a discourse of worlding has been generally inspired by Roland Greene, *Five Words: Critical Semantics in the Age of Shakespeare and Cervantes*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 143–172.

⁶⁸ A version of the folio, published by Jan de Gheet, has been preserved in the collection of the Centrale Bibliotheek, Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven., Inventory number 2B, 2529.

⁶⁹ The path of the Scheldt, characterized in the adjoining poem as the ‘coursing fate of Neptune’ (*Neptuni cursu sors*), projects into the foreground. Conceived as a harmony-conferring enshrinement (*Candida que peperit concordia menia patrum*), the town walls set the city apart from its agricultural hinterland. Antwerp’s built environment is condensed into an oblong promontory contained between the Scheldt and the city walls.

⁷⁰ Jan Grieten and Paul Huveene, “Antwerp Portrayed” in *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis*, op. cit., 70.

⁷¹ Rutger Tijs and Irène Smets, *Tot Cieraet deser Stadt: bouwtrant en bouwbeleid te Antwerpen van de Middeleeuwen tot heden: een cultuurhistorische studie over de bouwtrant en de ontwikkeling van het stedenbouwkundig beleid te Antwerpen van de 13de tot de 20ste eeuw* (Antwerpen: Mercatorfonds, 1993).

⁷² For instance, the double-crenulated, cylindrical towers with lapis-colored, conical roofs visually dominate the more subtle, dyadic pairing of stepped-gabled structures. Permeating the tonality of the masonry is a peculiarly coloristic atmospheric perspective; the rose-hued edifices in the foreground appear to fade into gray.

⁷³ M. J. de la Esplade, ed., *Andanças é viajes de Pero Tafur por diversas partes del mundo avidos (1435-1439)* (Madrid: Impr. de M. Ginesta, 1874); See English translation: Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures 1435-1438*, ed. M. Letts (London: Harper & Bros., 1926), 203-204.

⁷⁴ The city view is the folio’s only manifestly civic image. The other woodcuts represent Maximilian I’s procession, Prince Charles among his counselors, the Virgin in Majesty, the *Arma Christi*, and the theological virtues (Faith, Hope, and Charity.) There are also pages

reserved for the printer's colophon and the imperial arms of the Habsburgs; several historiated initials also appear within the text.

⁷⁵ On the centrality of the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk, see Dan Ewing, "Marketing art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady's Pand," *Art Bulletin* 72: 4 (1990), 558–585.

⁷⁶ Thomas More, *Utopia* (New York: Penguin, 2003), 15.

⁷⁷ On the printing quarter, Jan van der Stock provides a very brief discussion of this important confraternity in: *Printing images in Antwerp: the introduction of printmaking in a city, fifteenth century to 1585* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1998); On the relative location of buildings in Antwerp, see Van Cauwenbergh, *Gids voor Oud Antwerpen*, op. cit.; Tijs, *Tot Cieraet deser Stadt*, op. cit. On merchants and Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, see literature on the *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Lof*: Hoefnagels and Gouy, *Gilde van O.L.V. Lof of kort verhael der instelling en voorstzetting van de kapel der H. Moeder Gods, in de kerk van Onze Lieve Vrouwe te Antwerpen*, 1853; Roland op de Beeck, *De gilde van Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe-Lof in de kathedraal van Antwerpen. Vijfhonderd jaar Mariaverering to Antwerpen* (Antwerp: De Gilde, 1978).

⁷⁸ Thomas More, *Utopia: A New Translation, backgrounds, criticism*, ed. & trans. Robert Adams (New York: Norton, 1975), 5.

⁷⁹ For a concise overview, see: Edward Surtz, "St. Thomas More and His Utopian Embassy of 1515," *The Catholic Historical Review* 39:3 (Oct. 1953), 272-297.

⁸⁰ Antwerp had, at the time of More's Netherlandish journey, only recently emerged as a major center of international trade and the traffic in foreign commodities was profoundly transforming the city's material and intellectual culture. In 1515, Antwerp's population hovered around 50,000 permanent residents, roughly twice the population in the mid-fifteenth century, and about a 40% growth from twenty-five years earlier. For more on the demography and population growth of Antwerp, see An Kint, "Community of Commerce," op. cit., 24-25; Van der Wee and Materné, "Antwerp as a World Market," in *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis*, op. cit., 19-31; Increased migration and the need for more commercial infrastructure precipitated the successive real estate booms of 1503–1510 and 1517–1525, contributing to the city's physical regeneration. See Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy, fourteenth–sixteenth centuries*, 2 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963), 133; See also Hugo Soly, *Urbanisme en kapitalisme te Antwerpen in de 16e eeuw: De stedenbouwkundige en industriële ondernemingen van Gilbert Van Schoonbeke* (Brussel: Historische Uitgevern Pro Civitate, 1977). Alterations in trade patterns also impacted the city, both materially and culturally. While the money market and the trade in precious metals expanded exponentially during the first decades of the sixteenth century, contributing to the introduction of foreign credit instruments and accounting methods and to both the quantitative and qualitative regulation of currency through the city mint, several wholesale staples such as grain, wood, and cloth, commodities which had traditionally defined the dynamics of the Brabantine fairs, changed in either volume, species, or origin. See Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market*, op. cit., chapter 5, 120 cf. As such, consumption patterns, as well as the local and regional subsidiary industries whose production depended on foreign commodities, adapted to alterations in supply. Stimulated in part by different access to raw materials, a number of craft industries were founded in Antwerp to counterbalance the outward orientation of the foreigner-led commodities trades, including tapestry weaving and woodcarving, and the availability of new pigments and dyes influenced not just the production processes but also the visual qualities of textiles and artworks. See Jean Denucé, *Antwerpsche tapijtkunst en handel* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1936); Van der Wee,

The Growth of the Antwerp Market, op. cit., 138; Filip Vermeyleen, “Color of Money: Dealing in Pigments in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp,” in *Trade in Artists’ Materials: markets and commerce in Europe to 1700*, eds. Jo Kirby et al. (London: Archetype Publications, 2010); Filip Vermeyleen, *Painting for the Market*, op. cit.; Hans Nieuwdorp, ed., *Antwerpse Retabels, 15de–16de eeuw* (Antwerpen: Museum voor Religieuze Kunst, 1993). Finally, in the decade or so before More’s visit, a new generation of international merchants from Southern Germany and Portugal were assuming more prominent roles in Antwerp’s international trade, displacing to some extent the well established Florentine, Venetian, and Hanseatic trading nations. This shift in commercial agency impacted not only the linguistic and cultural diversity of the city and the availability of various commodities, but also led to the gradual introduction of these merchants’ material and visual cultural traditions to the city. Though the Fuggers had established an office in Antwerp as early as 1493, they acquired their principle house on Steenhouwersvest in 1508, and would spend the next twelve years decorating and remodeling this fine estate (They purchased the property from the merchant Nicolaus von Richterghem. See Mark Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance German* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012). Portuguese traders obtained their Antwerp trading house in 1501, and though little is know about how these merchants renovated and ornamented their corporate dwellings, in 1515 they were certainly the foreign merchants most closely identified with the introduction of goods from Asia, Africa, and the New World—from exotic natural specimens and crafted wares to culinary luxuries like sugar and spices. Hernán Cortés’s trove of Aztec wonders wouldn’t arrive in the Low Countries until 1519. See *Vlaanderen en Castilla y Leon: Op de drempel van Europa* (Antwerpen: Kathedraal, 1995); Bernadette Buche, ed., *America: Bride of the Sun- 500 Years of Latin America and the Low Countries* (Gent: Imschoot Books, 1991).

⁸¹ More, *Utopia*, (Penguin, 2003), op. cit. 19–44.

⁸² Little attention has been given to the generic origins of Book One. If the narratological mode in Book Two borrows from the burgeoning genre of commercially-motivated travel accounts, the discourse in Book One has more in common with the dialogical form and thematic content of Erasmus’s *Colloquies* than with the representational modes of diplomatic speech.

⁸³ Although scholars have typically assumed Utopia represents an allegorical counter-image of London (and England more generally), it is certainly likely, especially given the story’s Netherlandish origins, that More sought to contrive a far more synthetic image of a Christian city.

⁸⁴ On Flemish regionalism, see Peter Stabel, *Dwarfs among giants: the Flemish urban network in the late Middle Ages* (Leuven: Garant, 1997).

⁸⁵ See Donatella Calabi, *The market and the city: square, street and architecture in early modern Europe*, trans. Marlene Klein (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). On readership of Utopia beyond England and the Low Countries, see recent studies on Italian reception of the text: Linda Carroll, “Utopia, Venice, and Ruzante’s *Pavan*: Venetian and Paduan Connections with Thomas More,” *The Modern Language Review* 107:1 (2012), 162–181; Eric Nelson, “Utopia Through Italian Eyes: Thomas More and the Critics of Civic Humanism,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 59:4 (Winter 2006), 1029–1057.

⁸⁶ On More’s background as a mercer see: S. T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons, 1509-1558, Volume 1: Appendices, Constituencies, Members* (London, Secker & Warburg, 1982), 620. J. C.

Davis is wrong that the evidence for More's admission to the Company is 'slight.' See J. C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 44.

⁸⁷ The conspicuousness of Hythloday's fluency with English economic matters, from sheep farming and the price of wool to monopolies, reveals the author's dissimulative attempts to have this character ventriloquize a set of personal insights that had undoubtedly been shaped by More's own recurrent interactions with a particular, self-critical community of businessmen. On Hythloday's ventriloquism of More's opinions on various commercial issues, see *Utopia*, (Penguin, 2003), 25–27.

⁸⁸ On the assertion that Hythloday is a stand-in for Erasmus, see David Wotton, "Friendship Portrayed: A New Account of Utopia," *History Workshop Journal* 45 (1990), 20–47; John Freeman, "Utopia, Incorporated: Reassessing Intellectual Property Rights to 'the Island,'" *English Literary Renaissance* (2007), 3–4. On the Portuguese colony in Antwerp during the early sixteenth century, including an account of the important factors and the periods of their activities in Antwerp, see Goris, *Études sur les Colonies Marchandes Méridionales à Anvers de 1488 à 1567*, op. cit., 215–217. It is also possible that More would have met the Portuguese ambassador, Tomé Lopez, formerly the head of the Antwerp *feitoria*, at the Brussels court; see Vespucci's letter to Lorenzo Pietro Di Medici, in which he mentions planning to undertake a voyage on behalf of the Portuguese King. The letter is translated in Clements R. Markham and the Hakluyt Society, *The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci and other Documents Illustrative of his Career* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2010), 52. The fact that Damião de Góis in his *Chronicle* indicates that this voyage was led by Gonçalo Coelho, with Vespucci being a captain of one of the six vessels, would seem to suggest that there was some historical confusion about the leadership of the voyage. On the obscurity of Utopia's location in the New World, see More's letter to Gillis, More, *Utopia*, (Penguin, 2003), op. cit., 9.

⁸⁹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, op.cit., p. 61; see also his discussion on the anamorphosis in Holbein's Ambassadors, 19–26.

⁹⁰ This interpretation adds another dimension to the meaning of Utopia as 'no place.'

⁹¹ Joanna Woodall, "Lost in Translation? Thinking about Classical and Vernacular Art in Antwerp, 1540-1580," in *Understanding art in Antwerp: classicising the popular, popularising the classic (1540-1580)*, ed. Bart Ramakers (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 1-24.

⁹² Although the skull is readily apparent in the image, few scholars have commented on it—one exception being M. Bishop, "Ambrosius Holbein's memento mori map for Sir Thomas More's Utopia. The meanings of a masterpiece of early sixteenth century graphic art," *British Dental Journal* 199:107 - 112 (2005), doi:10.1038/sj.bdj.4812526. Interestingly Greenblatt does not consider the woodcut in his discussion of *Utopia* in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*.

⁹³ Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Stuart Schwartz, *Implicit understanding: observing, reporting, and reflecting on the encounters between Europeans and other peoples in the early modern era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

⁹⁴ See the "Isolarii" entry in J. B. Harley and D. Woodward, eds., *History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), vol. 3.

⁹⁵ For although Book Two is obviously indebted to travel description and eyewitness narrative genres, the form and content of Book One follows no clear precedent, even as it engages with the rhetorical and philosophical concerns of Erasmus's *Institutio principis Christiani* and the dialogical form of his later *Colloquies*. In conceiving of the illustrative map, Holbein grasped the

paradox of this representational dialectic, proposing the death-mask assemblage as its synthetic resolution. On the relationship between More and Erasmus, see for example, Hanan Yoran, "More's *Utopia*, Erasmus's *No Place*," *English Literary Renaissance* 35:1 (2005), 3-30.

⁹⁶ Van der Stock, *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis*, op. cit., 154.

⁹⁷ "Die vermaerde stad van Antwerpen sal dit jaer wel varen in fortune voorgaen ende prosperiteyt." See Nils Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft: Kosmographie und Landschaftskunst im Zeitalter Bruegels* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 112; Herman Pleij, "Antwerp Described," in *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis*, op. cit., 80.

⁹⁸ Kint, "Community of Commerce," op. cit., 348.

⁹⁹ Claire Dumortier, in *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis*, op. cit., 134.

¹⁰⁰ The image notes in particular the cloisters of the *Minderbroeders* and the *Predikheeren Pand*.

¹⁰¹ My suggestion here is that Barbari's print could have easily found its way to Antwerp.

Deborah Howard, "Venice as a Dolphin: Further Investigations into Jacopo de' Barbari's View," *Artibus et Historiae* 18:35 (1997), 101-111.

¹⁰² The plan of Venice comprises six pages, measuring in total approximately 50 by 110 inches, and the view of Antwerp is composed of thirteen sheets, measuring roughly 20 by 85 inches.

¹⁰³ For an overview of the rivalry between Portugal and Venice see Longmire, R.A. "Malacca and the Throat of Venice." *Asian Affairs* 15: 2 (June 1984), 179-186.

¹⁰⁴ See Sven Dupre, "Trading Luxury Glass, Picturing Collections and Consuming Objects of Knowledge in Early Modern Antwerp," *Intellectual History Review* 20:1 (2010), 53-78. See also Johan Veeckman, Sarah Jennings, et al., *Majolica and glass from Italy to Antwerp and beyond: the transfer of technology in the 16th and early 17th century*; *Annales du 17e Congrès de l'Association internationale pour l'histoire du verre*: Anvers, 2002.

¹⁰⁵ Little is known about the contexts of production and reception for this image, and it is very difficult to estimate how much it would have sold for.

¹⁰⁶ Cornelius Scribonius Graphaeus, *De nomine florentissimae civitatis Antverpiensis*, op. cit.

¹⁰⁷ "El tercer brazo de Brabante es la riquissima y populosa villa de Anuers, que con mucha razon se podia llamar plaça d'el mundo, pues enella se hallan juntas y en tanta abundancia todas las cosas, que Dios ha criado, que se proueen d'ella las otras ciudades y pueblos dela Christiandad y aun desuera d'ella." Quote appeared in Stijn Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power: the triumphal entry of Prince Philip of Spain into Antwerp* (Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V. 2012), 26.

¹⁰⁸ The statement was written in 1577. See Guido Marnef, *Antwerp in the age of Reformation: underground Protestantism in a commercial metropolis, 1550-1577*, trans. J.C. Grayson (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 3.

¹⁰⁹ E.J. Roobaert, "Nieuwe gegevens over Calvete de Estrella en L. Guicciardini uit de rekeningen van de Antwertpse Magistraat." *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, 41, 1958, 68-94.

¹¹⁰ The full title of the Estrella texts is: *El felicissimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso Príncipe don Phelippe, hijo del emperador don Carlos Quinto Máximo, desde España a sus tierras de la baxa Alemana: con la descripción de todos los Estados de Brabante y Flandes*. A complete facsimile of the Spanish text is available on google books:

http://books.google.com/books?id=8miMdSuAbNoC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

¹¹¹ The full titles of the Guicciardini is: *Descrittione di Lodovico Guicciardini patritio fiorentino di tutti i Paesi Bassi altrimenti detti Germania inferior*. A scanned first edition of the 1567

publication is available at: <http://amshistorica.unibo.it/185>. (The description of Antwerp begins on page 56.)

The Italian, French, and Dutch editions of the Guicciardini text are available through Hathi Trust: In the Italian version of the text, the section on Antwerp begins on page 80:

<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ucm.5316518015;seq=124;view=1up;num=80>. In the Dutch version, it begins on page 25:

<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ucm.5324252653;seq=121;view=1up;num=25>. In the French version, the description of Antwerp begins on page 84:

<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ucm.5323800138;seq=114;view=1up;num=84>)

¹¹² Netherlandish scholars have often found it regrettable that no native account of Antwerp during its Golden Age was ever written. Rather than seeing Guicciardini's text as either an example of lack of a native literary descriptive culture, or as a proof of the superlative abilities of Italian authors in this genre, I feel that it is important to see *Descrittione di tutti Paesi Bassi* as a collaborative enterprise and one that was peculiarly representative of Antwerp's cosmopolitan literary and artistic culture.

¹¹³ Guicciardini, French edition, 84–85; and Dutch edition 51 cf; see also Kint, "Community of Commerce," op. cit., 23.

¹¹⁴ See Soly, *Urbanisme en kapitalisme*, op. cit.; See also Van der Stock, *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis*, op. cit., 242.

¹¹⁵ On the Spanish fortifications see Peter Lombaerde, "Antwerp in its golden age: 'one of the largest cities in the Low Countries' and 'one of the best fortified in Europe,'" in O'Brien, *Urban Achievement*, op. cit., 102–103.

¹¹⁶ The fortifications featured massive brick polygonal walls faced in white masonry, nine and a half bastions, and five monumental gateways, all of which were encircled by a wide moat. For a comparative study on fortifications between Antwerp and Turin, see Martha Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 15–16.

¹¹⁷ See Timothy A. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock (1510-1570): printmaker and publisher in Antwerp at the sign of the four winds* (New York: Garland, 1977); See also L. Voet et al., *De Stad Antwerpen van Romeinse Tijd tot de 17de Eeuw* (Brussel: Gemeentekrediet van België, 1978), 98.

¹¹⁸ The image comprises twenty hand-colored woodblock prints and measures approximately four by eight-and-a-half feet.

¹¹⁹ Using George van Cauwenbergh's *Gids voor Oud Antwerpen*, one can get a sense of certain pathways that would have been important for 16th- and 17th-century residents of the city.

¹²⁰ Despite these cultural investments in measurements and cartography, there is little evidence to suggest that the merchants of Antwerp—whether foreign or native—actually used maps to navigate their way through the city, as we do today. Given the extent to which merchants continue, well past the mid sixteenth century, to default to verbal descriptions of itineraries, it would seem that such city views functioned more as visual novelties that permitted the onlooker a special perspective.

¹²¹ My thinking has been very generally informed by Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Randall, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 91–110.

¹²² Voet et al., *De Stad Antwerpen van Romeinse Tijd tot de 17de Eeuw*, op. cit., 135.

¹²³ My translation takes into account some of the variances between the original Latin and Dr. W. Van Rengen's Dutch translation.

¹²⁴ I am referring here to *De nomine florentissimae civitatis Antverpiensis*, 1527, op. cit.

¹²⁵ On the generic permutations of the *laudes* as it relates to urban history, see for example, Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953); V.J. Scattergood, “Misrepresenting the City: Genre, Intertextuality and FitzStephen’s *Description of London* (c. 1173),” in *Reading the Past: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996); Paolo Zanna, “‘Descriptiones urbium’ and Elegy in Latin and Vernaculars in the Early Middle Ages,” *Studi Medievali* 3 (1991), 523–96; David Benson, “The Dead and the Living: Some Medieval Descriptions of the Ruins and Relics of Rome Known to the English” in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Ages*, ed. Albert Classen (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009); Donatella Calabi, *The Market and the City*, op. cit.

¹²⁶ Michael Baxandall, *Painting and experience in fifteenth century Italy: a primer in the social history of pictorial style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

¹²⁷ I will return to this point in the next section with regard to Grapheus’s collaboration with Pieter Coecke van Aelst in the 1549 illustrated edition of Philip IV’s Joyous Entry.

¹²⁸ This is an aspect of Guicciardini’s text, which, though significant to his training as a merchant, is often overlooked by Netherlandish historians, who tend to privilege the Florentine’s humanistic, historical, and philological pursuits.

¹²⁹ See discussion of these texts in Rutger Tijs, *Tot cieraet deser stadt*. op. cit.

¹³⁰ Robert Scribner, “Ways of Seeing in the Age of Durer,” in *Dürer and His Culture*, eds. Dagmar Eichberger and Charles Zika (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 93–117.

¹³¹ The volumes have been republished by Taschen, and many of the texts have been translated into English: Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Cities of the world*, ed. Stephan Füssel (Los Angeles: Taschen, 2008), 10–12.

¹³² Mercator wrote to Ortelius that, “You deserve no small praise, for you have selected the best descriptions of each region and have digested them in a single manual which without diminishing or impairing the work of any, may be bought for a low price, kept in a small place, and even carried about wherever we wish... I am certain that this work of yours will always remain saleable, whatever maps may in the course of time be reprinted by others.” See Jan Hessels, ed., *Ortelii Epistulae* (Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1969), no. 32.

¹³³ See the *Theatrum*’s section, entitled *Catalogus Auctorum*. An online version of the 1570 edition is available at: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=gmd&fileName=gmd3m/g3200m/g3200m/gct00003/ct_page.db&recNum=8&itemLink=r%3Fammem%2Fgmd%3A%40field%28NUMBER%2B%40band%28g3200m%2B%29%29.

¹³⁴ Taken from the London 1606 edition as quoted in Jerry Brotton, *Trading territories: mapping the early modern world* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 175–6.

¹³⁵ The idea for the project originated with Franz Hogenberg, who, having migrated from Mechelen to Antwerp early in his career, worked as an engraver and etcher for Hieronymus Cock, Christophe Plantin, Gerardus Mercator, and Abraham Ortelius. His collaborator, George Braun, a humanist clergyman and native of Cologne, had befriended Hogenberg, Ortelius, and their Antwerp circle, when, employed as tutor to the son of the powerful Hanseatic merchant Heinrich Sudermann, he resided in the city from 1566–1568, years that fatefully coincided with the escalation of reformatory activism, iconoclasm, repression, and revolt. Only a couple years after Braun returned to his homeland, Hogenberg, prompted by the unrest and instability that

followed the *beeldenstorm*, relocated to Cologne, where he reconnected with the charismatic humanist and solicited him as a partner in a publishing venture that would help the engraver reestablish himself in the Rheinland. Braun and Hogenberg, *Cities of the World*, op. cit., 10–12.

¹³⁶ Not only would an atlas of cities cover geographic entities not treated in Ortelius's atlas and appeal to both civic chauvinism and historic interests in urbanization, it would capitalize on both existing markets for city views and evolving global sensibilities and growing fascinations with visual and textual descriptions of the cities of the world.

¹³⁷ While both atlases collected information, visual documentation, and research from a truly international community of scholarly and artistic contributors whose connections to each other had been strengthened through bilateral exchanges of texts and objects, the novelty of these atlases resided in their compilation and presentation of cartographic studies and oblique bird's eye views that conformed to the same format, hence the relative scaling down of the world, its continents, and cities to fit within the regularized proportions of the page.

¹³⁸ In January 1595, Braun solicited Ortelius's advice in finding authors capable of describing Antwerp, see *Epistulae Ortelianae*, Jan Hessels, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 263. See also Tine Meganck, "Erudite Eyes: Artists and antiquarians in the circle of Abraham Ortelius." (PhD Diss., Princeton, 2003) p. 213, n. 86.

¹³⁹ Though Scalinger was deceased by the time the *Civitates* was published, the verses originally appeared in the Grapheus's festival book for the 1549 blijde inkomst and later Julius Caesar Scalinger's own *Variorum in Europa itinerum deliciae*, reprinted in a edition of texts collected by his son: *Poemata Omnia in Duas Partes Divisa* (1591) "[Poeta Julius Scaliger in laudem Antwerpiae hexastychon] Oppida quot spectant oculo me torva sinistro/Tot nos invidiae pallida tela petunt/Lugdunum omnigenum est, operosa Lutetia, Roma/Ingens, res Venetum vasta, Tolosa potens/Omnimodae merces, artes, priscaequae, novaeque/Quorum insunt aliis, singula cuncta mihi." See Meganck, "Erudite Eyes," op. cit., 213-14.

¹⁴⁰ The Latin Poem: "De frequentia omnium gentium in Ioanimesio, vulgo Die Burse," "Dissonus auditur rumor, laus ipse repletur/Et variis linguis, vestibus et varris/O decus eximium visu et mirabile cunctis! Orbis in exiguo maximus Orbe viget," cited in Meganck, "Erudite Eyes," 213-14.

¹⁴¹ "In Usum Negotiatorum Cojuscunque Nationis ac linguae urbisque adeo suae ornamentum, Anno MDXXXI, a solo extrui curaverunt." The inscription was also reproduced in the illustrative engraving for Guicciardini.

¹⁴² Braun writes, for example, that, "Antwerp is a well-built and noted trade city in Brabant, which attracts many Germans, French, Italians, Spaniards, English and other nations. In this city there are beautiful, huge churches and houses [...]. The venerable Hansa, the English and the Portuguese also own public buildings in which the merchants have their residences." Of Lyon, he writes only that, "There is a great influx of foreigners who have taken up residence here, so that they can buy and sell goods conveniently in every part of the world." Braun and Hogenberg, *Cities of the World*, 73, 65. What differentiates these characterizations is the specificity of description and the attention to the active role Antwerp, as opposed to Lyon, took in accommodating foreigners in specific ways.

¹⁴³ On metropolitan identity and intellectual communities, see: Elizabeth Newman, *Cultural Capitals: early modern London and Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. and trans. D. Weinstein from Kurt Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950), 409–424.

¹⁴⁴ The emergence of a topographic consciousness has been linked to historical developments associated with the early modern period: the rise of the nation-state and colonial expansion. See notes in Newman, *Cultural Capitals*, op. cit., 5 n. 29.

¹⁴⁵ I here invoke Foucault's concept of heterotopia as a space that juxtaposes through inclusion sites of cultural difference. See Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," in *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité*, 5 (October, 1984) trans. Jay Miskowiec in *Diacritics* 1 (Spring, 1986), 22–27

¹⁴⁶ On the conditions shaping the metropolitan 'mentality,' see Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life." op. cit.

¹⁴⁷ See Bart Ramakers, ed., *Understanding art in Antwerp: classicising the popular, popularising the classic (1540-1580)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), xxii. In his introduction, Ramakers has argued that:

Between 1540 and 1580 Antwerp artists became increasingly aware of what made their visual, verbal, and tonal art their 'own,' that is, native, Northern, Netherlandish, Brabantine, or even Antwerpian. Antwerp mercantile prowess created the possibility for the rhetoricians to become acquainted with classical and other non-Dutch literature, the city's printing houses being among the chief agents of their dissemination, either in their original languages or in translation. Painters became familiar with foreign themes, motives and styles of expression and representation in every possible genre, directly, through travel, apprenticeships and commissions abroad, as well as indirectly, through visual reproductions in woodcuts and engravings. [...] This extreme exposure, in a sense, to the foreign, stimulated artists to absorb the 'other,' not to slavishly imitate but to incorporate and assimilate these new ideas in such a way that what was native and traditional remained recognizable and, like the foreign (or classical, or the elite), could be associated with whatever cultural, social, political or religious position that artist wanted to take.

¹⁴⁸ Letter translated and reproduced in C. Koeman, *The History of Abraham Ortelius and his Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Lausanne: Sequoia, 1964), 17.

¹⁴⁹ Desiderius Erasmus, *Adages*, Collected Works of Erasmus, trans. Margaret Mann Phillips 32, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 83. The quote is part of Erasmus's commentary on Hesiod's *Georgics* in "Gratia gratiam parit"/"One favor begets another." Hesiod had written, "Be a friend to a friend, and frequent the one who frequents you,/Give to the one who gives, and not to the one who gives not;/One gives to the giver, no one gives to the giftless."

¹⁵⁰ Donatella Calabi, *The Market and the City: Square, Street, and Architecture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), xxiii.

¹⁵¹ On the political history in the Netherlands with an emphasis on the Southern Provinces of the Low Countries, see J.J. Woltjer, *Op weg naar tachtig jaar oorlog: Het verhaal van de eeuw waarin ons land ontstond. Over de voorgeschiedenis de Nederlandse opstand* (Uitgeverij Balans, 2011). For an account leading up to the appointment of Archduke Ernst, see the chapter, "De mislukte Pacificatie," 421-449. Also useful are the early chapters in Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall 1477-1806* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 106–220. A general account of the blockade is provided in Jervis Wegg, *The Decline of Antwerp under Philip of Spain* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1924), 274-310.

¹⁵² Ceremonially, this meant that he was not given the 'sword of rule', and that he was neither made to swear an oath nor did he ride under a canopy. See Hans Mielke's introduction to

Joannes Bochijs, *The ceremonial entry of Ernst, archduke of Austria, into Antwerp, June 14, 1594. Text by Johannes Bochijs, engravings by Pieter van der Borch, after designs by Marten de Vos.* (New York, B. Blom, 1970), xi. (Originally published by Antwerp: Ex Officina Plantiniana, 1595.)

¹⁵³ This multifaceted, multimedia public offering exposed the Archduke to the rich literary, artistic, theatrical and musical culture of Antwerp, engaging the foreign sovereign through a series of delightful, didactic, and dialectically structured displays.

¹⁵⁴ Intelligent commentaries on the intellectual vitality underlying the hybridity of Antwerp artistic, literary, and material culture are offered from different disciplinary perspectives in Bart Ramakers, ed. *Understanding art in Antwerp: classicising the popular, popularising the classic (1540-1580)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011). See in particular Ramaker's introduction. There's a vast literature on joyous entries, including several edited volumes that make clear the differences between Triumphal Entry ceremonies as civic rituals in the Burgundian Netherlands, Italy, France, and the Holy Roman Empire. See Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); J.R. Mulryne et al., eds., *Europa triumphans: court and civic festivals in early modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower, eds., "*All the world's a stage—*": *art and pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1990). A classic study of pageantry during the reign of Charles V is provided in Jean Jacquot, ed., *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint, 2e Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Historiens de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1960), 57–97. On pageantry in the Burgundian tradition, see Peter Arnade, *Realms of ritual: Burgundian ceremony and civic life in late medieval Ghent* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996). On urban literary tradition in the Southern Low Countries, see: Hugo Soly, "Plechtige intochten in de steden van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de overgang van middeleeuwen naar nieuwe tijd: communicatie, propaganda, spektakel," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 97:3 (1984), 341-61; I. von Roeder-Baumbach, *Versieringen bij Blijde Inkomsten gebruikt in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden gedurende de 16e en 17e eeuw* (Antwerp, 1943); Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, *Om beters wille: rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1400-1650* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008). Stijn Bussels also provides a comparative study of entry rituals in different cities in *Spectacle, rhetoric and power: the triumphal entry of Prince Philip of Spain into Antwerp*, op. cit., 131-153.

¹⁵⁵ On the incorporation of the *Keizerspoort* into the Spanish walls, see Piet Lombaerde, *Antwerpen versterkt. De Spaanse omwalling vanaf haar bouw in 1542 tot haar afbraak in 1870* (Antwerp: University of Antwerp Press, 2009), 152–155. On the Mannerist idiom of the Keizerspoort and its Italian designer, Donato de' Boni, see W. Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands: the joyeuse entrée of Philip of Spain into Antwerp in 1549: Renaissance and Mannerist architecture in the Low Countries from 1530 to 1630*, vol. 1 (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1994), 16.

¹⁵⁶ An inscription on the gate itself proclaimed that, "Emperor Charles V, The first mortal man to have entered through this gate, named it Imperial on 15 November 1545". There is a vast literature on Charles V. Some key sources include: Hugo Soly, ed. *Charles Quint: 1500-1558. L'Empereur et son temps* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2000); Karl Brandi, *Kaiser Karl V*, 2 vols. (Munich 1937); Wim Blockmans, *Emperor Charles V, 1500-1558*, trans. Isola van den Hoven-Vardon (London: Arnold, 2002); Johan Dambryne, Johan Decavele et al., *Keizer tussen stropdragers:*

Karel V 1500-1558 (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1990); James D. Tracy, *Emperor Charles V, impresario of war: campaign strategy, international finance, and domestic politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

¹⁵⁷ A dedication to Brabo also proclaimed: “To the Unconquerable Brabo, In Return for Conquering the Tyrant and Taking Vengeance, From the Senate and People of Brabo.” Despite their appearance on the engraving, Bochius indicates that the figures of Honor and Virtue had not been put into place at the top of the arch due to lack of time. See *Europa Triumphas*, op. cit. p. 504–507. On the decoration of the arch during the entry see Mielke, *The ceremonial entry of Ernst, archduke of Austria*, op. cit., xiv.

¹⁵⁸ *Maxime, Caesaream fausto, Dux, omine portam/Ingredieris, qui Caesarea de gente, Phillipio/Huc auctore venis, bis ternis Belgica lustris/Ut depressa graui bellorum more resurgat/Auspicijs, Erneste, tuis, et vindice priscum/Austriaco decus obtineat, qui pace, vel armis/Belgica Pannonijs adiunget bella triumphis./Et quisqua, votis liud quest addere nostris.*

¹⁵⁹ See Kuypers commentary on the Virgilian and Homeric interpretive traditions of harpies, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit., vol. 1, 20.

¹⁶⁰ The iconography is as follows: Fidelity holds a shield emblazoned with a dog; Religion appears with an open book and a crucifix; Obedience is shown with a silver yoke; Reverence uncovers her veiled face; Memory of Benefits carries a shield depicting Androcles and the Numidian lion; Benevolence holds a silver-staffed pennant showing a heart held by two hands.

¹⁶¹ *Moesta diu latui patrijs Antuerpia muris:/Ingrediot nunc laeta, novos actura triumphos/Auspicijs, Erneste, tuis: te vindice priscum/Clementi sub Rege decus, splendorque redibit,/Vbertasque meos cumulabit prisca Penates.* In *Europa Triumphas*, op. cit., 506-507.

¹⁶² Lodovico Guicciardini explains the entry’s significance: “The city of Antwerp is considered a virginal maiden; that is, the inhabitants here affirm that she will never revolt against her natural prince, that she will never be sacked, nor her women violated, or preoccupied with honor.” Quoted in Larry Silver, *The paintings of Quinten Massys with catalogue raisonné* (Montclair: Allanheld & Schram, 1984), 14. During the Antwerp blijde inkomst, it had been the custom that the sovereign would be greeted by an allegorical personification of Antwerp. In 1549, she appeared on stage; 1582 and afterwards, she rode a chariot, and would recite a poem of welcome to the ruler. During the Archduke Ernst’s entry, she appeared on a throne and as the ruler passed by she handed him a laurel wreath. See Mielke, op. cit., xv.

¹⁶³ Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957). For a different study of the body analogy of the body politic, see Jonathan Gil Harris, *Foreign bodies and the body politic: discourses of social pathology in early modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹⁶⁴ The mirror of principedom was a common trope explored on the floats in these entries.

¹⁶⁵ Mark Meadow, “‘Met geschickter ordenen’: The Rhetoric of Place in Philip I’s 1549 Antwerp Blijde Incompst,” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999), 5; Margit Thøfner, “‘Willingly We Follow a Gentle Leader...’: Joyous Entries into Antwerp” in *The Dynastic Centre and the Provinces: Agents and Interactions*, eds. Jeroen Duindam and Sabine Dabringhaus (Brill, 2014), 185–202.

¹⁶⁶ See especially Mark Meadow, “‘Met geschickter ordenen’: The Rhetoric of Place in Philip I’s 1549 Antwerp Blijde Incompst,” op. cit.; Mark Meadow, “Ritual and Civic Identity in Philip II’s 1549 Blijde Incompst,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 49 (1998), 36-67; on sense of place in pre-Habsburg entries, see Arnade, *Realms of Ritual*, op. cit.

¹⁶⁷ The idea of using prosopopoeia as a rhetorical device to give cities voices traces back to Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (*Institutes of Oratory*); see Book 9, Chapter 2, § 30–34 on prosopopoeia, §31 on using this rhetorical voice as means of animating the city.

¹⁶⁸ *Europa Triumphans*, op. cit., 503.

¹⁶⁹ See in particular Stijn Bussels's discussion of the Inauguration Charter, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 85. This is also discussed in Maarten Vermeir, "Brabantia: decoding the main characters of Utopia," *Moreana* 49:187-188 (June 2012), 158 cf. Although this motive is made obvious in Bochiuss's textual account itself, Peter Davidson and Adriaan van der Wee discuss this point in their introduction to the chapter in *Europa Triumphans*, op. cit., 492-574.

¹⁷⁰ There are important and interesting parallels between Antwerp's 1594 entry and Bruges's 1515 entry in terms of the way the entries had to negotiate commercial and cultural decline—the turning wheel of fortunes. On Bruges's entry, see: Sydney Anglo, ed., *La tryumphantte Entree de Charles Prince des Espagnes en Bruges 1515* (Amsterdam, n.d.). The festival book has also been digitized: <http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0074>.

¹⁷¹ Though it is unclear whether or not the play was scripted, the float bore a three-line verse inscription: "Nerieds, Ernst orders the tight chains to be lifted from the Scheldt/To plough the deep with its course/Flowing back, and to play with the sea nymphs again." "*Ernestus Scaldi, Nereides, arcta levare/Vinclia iubet, refluoque vadum sulcare meatu/Rursus, et aequoreis iterum colludere nymphis.*" *Europa Triumphans*, op. cit., 558-559.

¹⁷² For the sake of fluency of language, I have deviated somewhat from the translation offered in *Europa Triumphans*. The original Latin is: "...copiosam aquam magno cum impetus ex urna sua Scaldis effundebat, ceu reseratis, ut omnes confidimus, Archiducis Ernesti fortitudine et prudential fluvij faucibus, et nauigatione resituta, qua haec civitas olim floruit, et in celeberrimum excrevit emporium." *Ibid.*, 558.

¹⁷³ This float, as will be mentioned later, was recycled from the city's collection of floats that had been used in previous entries and ommegangen. In the complex classical references evoked in that tableau, including conventional wisdom on maintaining a strong navy from Thucydides, Propertius, Themistocles, Cujacius and Cicero, Bochiuss tellingly argues that, "if indeed ship mastery pertains to the greatest of republics... it is as much a protection as an ornament of the empire..." *Ibid.*, 560-61.

¹⁷⁴ Like his brother, the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, Archduke Ernst was known as a cultured patron of art, whose urbane aesthetic sensibilities were forged early in their upbringing at the Spanish court. Indeed, while the Archduke resided in Madrid, his portrait was painted by Alonso Sánchez Coello, a court painter of Portuguese descent who had trained with the greatest of sixteenth-century Netherlandish portrait painters, Antonis Mor. Moving between the Spanish and Austrian Habsburg courts, the Archduke had access not only to the most innovative Italian, Netherlandish, Spanish, and German art of the period, but also to the theories of collecting which specified how such artworks might be organized to promote intelligent conversation. On the cosmopolitan interests at Rudolf's court, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The school of Prague: painting at the court of Rudolf II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Eliška Fučíková et al., eds, *Rudolf II and Prague: the court and the city* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997).

¹⁷⁵ Ivo Raband is currently working on a dissertation that studies the artistic patronage of Archduke Ernst of Austria, and has already published several articles on this subject. See Ivo Raband, "Collecting the Painted Netherlands: The Art Collection of Archduke Ernest of Austria

in Brussel” in *Collecting Nature*, eds. Andrea Gáldy, Sylvia Heudecker (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 109–124.

¹⁷⁶ Margit Thøfner, *A common art: urban ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch revolt* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2007).

¹⁷⁷ Stijn Bussels has provided some account of the proceeds yielded from the sale of artworks from the entry. Stijn Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power: the triumphal entry of Prince Philip of Spain into Antwerp* (Amsterdam : Rodopi B.V. 2012).

¹⁷⁸ The city kept an inventory of floats and decorations, which were stored in the Eekhof. Dürer, for example, describes seeing the floats and ephemeral decorations being repurposed on the occasion of Charles V 1520 entry and for the ommegangen. But it is also evident from a comparison of different festival books and descriptions of the annual ommegangen that some floats—including the sea monster, the elephant, and the Druon Antigoon automata—were repurposed for nearly every important procession. See Thøfner, *Common Art*, op. cit.

¹⁷⁹ Ernst Cassirer, *The philosophy of symbolic forms*, trans. Ralph Manheim (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953).

¹⁸⁰ *Europa Triumphans*, op. cit., 501–502.

¹⁸¹ See the Scalinger text printed in the French edition: <http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pageview.aspx?strFest=0116&strPage=033>. On the Genre of urban praise, see C. David Benson, “The Dead and the Living: Some Medieval Descriptions of the Ruins and Relics of Rome Known to the English,” in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classens (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 147.

¹⁸² To the best of my knowledge, scholars have not so far considered the importance of civic entries within the context of the interpretation of classical texts on public and private spending. The omission is particularly strange, since festival books so explicitly draw upon this language and since princely entries were a major subject within these classical texts. While I hope this section begins to show the fecundity of the research possibilities, I cannot fully explore here all the dimensions of the issues at stake. My purpose here is simply to link this discourse to Antwerp’s cultivation of an international commercial identity on the one hand and to the developing rhetoric of a bourgeois ethic of useful spending on the other. For an excellent study of the concept of liberality in patristic sources, see Peter van Nuffelen, “Social Ethics and Moral Discourse in Late Antiquity,” in *Reading Patristic Texts on Social Ethics: issues and challenges for twenty-first-century Christian social thought*, eds. Johan Leemans et al. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 45–63. For the Thomist take on liberality as a Christian ethic, see the dual translation version of *Summa Theologicae*, vol. 41 (2a2e. 101-122: Virtues of Justice in the Human Community), trans. T.C. O’Brien (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 220–238. Aquinas considers at length whether liberality is indeed a virtue. Erasmus notes both of these terms for Greed (*Invidia/Emulatio*) in his thematic index in the Aldine Edition of the *Adages* of 1508.

¹⁸³ Thøfner, *Common Art*, op. cit.

¹⁸⁴ Unpaid imperial soldiers sacked Antwerp, killing more than 7,000 citizens and subjecting the city to unprecedented looting and destruction. See for instance the historical overview in Léon Voet, *Antwerp, the golden age. The rise and glory of the metropolis in the sixteenth century* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1973).

¹⁸⁵ Having fled to Leiden between 1583-1586, its visionary founder, Christophe Plantin, died only three years after returning to Antwerp and the output of the press fell into decline. See Leon

Voet, *The golden compasses: a history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (Amsterdam: Van Gendt, 1969); see also Karen Bowen, *Christopher Plantin and engraved book illustrations in sixteenth-century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Charles Ruelens and A. de Backer, *Annales plantiniennes depuis la fondation de l'Imprimerie plantinienne à Anvers jusqu'à la mort de Chr. Plantin, 1555-1589* (New York: B. Franklin, 1967).

¹⁸⁶ In Bruges and Ghent written accounts of joyous entries date back to the Middle Ages, though only in the sixteenth century were some illustrated textual accounts printed for circulation to a wider public. The 1515 *livret* of Remy du Puys of Bruges was the first printed edition to feature illustrations of the tableaux, foreign arches, and decorations. His *La tryumphant et solempnelle entree faite sur le nouuel et ioyeux aduenement de treshault trespuissant et tresexcellent prince monsieur Charles prince des Hespaignes archiduc daustrice duc de Bourgongne conte de Flandres* has been digitized by the British Library:

<http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0074>. Grapheus's book was the first of its kind in Antwerp. Illustrated and published by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, editions were printed in three languages, no less: Latin, Dutch and French. The Dutch version of the text has been digitized: <https://archive.org/details/deseerwonderlijc00grap>. A festival book had previously been produced by Plantin for Anjou's entry in 1582: see <http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0280>.

¹⁸⁷ *Europa Triumphans*, op. cit.

¹⁸⁸ On Antwerp's collaborative culture of artistic production in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see: Natasja Peeters, "Marked for the Market? Continuity, Collaboration and the Mechanics of Artistic Production of History Painting in the Francken Workshops in Counter-Reformation Antwerp," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (September 1999), 58-79; Aleksandra Lipinska, "'Ein tafell von Alabaster zu Antorff bestellen': southern Netherlandish alabaster sculpture in central Europe," *Simiolus* 32:4 (January 3, 2006), 231-258; Yao-Fen You, "Krautheimer and the Marketplace: Vernacular Copies of Antwerp Compound Altarpieces in the Rhineland," *Visual Resources* 20:2/3 (June 2004), 199-219; Micha Leeftang, "Workshop practices in early sixteenth-century Antwerp studios," op. cit.; Elizabeth Honig, "Paradise Regained: Rubens, Jan Brueghel, and the Sociability of Visual Thought," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2004), 270-301; Lynn Jacobs, "The marketing and standardization of South Netherlandish carved altarpieces: limits on the role of the patron," *Art Bulletin* 71 (June 1989), 208-229.

¹⁸⁹ The Latin text is: "*Eiusdem etiam Senatus iussu cum exterorum negotiatorum, seu nationum Antuerpiae degentium consulibus egerant iidem Commissarij, et facillè illis persuaserunt, ut pro solita in huiusmodi actionibus liberalitate, et magnificentia communem Reipub. gratulationem adiuvarent, suamque in Principem adventurum observantiam, opere publico, ut cuique videretur eleganti declararent.*" I deviate here somewhat from the translation offered in *Europa Triumphans*, op. cit., 496-7.

¹⁹⁰ Antwerp most certainly adopted the practice in emulation of their regional competitor, Bruges. The participation of foreign merchants in the 1515 Bruges entry are detailed and illustrated in Remy du Puys's account. Although Lyon also allowed foreign merchants to process with the imperial and civic convoy and Bruges allowed them to contribute to the decorative program, my argument here is that Antwerp appears to have far more self-consciously exploited the effects of this inclusiveness as a means of promoting the city's cosmopolitan, commercial

identity. On Bruges and foreign merchants see Samuel Mareel, “Jan de Scheereres *Triumphe ghedaen te brugghe ter intreye van caerle*: Teksteditie met inleiding en aantekeningen,” *Koninklijke Soevereine Hoofdkamer Van Retorica 'De Fontaine'* 55 (2005), 79–143. On Remy du Puy’s account see the digitized version of his 1515 *livret*, op. cit., see note 38.

¹⁹¹ On royal entries in Spain, see Teofilo Ruiz, *A king travels: festive traditions in late medieval and early modern Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); on Lyon, see: Richard Gascon, *Grand Commerce et Vie urbaine au XVIe siècle: Lyon et ses marchands* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1971); Natalie Davis, “The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon,” *Past & Present* 90:1 (1980), 40-70; on the Netherlands: Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent*, op. cit.; Thørfær, *A Common Art: Urban Cermonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt*, op. cit.; Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit.

¹⁹² Guido Guerzoni, “Liberalitas, Magnificentia, Splendor: The Classic Origins of Italian Renaissance Lifestyles,” *History of Political Economy* 31 (1999), 332–378; see also Guido Guerzoni, *Apollo & Vulcan: Art Markets in Italy 1400-1700* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2011). To the best of my knowledge, Netherlandish historians of the later medieval and early modern period have not yet considered this important concept to the emergence of bourgeois consumption.

¹⁹³ The concept of liberality in the late patristic and medieval scholastic interpretive traditions contributed to the application of this characteristic to persons with disposable income more generally and not just to imperial acts of munificence. See in particular C. E. Manning, “Liberalita—The Decline and Rehabilitation of a Virtue,” *Greece and Rome* 32:1 (1985), 73-83. An overview of the concept in the Italian Renaissance context is provided in Guerzoni, “Liberalitas, Magnificentia, Splendor: The Classic Origins of Italian Renaissance Lifestyles.” op.cit. See also Van Nuffelen, “Social Ethics and Moral Discourse in Late Antiquity,” op. cit.

¹⁹⁴ On Antwerp’s foreign merchant colonies, see: Jan-Albert Goris, *Études sur les Colonies Marchandes Méridionales à Anvers de 1488 à 1567* (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1925); E. Coornaerts, *Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers (fin du XVe-XVIe siècle)* (Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1961); Hans Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1567–1648), zur Geschichte einer Minderheit* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977); Oscar de Smedt, *De Engelse Natie te Antwerpen in de 16de Eeuw (1496-1582)*, 2 vols (Antwerp: Se Sikkel, 1954); Alsons Thijs, “Een ‘gilde’ van Breslause kooplieden te Antwerpen (einde van de 15de – eerste helft van de 16de eeuw),” *Studia Historica Gandensia* 197 (1975), 353–367; Donald Harreld, *High Germans in the Low Countries: German merchants and commerce in golden age Antwerp*, op. cit.

¹⁹⁴ Michael Limberger, “No town in the world provides more advantages: Economies of Agglomeration and the Golden Age of Antwerp,” in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London*, ed. Patrick O’Brien, et al., op. cit.; Bruno Blondé, Peter Stable, and Oscar Gelderblom, “Foreign Merchant communities in Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam,” in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, vol. 2: Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400-1700*, eds. Donatella Calabi and Stephen Christensen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁹⁵ This assertion will require some qualification because the return to a ‘Golden Age’ was a common trope even in the earlier entries. Though the concept of the ‘golden age’ emerges as an important concept in the 1520 and 1549 entries, the 1594 entry is different in emphasizing a sense that the golden age has been lost and needs to be recuperated.

¹⁹⁶ For a nice explanation of the genealogy of the republican and imperial concepts inherent to the Roman inheritance in the Renaissance, see Thomas Dandeleit, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

¹⁹⁷ Charles made the statement in 1531 in a letter to his brother Ferdinand; this quote appeared in Peter Arnade, *Beggars, iconoclasts and civic patriots the political culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 1.

¹⁹⁸ Over the past half decade or so, diplomacy history has experienced a tremendous scholarly revival. Although Garrit Mattingly, *Renaissance diplomacy* (London: J. Cape, 1962) remains a classic source, and has influenced my thinking, a number of more recent sources have informed my work on Antwerp. Some of the more relevant sources include: Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani, eds., *Emissaries in early modern literature and culture: mediation, transmission, traffic, 1550-1700* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009); Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of embassy: literature and diplomacy in early modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); Sven Externbrink, "Internationale Politik in der Frühen Neuzeit: Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung zu Diplomatie und Staatensystem," *Historische Zeitschrift* (2007), 15–39; John Watkins provides a thoughtful overview in his introduction to a series of articles, which appeared the Winter 2008 issue of *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*: John Watkins, "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 38:1 (2008) 1–14; A material cultural approach is offered by Catherine Fletcher, "'Furnished with gentlemen': the ambassador's house in sixteenth-century Italy," *Renaissance Studies* 24:4 (2010), 518-535. I differ somewhat from Bussels's emphasis on the function of the arches as a form of public relations. He claims, "For the foreign traders the triumphal arches were an exercise in public relations. Contributing to the festivities was their way of confirming before a large audience that their role in Antwerp was of vital importance and that they made a significant contribution to the city's prosperity." Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 96–97.

¹⁹⁹ Only Charles V was perceived as native son.

²⁰⁰ See in particular Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 85–87.

²⁰¹ Hugo Soly, "Plechtige intochten," op. cit.; Meadow, "'Met geschickter ordenen': The Rhetoric of Place in Philip I's 1549 Antwerp Blijde Incompst," op. cit.; Mark Meadow, "Ritual and Civic Identity in Philip II's 1549 Blijde Incompst," op. cit.

²⁰² Because my interest is to point to the emergence of domestic discourses on patronage as a social virtue within an emergent 'proto-capitalistic' market economy where artistic patronage became possible for new categories of consumers, my discussion here can neither sufficiently address domestic criticism of merchants as destabilizing agents nor civic rituals in Antwerp more generally. These topics have, however, received substantial consideration elsewhere. Elizabeth Honig provides a nice overview of the role of merchants in society in the introductory chapter of her *Painting and the Market*, op. cit. Hugo Soly's *Urbanisme en kapitalisme te Antwerpen in de 16e eeuw: De stedbouwkundige en industriële ondernemingen van Gilbert Van Schoonbeke* (Brussel: Historische Uitgeverij Pro Civitate, 1977) remains the classic social historical study of Antwerp's economic meteoric growth. On merchants' patronage and the ommegangen, see literature on the *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Lof*: Hoefnagels and Gouy, *Gilde van O.L.V. Lof of kort verhael der instelling en voorstzetting van de kapel der H. Moeder Gods, in de kerk van Onze Lieve Vrouwe te Antwerpen*, op. cit.; Op de Beeck, *De gilde van Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe-Lof in de kathedraal van Antwerpen. Vijfhonderd jaar Mariaverering to Antwerpen*, op. cit. Jan van der

Stock provides a very brief discussion of this important confraternity in: *Printing images in Antwerp: the introduction of printmaking in a city, fifteenth century to 1585* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1998), 115. On the Landjuweel, see the original published texts, digitized and available through HathiTrust: *Spelen van sinne, vol scoone moralisacien, vvtleggingen ende bediedenissen op alle loeflijcke consten* (Antwerp: M. Willem Siluius, 1562), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=gri.ark:/13960/t5dc1pt3j;view=1up;seq=7>. See also: Cornelis Kruyskamp, *Het Antwerpse landjuweel van 1561: een keuze uit de vertoonde stukken* (Antwerpen, Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1962); L.M. van Dis en B.H. Ern , eds., *De spelen van Zinne vertoond op het Landjuweel te Gent van 12-23 Juni 1539* (Batavia: J.B. Walters' Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1939); An excellent recent study of the Antwerp Landjuweel is Jeroen Vandommele, *Als in een spiegel: vrede, kennis en gemeenschap op het Antwerpse Landjuweel van 1561* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2011).

²⁰³ Gary Waite, *Reformers on Stage: popular drama and religious propaganda in the Low Countries of Charles V, 1515-1556* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 57.

²⁰⁴ It is unclear from the surviving documentation exactly how these triumphal arches were arranged or where they were set up, making a reconstruction of the mise-en-sc ne impossible. The exact path of the processional route is also unknown, though it probably resembled the 1549 itinerary. Presumably, the 1520 entry had these triumphal arches line both sides of the processional route, much like the colonnade of some 'two thousand, two hundred' faux marble columns made for the 1549 entry. See Grapheus's description in Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit. There are two entries in D rer's *Tagebuch* about the decoration and book made for this Joyous entry: "Also my host took me to the Painters' workshop in the armoury at Antwerp, where they are making the triumphal arches through which King Charles is to make his entry. It is 400 bows in length and each arch is 40 feet wide: they are to be set up on both sides of the streets, beautifully arranged and two stories high, and on them they are to act the plays; and this costs to make, 4,000 florins for the joiners and painters, and the whole work is very magnificently done." He mentions later having bought Gillis's account of the entry: "I paid 1 stuiver for the printed 'Entry into Antwerp,' showing how the King was received with a splendid triumph; the gates were beautifully decorated, and there were plays, much rejoicing, and beautiful maidens in tableaux vivants, whose like I have seldom seen." See Albrecht D rer and Hans Rupprich. *Schriftlicher Nachlass* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein f r Kunstwissenschaft, 1956).

²⁰⁵ Neither D rer's diary nor Pieter Gillis's account confirm the presence of these stages.

²⁰⁶ See partial glosses in Floris Prims, "De 13 Hypothesen van Pieter Gillis 1520" in *Antwerpiensia*, 12, (1938) 159-164. See also brief discussions in Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, Civic Patriots*, op. cit., 38; Larry Silver, *Quentin Massys*, op. cit., 15; Gary Waite, *Reformers on Stage*, op. cit., 57; James Tracy, *The politics of Erasmus: a pacifist intellectual and his political milieu* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 92; Gerd Unverfehrt, *Da sah ich viel k stliche Dinge: Albrecht D rers Reise in die Niederlande* (G ttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 92-93.

²⁰⁷ The full title of the publication is: *Hypotheses sive Argumenta Spectaculorum quae serenissimo et invictissimo Caesari Caroli Pio. Felici, Inclyto, semper Augusto, praeter alia multa et varia FIDES ET AMOR celebratissimae civitatis Antwerpiensis antistites (superis faventibus) sunt edituri*, which Floris Prims has translated into Dutch as: *De beteekenis of de argumenten der vorstellingen die ter eere van den Keizer, naast veel anders, TROUW en*

LIEFDE der vermaarde stad Antwerpen, bij Gods genade, zullen vorbringen. This Latin book, he indicates, was intended for the general public; its general intention was to clarify the meaning of the program. It provides an account of the personifications/personages represented, the inscriptions, and verses, with a general explanation of the allegorical content. Only a few copies of the publication have survived; exemplars are preserved in the Antwerp Stadsarchief (number 691) and in the British Library.

²⁰⁸ Despite its significance, the 1520 entry has attracted surprisingly little scholarly attention. No attempt has so far been made to interpret the uniqueness or innovativeness of its program within a broader context, though Peter Arnade had made brief mention of it in his study of entries in Bruges and Ghent.

²⁰⁹ As Natalie Zemon Davis has observed, “[G]ift reciprocity and formal contract shared some of the same moral terrain in the sixteenth century. The spread of contract did not necessarily sap convictions about the importance of gratitude.” *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 21. One could argue that the entry marked an important transition from the Burgundian entry tradition, with its theatrical mediation of defiant urban singularity and ducal statism, to the cajoling aggrandizement of imperial sovereignty that later humanists would employ in their “*adventus*” processions. Peter Arnade, “The Emperor and the City. The cultural politics of the joyous entry in early sixteenth-century Ghent and Flanders, 1500–1540,” *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor gescheidenis en oudheidkunde te Gent* 54 (2000), 66.

²¹⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis pointed to the cultural significance of these texts for sixteenth-century thinkers more generally: *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, op. cit., 13, 28. For a discussion of patristic sources see Van Nuffelen, *Reading Patristic Texts on Social Ethics*, op. cit.

²¹¹ Stages 1–2 depicted the conferment of power as gift exchange; stages 3–8 portrayed the republican moral virtues of Charles V as an ideal ruler; staged 8–10 presented the patronage expected of the emperor; stages 11–13 valorized the emperor, alluding to the rewards he could expect for his public service. Within this general schema, stages three and eight functioned as transitional fulcrums and stage thirteen served as a culminating synthesis.

²¹² Grapheus complains in the 1549 Entry that other cities had copied what had been an Antwerp invention, and so he had to develop a new series of terms to describe Antwerp’s devotion to its overlord.

²¹³ Prims, “De 13 Hypothesen van Pieter Gillis 1520,” op. cit., 161.

²¹⁴ The 1515 entry in Bruges included the Three Graces within a tableau on the Muses, suggestive not of the entry as gift but of epistemic categories of memorization. See the festival book: <http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pageview.aspx?strFest=0074&strPage=63>. Glasgow University Emblem Studies provides a cross-referenced study of the iconography of the Graces beginning with Andrea Alciato’s *Emblematum libellus* of 1531:

<http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=FALc162>

²¹⁵ L. Annaeus Seneca, *On Benefits*, trans. Aubrey Stewart. (London, George Bell and Sons, 1900), Kindle Edition. 12.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Seneca also wrote about the conferment of public office as a benefit: “Those things which it is glorious to receive, such as military decorations or public offices, and whatever else gains in value the more widely it is known, should be conferred in public.” Ibid, 25.

²¹⁸ See also Erasmus's Adage, "Naked are the Graces," wherein he explains that "The moral of this adage is that we should show open-hearted goodwill in sharing with our friends; or, that between friends there should be no pretenses, no concealments, but everything bare and straightforward. [...] Some apply the proverb to ungrateful people, because they strip the Graces, as it were, by always accepting kindness in some form and giving nothing in return. It will thus be appropriate for those who are reduced to want by their generosity, because whatever they get they give lavishly to their friends." See *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 2, op. cit., 25.

²¹⁹ The *rederijkerskamers* often took their awards in the form of silver cups, tankards and table fountains; certainly, silver and goldsmiths regularly ranked among the membership of the town's rhetorical chambers. Waite, *Reformers on Stage*, op. cit.; see extract on p. 60; see also his occupational table of Antwerp *rederijkers* on p. 57.

²²⁰ That the Graces give Charles V a golden apple is an ambiguous, polyvalent gesture, which may allude to the Garden of Hesperidies as an Arcadian otherworld, to the Labors of Hercules, to the fact that the Graces became the handmaidens of Aphrodite, and/or the potential for gifts to cause discord as in the Judgment of Paris, as I here suggest.

²²¹ This quotation appeared in James Tracy, *Politics of Erasmus*, op. cit., 92

²²² This particular association between crowns and towns became a perennial motif in Antwerp art; just as the 1549 entry had *Antwerpia* wear a tiara that resembled the spire of the Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Kerk, Abraham Janssens's 1609 commission of *Scaldis and Antwerpia* for the *Staetencamer* of the *Stadshuis* depicted the maiden of Antwerp in the guise of Abundance, wearing a headdress made to resemble the city walls. On Seneca's concepts of divine gifts and the importance of repaying divine benediction with piety, see Book 4, *On Benefits*.

²²³ See the opening passage in the section "On Enacting and Emending Laws" in Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, trans. Lester Born (New York: Octagon Books, 1963). The full text of Lester Born's translation is available at:

http://www.stoics.com/erasmus_s_education_of_a_chris.html#V1

²²⁴ A number of important city buildings were inscribed with the acronym SPQR. Guicciardini provides a clear overview of the political system in Antwerp at mid century, but every chronicle also opens by rehearsing Antwerp's republican independence and status as a Margravate. See for example the inscription on the New Exchange in van der Stock, ed., *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis*, op. cit., 235.

²²⁵ On the Inauguration Charter, see Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 81–86.

²²⁶ The Greek figures were: Piety (*Eusebia*)/Impiety (*Asebia*). While the Greek inscription stated that "Above all, piety glorifies the king," the Latin verse stated that "With Emperor Charles piety reigns. On the ground and underfoot will lie impious ways."

²²⁷ The Greek figures were: Injudiciousness (*Aphrosyna*), Truthfulness (*Aletheia*), Flattery (*Colacia*), Covetousness (*Philargyria*). Tyranny is described as "the most horrid monster of all, especially to be hated by princes." The inscription proclaimed, "The same rights apply to friends and enemies." On the figuration of Flattery (*Colacia*) see also Michel Foucault's account on Erasmus's Praise of Folly and the construction of folly as a vice. Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965), 24–25. There were two different species of avarice in scholastic exegesis of the New Testament: pleonexia and philargyria. See Richard Newhauser, *The early history of greed: the sin of avarice in early medieval thought and literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 6–7.

²²⁸ See for example the Brussels ‘Triumph’ tapestries contemporary with Charles V’s imperial coronation, currently in the Victoria Albert Museum. Thomas Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: art and magnificence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 26–27; 151–156. The list of fourteen ‘noble’ Roman virtues is typically attributed to Marcus Aurelius, but other public virtues have been identified. The presumed singularity of these terms is somewhat undercut by different philosophers’ interest in placing these virtues in much broader discursive fields. See: Manning, *Liberalitas: The Decline and Rehabilitation of a Virtue*, op. cit.; Kloft, *Liberalitas Principis*, op. cit.

²²⁹ See Keßler, “The transformation of Aristotelianism during the Renaissance” in *New perspectives on Renaissance thought: essays in the history of science, education and philosophy: in memory of Charles B. Schmitt*, eds. John Henry et al. (London: Duckworth, 1990), 137–147.

²³⁰ An overview of Aristotle’s thinking is provided in John Cooper, *Pursuits of Wisdom: Six Ways of Life in Ancient Philosophy from Socrates to Plotinus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 110–114.

²³¹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. J.A. Smith, (CreateSpace, 2014) Kindle edition, 61.

²³² Aristotle writes:

[A]ll the actions done in accordance with virtue are honourable, and done from the motive of honour: and the Liberal man, therefore, will give from a motive of honour, and will give rightly; I mean, to proper persons, in right proportion, at right times, and whatever is included in the term "right giving:" (ibid., 99.)

²³³ Aristotle argues:

Magnificence [...], like liberality, is a virtue having for its object-matter Wealth; but it does not [...] extend to all transactions in respect of Wealth, but only applies to such as are expensive, and in these circumstances it exceeds liberality in respect of magnitude, because it is (what the very name in Greek hints at) fitting expense on a large scale [...]: "fitting" of course also is relative to the individual, and the matter wherein and upon which he has to spend. [...] That is to say, the Magnificent man is liberal, but the liberal is not thereby Magnificent. The falling short of such a state is called Meanness, the exceeding it Vulgar Profusion, Want of Taste, and so on; which are faulty, not because they are on an excessive scale in respect of right objects but, because they show off in improper objects, and in improper manner [...]. The Magnificent man is like a man of skill, because he can see what is fitting, and can spend largely in good taste. (ibid., 104–105.)

²³⁴ This point is fascinatingly made in Manning “‘Liberalitas’–The Decline and Rehabilitation of a Virtue,” op. cit.

²³⁵ Seneca argues,

We are to speak of benefits, and to define a matter which is the chief bond of human society; [...] Men must be taught to be willing to give, willing to receive, willing to return; and to place before themselves the high aim, not merely of equaling, but even of surpassing those to whom they are indebted, both in good offices and in good feeling; because the man whose duty it is to repay, can never do so unless he out-does his benefactor. (*On Benefits*, op. cit., 13.)

Cicero speaks as follows:

Nothing is more suited to human nature than [beneficence and liberality], but there are many caveats. For first one must see that kindness harms neither the very people whom

one seems to be treating kindly, nor others; next, that one's kindness does not exceed one's capabilities; and then, that kindness is bestowed upon each person according to his standing. Indeed, that is fundamental to justice, to which all these things ought to be referred. For those who do someone a favour in such a way that they harm him whom they appear to want to assist, should be judged neither beneficent nor liberal, but dangerous flatterers. Those who, in order to be liberal towards some, harm others, fall into the same injustice as if they had converted someone else's possessions to their own account.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, *On Duties* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991) Kindle Edition. *On Duties*, 19. The Senecan discourse on benefits has also recently been discussed in Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 17–18.

²³⁶ Seneca has a long disposition on whether or not a slave can demonstrate liberality. He answers in the affirmative, but only by clarifying that only the slave's body is held as chattel, not his soul:

It is a mistake to imagine that slavery pervades a man's whole being; the better part of him is exempt from it: the body indeed is subjected and in the power of a master, but the mind is independent, and indeed is so free and wild, that it cannot be restrained even by this prison of the body, wherein it is confined, from following its own impulses, dealing with gigantic designs. (*On Benefits*, op.cit., 49.)

²³⁷ Having met Erasmus as a corrector at Dirk Martens's Press during the editing of the *Lucubrationes* four years earlier, Gillis had received a crash course in Erasmus's diverse philological pursuits. On Erasmus's *Lucubrationes*, see Mark Vessey's erudite essay, "Erasmus's *Lucubrationes*: Genesis of a Literary Oeuvre," in *Author, Reader, Book: Medieval Authorship in Theory and Practice*, eds. Steven Partridge and Erik Kwakkel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 232-262.

²³⁸ Though Erasmus has a section devoted to "The Beneficences of the Prince," his thinking on the relationship between compassion, constancy, and generosity occurs throughout the text. In this regard he drew upon an extensive lineage of scholastic and patristic thinkers. See Richard Hardin, "The Literary Conventions of Erasmus' Education of a Christian Prince: Advice and Aphorism," *Renaissance Quarterly* 35: 2 (1982), 152–4

²³⁹ Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, op. cit.

²⁴⁰ In his section, "On Tributes and Taxes," Erasmus applied a patristic tradition of thinking about princely beneficence in relation to tax relief:

A good prince will tax as lightly as possible those commodities which are used even by the poorest members of society; e.g., grain, bread, beer, wine, clothing, and all the other staples without which human life could not exist. [...] However, if some taxation is absolutely necessary and the affairs of the people render it essential, barbarous and foreign goods should be heavily taxed because they are not the essentials of livelihood but the extravagant luxuries and delicacies which only the wealthy enjoy; for example, linen, silks, dyes, pepper, spices, unguents, precious stones, and all the rest of that same category. [...] In the minting of his money the good prince should observe that faith which he owes to God and his own people and not allow himself a liberty by which he inflicts the direst penalties on others. (ibid.)

²⁴¹ Kathy Eden, *Friends Hold All Things in Common: tradition, intellectual property, and the Adages of Erasmus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

²⁴² One of the innovations of the greatly expanded 1508 Aldine edition, *Adagiorum Chiliades*, was its thematic index, which grouped adages into interpretive rubrics. These are the adages that he lists as falling under the heading of liberality: *Bis dat qui cito dat*. (He gives twice who gives promptly); *Ambabus manibus haurire* (To take with both hands); *Ipsa horreo*; *Promus magis, quam condus* (A steward rather than a spender); *Larus in misericordiis* (The gull with compassion); *Virgo primum* (The first Virgin); *Codali choenix* (The measure of Codalus); *Bona Porsenae* (The Goods of Porsenna); *De alieno corio liberalis* (To be very liberal with what belongs to another); *Communis Mercurius* (Common Hermes). This list is reproduced in the following edition:

http://books.google.com/books?id=PzxPAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. See also Tracy, *Politics of Erasmus*, op. cit.

²⁴³ The adages served as a medium for the humanist's philologically inspired, replicative, and dissimulative rhetorical methods, a pedagogically oriented application of the adages, whereby the interested reader could substitute an adage in place of the dominant term it exemplified. On Erasmus's use of adages in his writings, see Ari Wesseling, "Intertextual Play: Erasmus' Use of Adages in the Colloquies," *Erasmus Studies* 28: 1 (2008), 1–27.

²⁴⁴ *Philargyria* (φιλαργυρία) literally means 'love of money.' Erasmus's thematic index had suggested *rapacitas* and *avaricia* as interchangeable concepts. Erasmus generally avoided discussing the virtue of liberality in direct relationship with vices, but in theological contexts he followed the Thomist opposition of liberality and avarice. See for example, his "Epistle against those who falsely boast they are Evangelicals," addressed to Gerardus Geldenhouwer in 1529, in which he writes: "Show me any one person who by that Gospel has been reclaimed from drunkenness to sobriety, from fury and passion to meekness, from avarice to liberality, from reviling to well-speaking, from wantonness to modesty. I will show you a great many who have become worse through following it." *Collected Works of Erasmus, Correspondence*, op. cit.

²⁴⁵ Aquinas acknowledges that liberality is often annexed with justice out of its concern with "materialities." See in *Summa Theologica*, II: 2, question 117, article 5, op. cit., 233-236.

²⁴⁶ See also Ecclesiastes 5:10, "He that loveth money shall not be satisfied with money; nor he that loveth abundance with increase: this is also vanity." King James Version.

²⁴⁷ In discussing how public office exacerbates a man's tendencies toward certain vices, Plato writes that avarice and ambition in particular derogate the duties of office:

Having so many evils, will not the most miserable of men be still more miserable in a public station? Master of others when he is not master of himself; like a sick man who is compelled to be an athlete; the meanest of slaves and the most abject of flatterers; wanting all things, and never able to satisfy his desires; always in fear and distraction, like the State of which he is the representative. His jealous, hateful, faithless temper grows worse with command; he is more and more faithless, envious, unrighteous,—the most wretched of men, a misery to himself and to others.

Plato, *The Republic*, Book I, (Black & White Classics, 2014) Kindle Edition, 2.

²⁴⁸ Waite, *Reformers on Stage*, op. cit., 60. See also section on 'Onderwijs' in *Antwerpen in de XVIde Eeuw, Genootschap voor Antwerpse Geschiedenis* (Antwerp: Mercurius, 1975).

²⁴⁹ A great deal of attention has been given to the economic themes of redeijker plays in Antwerp and in Bruges. See for instance the *Refreinenbundel of Jan van Stijevoort* (1524) Cornelis

Everaert also considered the notion of brotherly love as related to liberality. The *Elckerlijck* won the 1485 rederijker contest in Antwerp. On the Everyman seeking out property, ‘Tgoed’ (Goods), to accompany him on his visit to Death, see the transcription of the original text, printed in 1495: The section on Goods appears: §344–429:

http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/elc001elck01_01/elc001elck01_01_0004.php. See Jeroen Vandommele, *Als in een Spiegel*, op. cit.; Johan Oosterman en Bart Ramakers, *Kamers, kunst en competitie: teksten en documenten uit de rederijkerstijd* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Genneep, 2001); Hans van Dijk, et al., *Spel en spektakel: middeleeuws toneel in de lage landen* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2001).

²⁵⁰ On the stylistic plurality of Antwerp mannerists, see van den Brink, et al, *ExtravagAnt!* op. cit. and the articles that appeared in the 2004-5 KMSK Jaarboek, op. cit. On the seventeenth-century complaint about the poor quality of Flemish exports flooding the Dutch market, see Eric Jan Sluijter, “Over Brabantse vodden, economische concurrentie, artistieke wedijver en de groei van de markt voor schilderijen in de eerste decennia van de zeventiende eeuw,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999), 112-143.

²⁵¹ Waite, *Reformers on Stage*, op. cit., 57. See also Walter Gibson, “Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel,” *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), 426-446.

²⁵² A reference to Gillis’s activities in rederijkerskamer is perhaps suggested by the Violieren’s deacon’s reference to their May festival of 1525:

Item. In the same year the guildbrothers and deacons of our guild celebrated the May festival, the like of which had never before been seen inside Antwerp. To their honour the guildbrothers were given a prize from the gentlemen of the law [magistrates] and from the common people, which triumph shall abide long in memory. Mr. Peeter Gielys did the planning.

Waite, op. cit., 58. See original Flemish on 244, n. 40.

²⁵³ Thøfner, *Common Art*, op. cit.

²⁵⁴ “St. Luke’s deacon recorded that in 1519 The Gillyflower’s leaders put on a triumphal celebration, ‘which cost a great deal,’ in honour of Archduke Charles’s election.” Waite, *Reformers on Stage*, op. cit., 57.

²⁵⁵ Honig, *Painting and the Market*, op. cit. They stood with ‘Barbaries’ and ‘Apaedeusia’ at their feet.

²⁵⁶ The Antwerp Genius also acted as a herald in the first stage, and Mercury was also charged with the relaying of messages. Seneca’s iconographic excursus, moreover, pointed to a frequent association of the Muses with Mercury, a representational tendency that the philosopher dismisses as a painterly whim, commenting that neither “argument [n]or eloquence commends benefits.” In coupling Mercury with Philologia, Gillis may have intended a corrective to an iconography that had resurfaced. Seneca’s statement, though unclear, would seem to undercut the argument of Gillis’s tableau—that Philologia was a benefit that would increase the emperor’s celebrity, and hence it deserves his benefaction. Seneca, *On Benefits*, op. cit. Botticelli’s *Primavera*, for example, depicts Mercury next to the Three Muses.

²⁵⁷ Waite, *Reformers on Stage*, op. cit., 52, see also 240 n. 9.

²⁵⁸ From the Vulgate: “*Nunc reges, intelligite, erudimini qui iudicatis terram*,” Prims, “De 13 Hypothesen van Pieter Gillis 1520,” op. cit. On judgment and marketplace, see Honig, *Painting and the Market*, op. cit.

²⁵⁹ “Zie maar hoeveel dictatoren en keizers, met Caesar te beginnen, hun hoogste titels verkregen, niet van hun imperium, maar van Philologia.” Prims, “De 13 Hypothesen van Pieter Gillis 1520,” op. cit.

²⁶⁰ Ibid. “De Keizer zal haar een hoogen zetel geven, want zij is het waarvan Plato zegde dat zij de republieken gelukkig maakt, zij door Alexander boven alle rijkdommen verkozen werd.” Gillis would appear to be referencing the rather multivalent discussion on the epistemology and social relevance of various kinds of imitative arts, including painting, theater and poetry. See Plato, *The Republic*, op. cit. Book 10.

²⁶¹ The Greek figures were: Pleasure (*Voluptates*) and Love of Work (*Philoponia*). The themes also echoed Erasmus, who stated:

Now there are countless things which can turn the minds of princes from the true course—great fortune, worldly wealth in abundance, the pleasures of luxurious extravagance, freedom to do anything they please, the precedents of great but foolish princes, the storms and turmoils of human affairs themselves, and above all else, flattery, spoken in the guise of faith and frankness. On this account must the prince be the more sincerely strengthened with the best of principles and the precedents of praiseworthy princes. Erasmus. *The Education of a Christian Prince*, op. cit.

Read in light of Gillis’s Alexandrian allusion, the themes of the tenth stage indicate yet other Senecan and Erasmian subtexts. To portray the king as a modern Hercules was by 1520 a common trope, but in *On Benefits* Seneca suggests that this form of flattery had ancient roots. The Stoic philosopher describes a particular scenario when the city of Corinth exposed the hubristic ambitions of Alexander the Great by granting him citizenship:

When the conquest of the East had flattered Alexander of Macedon into believing himself to be more than man, the people of Corinth sent an embassy to congratulate him, and presented him with the franchise of their city. When Alexander smiled at this form of courtesy, one of the ambassadors said, “We have never enrolled any stranger among our citizens except Hercules and yourself.” Alexander willingly accepted the proffered honour, invited the ambassadors to his table, and showed them other courtesies. He did not think of who offered the citizenship, but to whom they had granted it; and being altogether the slave of glory [...] fancied that the heaven to which his vanity aspired was indeed opening before him when he was made equal to Hercules. In what indeed did that frantic youth, whose only merit was his lucky audacity, resemble Hercules? Hercules conquered nothing for himself; he travelled throughout the world, not coveting for himself but liberating the countries which he conquered, an enemy to bad men, a defender of the good, a peacemaker both by sea and land; whereas the other was from his boyhood a brigand and desolator of nations, a pest to his friends and enemies. (Seneca, *On Benefits*, op. cit., 18.)

Within the context of the entry, the upshot of this Senecan disquisition may have been significant, even if Gillis did not intend the reference to be explicit. On the one hand, it offers a diplomatic genealogy for welcoming a foreign prince as a citizen—a typology for the *blijde inkomst*; on the other hand, it powerfully communicates how a flattering characterization can be used to conceal a more trenchant criticism. Whether the gesture should be interpreted as complement or criticism would then turn on the policies pursued by emperor. Though its argumentation was not entirely stable, in part because every entry had to negotiate the tension between the terms of consent and resistance laid out in the Inauguration Charter, the program’s

rhetorical arrangement, urging Charles V first to aspire to Alexander's literary patronage then to emulate Hercules's liberating selflessness, advanced a particular ideal of actions expected of a beneficent foreign ruler. For a thoughtful consideration of the mythic and cultural structure of the blijde inkomst, see Jac Geurts, "Myth, History, and Image in the Low Countries," in *Myth in History, History in Myth*, eds. Laura Cruz and Willem Frijhoff (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 64–6.

²⁶² Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, op. cit.

²⁶³ Gilles's text stated, "*Grege unus terries, pastor et unus erit.*" The Vulgate's version had it as: "*et alias oves habeo quae non sunt ex hoc ovili et illas oportet me adducere et vocem meam audient et fiet unum ovile unus pastor.*" The King James version is: "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd."

²⁶⁴ Arnade has pointed out that this was probably the first continental allegory to appear in an entry in the Low Countries. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, op. cit., 37–38.

²⁶⁵ Despite the fact that Hernán Cortés's trove of Aztec wonders arrived in the Low Countries via Antwerp in 1519, the figure of America was notably missing from the final tableau, an omission that scholars have assumed had something to do with the people of Antwerp's failure to grasp the significance of New World discoveries. However, the picture of Gillis's intellectual and social milieu portrayed in Thomas More's *Utopia* would seem to indicate that he was very much aware of the impact overseas discoveries had on his contemporaries' worldview, and indeed Gillis's application of republican virtues may be read in light of the dialogue that opened More's text, which drew explicitly from Plato's *Republic*. Even the full title of *Utopia*—*A truly golden little book, no less beneficial than entertaining, of a republic's best state and of the new island Utopia, (Libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quam festivus, de optimo rei publicae statu deque nova insula Utopia)*—suggests the extent to which the text's themes inflected through Gillis's program. For just as More's 'little book' cunningly read Antwerp's spatio-ideological position against an imagined, imperialistically motivated venture overseas, it also explored the moral relationship between benefits, republican virtues, and economic policy. See *Vlaanderen en Castilla y Leon: Op de drempel van Europa* (Antwerp: Kathedraal, 1995); *America: Bride of the Sun - 500 Years of Latin America and the Low Countries*, op. cit. On Gillis's omission of the figure of America in his continental allegory, see Silver, *Paintings of Quentin Massys*, op. cit.

²⁶⁶ Most notorious during this period was the search for Prester John. See Cates Baldridge, *Prisoners of Prester John: the Portuguese mission to Ethiopia in search of the mythical king, 1520-1526* (Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2012).

²⁶⁷ Richard Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi: Meanings in History of a Christian Story* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 1997, 38–39.

²⁶⁸ See Dan Ewing. "Magi and Merchants: the force behind the Antwerp Mannerists' Adoration pictures," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten* (2004–2005), 274–99.

²⁶⁹ Thøfner, *Common Art*, op. cit.

²⁷⁰ The prevalence and popularity of Magi imagery may, however, be correlated less with an exclusive interest in the Magi than in the fact that buyers of compound altarpieces on the Antwerp market had a choice between two general modular schema, the Nativity or the Passion. The survival of painted and sculptural treatments of the Magi may therefore suggest that it was merely one of the most popular scenes of the Nativity generally. See also Yao-Fen You, "Krautheimer and the Marketplace: Vernacular Copies of Antwerp Compound Altarpieces in the Rhineland," op. cit.; Lynn Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish carved altarpieces, 1380-1550: medieval*

tastes and mass marketing (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Idalie Vandamme, “A Particular Adoration: The Sixteenth Century Feather Triptych Depicting *The Adoration of the Magi* in the Museo de America in Madrid,” *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten* (2003), 92–135.

²⁷¹ See Thøfner, *Common Art*, op. cit.

²⁷² The focus of the ommegang was a cult image of the Madonna, which was placed on a pole and passed in a specific sequence among the urban hierarchy of the city’s prelates, guild leaders, confraternities, and government officials. Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Lof confraternity’s accounts indicate a regular acquisition of prints and other ephemeral decorations and artworks.

Established in 1479, the confraternity was dedicated to promoting the veneration of the Virgin in church festivities. According to Jan van der Stock, the confraternity:

had a membership consisting largely of important merchants, including a good many influential foreigners. In the first few decades of the guild’s existence, it had a conspicuously large number of German, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian members, along with many leading burghers of Antwerp and a number of artists. The guild’s social and cultural significance has never been researched systematically, but it is known to have been an influential body, whose communal activities and symbols were intended to foster a sense of group identity. As a society where people made and maintained important contacts, the Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Lof Guild was also a body of considerable economic significance. (Van der Stock, op. cit., 115.)

²⁷³ See Hoefnagels and Gouy, *Gilde van O.L.V. Lof*, op. cit.; Claessens, *De broederschappen te Antwerpen van de 14de eeuw tot circa 1600* (Leuven: KUL, 1969).

²⁷⁴ John Cartwright, “Forms and their uses: The Antwerp Ommegangen, 1550-1700,” in *Festive Drama, papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre*, ed. Meg Twycross (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1996), 117–131.

²⁷⁵ Dürer’s travel journal describes the ommegang in detail. Dürer, *Schrijflischer Nachlass*, op. cit. See also F. H. Merten and K. L. Torfs, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen sedert de stichting der stad tot onze tijd*, vol. 6, (Antwerpen: C. be Vries-Brouwers, 1975-77), 509–19; Jacquot, *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, op. cit., 359–388.

²⁷⁶ Thøfner used the phrase ‘economy of salvation’ in relationship to the ommegang. *Common Art*, op. cit., 47.

²⁷⁷ Although I recognize that some segments of the urban society were excluded from the entry’s discourses, my focus is on the subsection of the Antwerp residents—particularly the professional classes—who would have been productively brought together in the entry.

²⁷⁸ Though the innovativeness and complexity of Gillis’s program has largely been overlooked, his positionality between internationally prominent humanists like Erasmus, More, and Pirckheimer and Antwerp’s literary, mercantile, and artistic talent made him a special kind of thinker. He was uniquely capable of marshaling a theoretically and philologically rigorous rhetoric that mediated between the entry’s diplomatic, princely address and the people of Antwerp’s multivalent, performative identity politics. Though the depth of the entry’s polyvalent references perhaps eluded its imperial visitors, the program’s learned themes and motifs energized urban discourse. In attending to the importance of patronage as an economic driving force within and beyond the city, Gillis conceived of the entry as an occasion not just to explore the social, political, and ethical significance of generosity, but to promote Antwerp creative ventures—the city’s artistic, dramatic, and literary ingenuity.

²⁷⁹ Floris Prims, “Het Eigen Werk van Cornelius Graphaeus (1482–1558),” *Antwerpiensia* 12 (1938), 174.

²⁸⁰ See the Dutch version of Grapheus’s text, which describes the order of the procession, after the city convoy (*Der Stadt gemeynder Burgeren inrijdinge*), composed of the commonwealth’s merchants and guilds (*gemeyne Coopluyden, Ambachten, Gulden*), Grapheus describes the procession of the foreign merchants. Bussels has consulted the archival materials from the *Privilgiekamer*. Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 54 n. 69.

²⁸¹ Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit. vol.1, 13; Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 57.

²⁸² The only other instance that I am aware of occurred during the 1548 entry of Henri II into Lyon, when animosities between the Florentine and Genoese colonies erupted over their positions in the procession and they sought resolution with the emperor personally. Unlike the Antwerp entry, foreign merchants in Lyon did not have the opportunity to erect their own arches, though Italian style theatrical performances were staged, it is believed, not just because it was fashionable but under the influence of the city’s foreign merchants. In addition to Maurice Scève’s printed festival book, *Magnificence de la superbe et triumpante entrée de la noble et antique cité de Lyon faicte au treschrestien roy de France Henry deuxiesme*, there are several ambassadorial accounts of the entry. A facsimile of Scève’s account with critical commentary from Richard Cooper has been digitized:

http://archive.org/stream/entryofhenriiiiin00scuoft/entryofhenriiiiin00scuoft_djvu.txt

See also Jeanne Mennes, “De Staten van Brabant en de Blijde Inkomst van kroonprins Filips in 1549,” *Standen en Landen* 18 (1959), 49–165; Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 54–55.

²⁸³ I have consulted all three different versions of the festival book. The Dutch version was published as *De seer wonderlijcke, schoone, triumphelijcke incompst, van den hooghmogenden Prince Philips, Prince van Spaighen, Caroli des vijfden, Keysers sone: inde stadt van Antwerpen, anno M.CCCCC.XLIX*; it has been digitized by the Getty Research Insitute:

<https://archive.org/details/deseerwonderlijc00grap>.

The French version appeared under the title: *Le triumphe d'Anuers, faict en la susception du Prince Philips, Prince d'Espaign*; it has been digitized by the British Library: <http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pageview.aspx?strFest=0116&strPage=001>. The Latin version was: *Spectaculorum susceptione Philippi Hisp. Prin. Divi Caroli V. Caes. F. An. MDXLIX*, and has been made available at the Bayerische StaatsBibliothek: <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/0002/bsb00029522/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&id=00029522&seite=1>.

²⁸⁴ Bussels provides a nice translation of Grapheus’s text, which states, “[W]e want to tell here, with what large triumphant pompous instruments the Genoese, the Florentines and the Portuguese were totally ready and prepared to parade with the other Nations. But there had arisen a certain quarrel concerning the order of appearance between the Portuguese and the English and between the Florentines and the Genoese. Therefore, his Imperial Majesty (in order to avoid any inconvenience that could have resulted) forbade them explicitly from taking part in the entry parade.” “[S]o willen wij hier verhalen/met hoe groote triumphelijcke pompose gereescap/de Geneuoyzen/Florentijnen/ende Portegaloyzen/al nu geheel bereet ende geschickt waren/om metten anderen Natien in te rijdene. Maer mits dat tusschen de Portugaloyzen ende de Engelsche/ende desgelijcx tussen de Florentijnen ende Geneuoyzen/[...] sekeren twist geresen

was aengaende het voerrijden. So heeft de K.M. (om alle inconuenienten/die daer wt hadden mogen volgen/te verhuedene) het expresseelijck doen verbieden mede inne te commene.”

Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 54. Grapheus’s separate descriptions of the livery and retinue of the Portuguese, Genoese, and Florentines may suggest that these reprimanded nations would have been folded into the processional sequence in that order, presumably between the merchants of Milan and England, though this is not at all certain. Kuyper seems to assume this is more certain than it is from the context of the Grapheus’s text. See Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit., 13.

²⁸⁵ He also recounts the actual processional order of the foreign nations. Precedence descended from the final position; immediately after the convoy of the city’s merchants, craftsmen, and guilds appeared the delegation of merchants from Luca, followed in turn by those of Milan, England, Spain, the Hansa, and Germany. Presumably, the Florentines and Genoese would have followed the Italian merchants from Luca and Milan, and the Portuguese would have ranked closer to Spain, their Iberian neighbor. This, however, is conjecture.

²⁸⁶ Guicciardini, op. cit., 120; Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 56–59.

²⁸⁷ That contemporaries found Charles V’s ruling overly severe is also suggested by Juan Cristobal Calvete de Estrella’s comments. Bussels has pointed out that Calvete de Estrella reported on the exclusion of the Portuguese, Genoese, and Florentines and the livery they had prepared for the entry because he “‘does not want to do them an injustice,’[and t]heir punishment of being excluded from the parade was already severe enough.” Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 55.

²⁸⁸ Presumably even in preparing their ceremonial vestments, the foreign merchants would have given employment to the city’s luxury cloth dealers, tailors, furriers, haberdashers and so forth.

²⁸⁹ Mark Meadow has made a series of well-substantiated arguments about the 1549’s multivalent rhetoric of place as it was revealed in the stagecraft and the processional route. It is not my intension here to gloss his theses, but rather to expand upon them. See Meadow, “Ritual and Civic Identity,” op. cit.; “‘Met geschickter ordenen’” op. cit. This entry has been well studied: E. J. Roobaert, “De seer wondelycke schoone triumphelycke incompst van den Hooghmogenden Prince Philips in de stadt antwerpen, anno 1549,” *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België* 9:1–2 (1960), 37–74; Y. Pauwels, “Propagande architecturale et rhétorique du Sublime: Serlio et les Joyeuses Entrées de 1549,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 137 (May–June 2001), 221–236; Y. Pauwels, “Fête, propagande et image imprimée: les ‘Joyeuses entrées’ de Gand et d’Anvers (1559),” in *Espaces de l’image*, ed. R. Crescenzo (Nancy: Université de Nancy 2, 2002), 167–188; Eisler, “Celestial Harmonies ans Hapsburg Rule: Levels of Meaning in a Triumphal Arch for Philip II in Antwerp, 1549,” in “*All the World’s a stage...*,” op. cit., 332–356; John Landwehr, *Splendid Ceremonies State Entries and Royal Funerals in the Low Countries 1515-1791. A Bibliography* (Leiden: de Graaf, 1971).

²⁹⁰ Meadow, “Ritual and Civic Identity,” op. cit., 40–43; 52–53.

²⁹¹ Kuyper and Bussels have both observed and discussed this leitmotif; Kuyper suggests that it was intended as part of the imagery that anticipated Philip’s election as Holy Roman Emperor. I think this is likely, but that a parallel to the city’s legendary foundation by Brabo (a Roman centurion) amplified the people of Antwerp’s relationship to the Aeneid. One can and should also view the hybridization of local ornament with Serlian and Vitruvian ‘romanizations’ of the stagecraft as contributing to the visual enunciations of this rhetoric, a point to which I will return.

See Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 196–198; Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit., 19.

²⁹² Graphaeus states:

*Wij hebben duergaen vele landen in Europa/wij hebben gesien te Roome/wij hebben gesien so in Italien/so in andere diversche landen ende steden/seere groote dusdanige triumphen/wij kennen sommige oude treffelijcke geloofweerdige mannen/die oock diergelijcke dingen in diversche vremde landen met verwonderingen seggen gezien te hebbene: maer noch wij/noch zijluyden en hebben noyt iet gesien/dat by dese onse dingen/so van costelijckheden/so van grootheden/so van rascheden/so van menichten te gelijkene sy. (Graphaeus, *De Seer Wonderlijke Schoone Triumphelijcke Incompst van den Hooghmegenden Prince Philips, prince van Spaignen, Caroli des Vijfden, Keysers Sone Aiii.*)*

See also, Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 7.

²⁹³ Graphaeus writes:

[M]et wat getuygenissen van danckbaricheden/ de geheele stadt/ de overste/ de gemeynte/ de edelen/ de coopluyden/ de natien/ ende alderley vremdelingen der geheelder werelt tot deser stadt toe vloeyende/ so te voete/ so te peerde/ boven maten costelijck/ boven maten chierlijck/ den Prince [...].

See also Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 13; 88.

²⁹⁴ See Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit., 13.

²⁹⁵ Graphaeus credits the Spaniard Francisco Montesa as the inventor of the Spanish nation's arch and Stephano Ambrosio Schiappalari as the author of the program for the Genoese arch, and explicitly claims authorship of all the other foreign arches.

²⁹⁶ “*Venisti tandem, tuaque expectata [parenti vicit iter durum pietas?] datur ora tueri, [nate, tua et notas audire et reddere voces]?*” Robert Fitzgerald translates the passage as follows: “Have you at last come, has that loyalty your father counted on conquered the journey? Am I to see your face, my son, and hear our voices in communion as before?” The passage continues to evoke the journey: “I greet you now, how many lands behind you, how many seas...” *Aenid*, Book VI: 921–928.

²⁹⁷ Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 196–197.

²⁹⁸ For more detailed account of the iconography, see Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit., 49.

²⁹⁹ Meadow has rightly considered the succession of the first two intramuros stages as a form of royal decorum, a kind of diplomacy that Antwerp showed to Philip as a visiting Spaniard. See “Ritual and Civic Identity,” op. cit., 54–55.

³⁰⁰ The Genoese had, however, been granted a house near the Oude Beurs. Herrald, *High Germans in the Low Countries*, op. cit., 57–58; on the Spanish settlements in Antwerp see Raymond Fagel, “Spanish Merchants in the Low Countries: *stabilitas loci* or *peregrinatio*?” in: *International trade in the Low Countries (14th–16th centuries). Merchants, organisation, infrastructure*, eds. Peter Stabel et al. (Leuven/Apeldoorn: Garant, 2000), 87–104.

³⁰¹ As far as I know, there's no surviving documentation that accounts for the persons among the Spanish nation who initiated the commissioning of the arch for the 1549 entry. Spanish merchants tended either to settle permanently in Antwerp, integrating and intermarrying with local women, or to maintain a fairly peripatetic business life, interweaving the occasional trip to

Antwerp into larger itineraries. This is quite different than the way Spanish merchants established operations in Bruges. Renée Doehaerd, *Études Anversoises. Documents sur le commerce international à Anvers, 1488–1514*, 3 vols. (Paris: SEVPEN, 1962–63); E. Pitz, “Kapitalausstattung und Unternehmensformen in Antwerpen 1488–1514,” *Vierteljahresheft für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 53 (1966), 53–91.

³⁰² Similarly the ommegang of 1571 featured a ‘Palace of Nations’ ruled by Mercury, sitting in majesty over 12 women, who represented the commercial nations of Europe. Thøfner, *Common Art*, op. cit.

³⁰³ More puzzling is the apparent, presumable assimilation of the Hanseatic merchants or ‘Oesterlingen’ with the South Germans in the single figuration of ‘Germany’. The question of nationality as a concept used to describe linguistic, political, cultural or geographic difference is a vexed one for the period, and may prove to be an unsolvable riddle as a heuristic term for understanding identity politics in Antwerp. It is clear from a number of historical sources, municipal documents and travel accounts among others, that the citizens of Antwerp and foreign demographics within the city did use generalizing national terms to lump, for example, Venetians, Genoese, Lucchese, Milanese and Florentines together as Italians, but they also recognized important distinctions, awarding privileges and recognizing the extraterritorial rights of each different group. On problems of nationality see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, op. cit.

³⁰⁴ Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, op. cit.

³⁰⁵ The dispersion of Italian merchants throughout the city belied easy placement along the processional route, though like the Spanish, Italian merchants had been important visitors during fair time and the placement of their arch on *Gasthuisstraat* along with the Spanish would have honored that.

³⁰⁶ Van Cauwenbergh, *Gids voor Oud Antwerpen*, 341; Donald Harreld, “Trading Places: The Public and Private Spaces of Merchants in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp,” *Journal of Urban History* 29 (2003), 660.

³⁰⁷ Kuyper suggests this, but since the Genoese and Florentines were prohibited from processing, and Grapheus’s textual inclusion of them is rather ambiguous about the relative position of these nations, it’s impossible to make this assertion with any certainty.

³⁰⁸ Oscar de Smedt, *De Engelse Natie te Antwerpen*, op. cit.

³⁰⁹ Van Cauwenbergh, *Gids voor Oud Antwerpen*, op. cit., 98; Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit.

³¹⁰ Herrald, “Trading Places,” op. cit.

³¹¹ The idea of the fountainhead also has certain Christological, baptismal implications. The verse would later be used for commemorative medals, showing Antwerpia and Scaldis, issued on the completion of the Stadhuis. Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit., p.19

³¹² The 1566 ommegang reworked many of the floats from the 1564 procession. The explicitness of the 1564 ommegang’s tribute to the city’s maritime lifeline—the Scheldt River—was the apogee of a trend that had emerged gradually over the first half of the sixteenth century. Thøfner, *Common Art*, op. cit.

68. The religious portion of the programming had different sequences for Our Lady and Whitsun ommegangen. “For the ommegang of Our Lady these were usually the Annunciation, the

Visitation, the Nativity, Epiphany, the Seven Joys and Sorrows of the Virgin and then her Coronation.” Thøfner, *Common Art*, op. cit.

³¹³ Jean Jacquot, *Fêtes et Cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint et 2e Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Historiens de la Renaissance*. (Paris, 1960.)

³¹⁴ Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijcke, schoone, triumphelijcke incompst*, op. cit.

³¹⁵ Kuyper also rightly notes the shape of the arch recalls a monstrance with a host. Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit. On the Arch of Equity, Bussels has further elaborated:

In its centre hung a large golden sphere on which the allegory of justice was sitting. Like the people beneath the sphere she was clothed in gold. Faces, hands and feet, arms and legs – everything was in gold. By using this sparkling metal the expectation was voiced that Philip’s future policy would bring back the Golden Era, thus expressing the belief in a cyclical passage of time. The return to an older period when peace reigned was considered the most salutary. The song of praise directed toward Philip continued in the next tableau. It showed the way how the Golden Era could be brought back. Peace was propagated as the greatest blessing. A number of peace allegories, commanded by Pax, ruled over Mars and his consorts. The inscription read: ‘Sweet liberty, Concord, Peace, Good life, good conduct, trade, and abundance will grow under this prince: But war, riot, discord, violence, etc. will be chained under his feet’. The tableau was therefore in perfect harmony with the pacifist tenor that we have already noted on various occasions. (Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 105.)

³¹⁶ Grapheus also refers here to a number of cities and regions that need to be liberated from the tyranny of the Turks, including: “Bithinia, Phoenicia, Pamphilia, Arabia, Graecia, Numidia, Assyria, Aethiopia, Palestina, Hierosolyma, Aegyptus, Constantinopolis, Damascus.”

³¹⁷ See Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit., 12.

³¹⁸ On the tension between Rome’s republican and imperial heritage, see the introduction to Thomas Dandeleit, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

³¹⁹ The tournaments and performances after the entry took place in the Grote Markt. Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit.

³²⁰ For more on Van Noort’s successful infusion of a modern Venetian idiom into a classical Roman formal language, see Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit., 64.

³²¹ Though other scholars have noticed Grapheus’s reference to the equivalence of the Antwerp and Roman foot, no one to date has offered an interpretation of this significance, which mattered both to Coecke’s work and to Grapheus’s oeuvre.

³²² Even before collaborating with Coecke, Grapheus republished Pomponius Gauricus’s *De Sulptura* (Antwerp, 1528), which suggests that he had been quite interested and conversant with questions of ideal form and proportionality as it related to artistic production. He wrote an introduction to Gauricus’s *De Sulptura* in 1528. See Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 19.

³²³ See Krista De Jonge and Konrad Ottenheim (eds.), *Unity and Discontinuity. Architectural Relationships Between the Southern and Northern Low Countries (1530-1700)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); Mario Carpo, *Architecture in the Age of Printing: Orality, Writing, Typography*,

and Printed Images in the History of Architectural Theory (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2001). Krista De Jonge, “Le livret de l’Entrée du prince Philippe à Anvers par Cornelis Grapheus et Pieter Coecke, à Anvers en 1550,” in *Sebastiano Serlio à Lyon. Architecture et imprimerie*, ed. S. Deswarte-Rosa (Lyon, Mémoire active, 2004), 482-483; A. Corbet, *Pieter Coecke van Aelst* (Antwerp: De Stikkel Maederlandtbibliotheek 21, 1950); Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks, eds., *Paper Palaces: the rise of the Renaissance architectural treatise* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Elizabeth Cleland et al, *Grand design: Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance tapestry* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014).

³²⁴ Meadow, “Ritual and Civic Identity,” op. cit., 49–52. Meadow argues that the entry communicated urban identity through a spatial politics and poetics: He argues for two ideas of place. First, the rhetorical mode, ‘*argumentatio ad exemplum*,’ which advanced through the architectural language of the entry—primarily through its use of Serlian architectural theory—“a materially manifest form of *locus*, as a place of invention.” Second, he discusses the ways in which the processional route and the arrangement of ephemeral decorations inscribed historical self-consciousness.

³²⁵ Sune Schele, “Pieter Coecke and Cornelis Bos,” *Oud Holland* 77 (1962), 235-240; Sune Schele, *Cornelis Bos: A Study of the Origins of the Netherland Grottesque* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1965).

³²⁶ Joanna Woodall, “Lost in Translation? Thinking about Classical and Vernacular Art in Antwerp, 1540-1580,” *Understanding Art in Antwerp*, op. cit., 6: As Woodall has so eloquently argued:

The fracturing of the mirror-like visual regime characteristic of early Netherlandish devotional painting and portraiture into myriad different styles and topics is equally explicable in terms of a society under pressure from profound alterations in Christian belief and practice, an imminent change in political regime, dynastic rivalry with France fought out in part through armed struggle in parts of Italy, and the economic and cultural consequences of significant extensions of trade routes.

³²⁷ “[...L]aet ons exempel nemen so aen een/so aen ander Stuck: Aen den triumphael boge van den Geneuoysen waren (somen seyt) aleenlijk inijssennagelen verdaen tweehondert vierendertich Carolus gulden/werkende daer ane meer dan tweehondert .lxxx. werckluyden. En op dat wij hier alle andere voerby gaen/de Duytschen hebben aen huren triumphael boghe ter rekeningen gebrocht sesendertich duysent voeten berts/sonder de menichte van boomen/ balcken/sperren.” Grapheus, op. cit. Aiiij

³²⁸ Grapheus does not mention a specific figure for Florentines, but Calvete cites the amount. See also Roobaert’s calculations. There were several different versions of the Labor of Hercules available as tapestry cycles in 1549; the most recent was a set sold to Henry VIII in 1549. Depending on the quality of the tapestries, this could have raised the value of the Florentine arch considerably, by as much as 1,512 pounds. Grapheus does not state whether or not this was a commission that the Florentines made expressly for the entry or if the tapestries had belonged to the trading nation—perhaps as decorations for their headquarters—before the entry. Mary of Hungary had a set of 12 Labor of Hercules tapestries, which she had acquired from the merchant Wilem Dermoyen, and that eventually passed into the collection of Philip II. See P. Junquera de Vega y C. Herrero Carretero, *Catálogo de tapices del Patrimonio Nacional. Volumen I: Siglo XVI* (Madrid: Editorial Patrimonio Nacional, 1986), 155-162; F. Checa, *Tapisseries flamandes*.

Pour les ducs de Bourgogne, l'empereur Charles Quint et le roi Philippe II (Brussels: Fonds Maercator, 2008), 194.

³²⁹ Graphaeus writes:

Wat? Oft ghy gesien hadt/ de ongelooftelijke menichte der werckluyden? der arbeyderen? der schilderen? der architecten? der beeltsnijderen? der schrijnwerckeren? der sageren? der houtbrekeren? der tymmerluyden? der smeden? ende diergelijcken andere? Met bylen/ met hameren/ met sagen/ met booren/ met regelen/ met passeren/ met winckelhaecken/ met hantboomen/ met beytels/ met tangen/ met verwen/ met pinceelen/ usw. dach en nacht met vele aerbeyts/ met vele sweets werckende/ malcanderen vermanende/ roepende/ thierende/ als mieren loopende/ hen int wreck verblijdende/ onderlinge om des werckens prijs kijvende. (Graphaeus, op. cit. Aiii.)

Although my translation follows closely the meaning of Graphaeus's passage, I have opted for a slightly smoother, more idiomatically fluent English translation than a strict observance of the original Flemish prose may recommend. For a more literal translation that preserves the clunkiness of the verses, see Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 20.

³³⁰ Graphaeus writes,

[H]oe menige vaten lijnolien/hier toe verdaen sijn geweest: want het meeste deel van al het werk/is met oly verwe gedaen ghweest. Wie soude connen vertellen de cracht der menichten van het geslagen gout/het geslagen silvere/het gheslagen ten/datmen foiglie heet/tot alle die ontallicke grote tymmeringen/columnen/pilastren/bogen/stellagen/wapenen/schilderyen/ende beelden/te stoffene verbesicht.

³³¹ Josse de Weert was city pensionary in Antwerp from 1595 to 1624. The original Dutch is: Ende het was op dien dach voor deen noenen soo schoonen wedere als mogeelyck soude geweest hebben te wenschen. Maer, omtrent den 12 uren op den noene, werde 't wder soo verandert ende leelyck, dat seer regende totten avont toe, also dat alle menschen hen lieten dencken dat het eene plaghe was van God den Heere, van den onnutten cost die daer gedaen was om des coninx wille van cleederen, soo van goude, silvere, zyde, lakenen ende van neghentien stellagen, als van cleederen die de borghers hadden gemaect, al 't welck niet betaelt was dan met veele schatten van gelde. Want daer stellagen waeren die gecost hadden vyf duysent guldens, daer den almogenden Heere oyck wonderlycken syn gramschap over thoonde.

De Weert, *Chronycke van Nederlandt, besonderlyck der stadt Antwerpen, sedert den jaere 1097 tot den jaere 1565*, reproduced in Charles Piot's *Chroniques de Brabant et de Flandre* (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1879), 128. It has been digitized by HathiTrust:

[http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.\\$c160023;view=1up;seq=154](http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.$c160023;view=1up;seq=154)." See also Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 48–49.

³³² Kuyper, *The triumphant entry of Renaissance architecture into the Netherlands*, op. cit., 13.

³³³ Quoted in Roobaert "De seer wonderlijke schooner triumphelijcke incomst," 66, n. 49 (from Rk. N. 1787).

³³⁴ It's unclear how Josse de Weert calculated the 19 stages of the civic program, since there were 24 stages total (if one includes the permanent Keizerspoort and the Druon Antigoon effigy). Since there were only five foreign merchant arches, it seems obvious he doesn't include those in his tally.

³³⁵ Soly has argued that the cost of the entry was closer to 260,000 florins—this includes the city’s payments to the various workmen, as well as costs of the tournaments, tableaux vivants, the Druon Antigoon automaton, and the stagecraft. See Soly, “Pletige intochen in de steden van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden,” op. cit., 352. Bussels provides another analytic for comparison, stating that “the entry cost three thousand times the annual salary of a skilled worker.” *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 31.

³³⁶ According to Bussels:

Money was apparently made by selling the decorations hung along the route of the entry. On 23 September it was announced that everyone in possession of something that was part of the entry had to hand it over to the supervisor immediately. In this ordinance, Roobaert sees a possible reference to objects that could not be finished or installed in time and were still kept in the studios. Whatever the case, the public sale of paintings and other decorations from the entry earned the city a tidy sum. A dealer in old fabric, for example, paid 334 pounds, 7 shillings and 6 deniers. (Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 38–40.)

³³⁷ Grapheus notes, “*Also van God alle goet compt/so heeft hij oock (sonder eenige twijfel) ten mensche tot neeringgen en onderhoudinge sijn leves/het gebruyck der munten oft gelts [...].*” He also notes that man was delighted to received this gift, “*De man van dier godelijker gaven verblijdt/danckte seere den Gevere [...].*” Grapheus, op. cit.

³³⁸ Although liberality is not expressly figured amongst the personifications on the tableau, Grapheus describes the course of benefits from Saturn to Juno Moneta to the people as instances of liberality.

³³⁹ Ortelius joined the Guild of Saint Luke as a map illuminator in 1547 and was active as an antiquarian and book trader earlier than that. See Goltzius’s emblem in the *Album Amicorum*.

³⁴⁰ On the figuration of liberality on ancient coins, see Erika Manders, *Coining Images of Power: Patterns in the Representation of Roman Emperors* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 165–7.

³⁴¹ I have here prepared a translation from the French version of the text, *Le triumphe d'Anuers, fait en la susception du Prince Philips, Prince d'Espaign*, (1550) with which I have taken some liberties. The original text is:

Illecqu pouoit ou veoir ung admirable et estrange spectacle, come de veoir ung chascun beyer apres le iect de la Monnoie, comme de veoir chascun happillier & estendre la main, come de bouter l’ung l’autre du coulde, oftans ou prendans ycelluy argent hors de mains l’ung de l’autre, ycelluy recepuant, les aulcuns des lippes, aultres aux dentz, aultres aux mains, & aultres du bonnet, marcheans ou fougans l’ung l’autre aux piedz, s’entrefrappans de coupz de poingz, tarrer aux cheueulx, mauldissans &oultrageans les ungz lez aultres, en la presse ou foulle de diuers cris, clameurs, hulemens, & vociferations, que lon y faisoit.

A digitized version of the text is available at: <http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pagemax.aspx?strFest=0116&strPage=95>. Bussels provides a translation of the Dutch version, *Triumphelijcke Incompst*, but only of the fighting that broke out. In the Dutch text the term used for ‘liberality’ is mildheid not vrijgevigheid as one might expect, “miltheyt”. See also Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 46 n. 53.

³⁴² The figurations of Abundance, Commerce, and Civility within the arch of the Mint also recall the emblem, “Fortune, companion to Virtue,” [*Virtuti fortuna comes*”], which combined

Mercury's helmet and caduceus with the horns of Amalthea. The emblem linked liberal spending with commercial strength.

³⁴³ *Summa Theologica*, op. cit.; Van Nuffelen, *Reading Patristic Texts on Social Ethics*, op. cit.

³⁴⁴ This traditional scattering of specie by the prince after an entry or important ceremony was a tradition that went back to the Middle Ages in France. See Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, op. cit.

³⁴⁵ Erasmus, *Institutio*, op. cit. 206.

³⁴⁶ Elsewhere in *On Duties* Cicero argues:

The extravagant, with their banquets, their public distributions of meat, their gladiatorial performances, their spectacular provisions of games and of wild animals in combat, pour out their money on things for which they will be remembered briefly, if at all. The liberal, however, out of their resources, ransom captives from bandits, or assume their friends' debts, or help them to finance their daughters' marriages, or give them assistance in acquiring or enlarging their property." The full quote is: "I wonder therefore what could have been in Theophrastus' mind when he wrote in his book *On Riches* (which contains much that is splendid) something as absurd as the following: he is expansive in his praise of the personal provision of magnificent public events and he considers the harvest of riches to lie in having the resources for such expenditure. To me, however, it seems that the fruit of liberality, of which I have given a few examples, is much greater and much more certain. Aristotle speaks with far more weight and truth when he reprimands us for not being amazed at such squandering of money, the purpose of which is to soothe the masses. If those who are under siege from an enemy are forced to buy water at one mina a pint, at first that seems unbelievable to us and everyone is surprised; but when they think more about it, they grant that necessity may excuse it. With regard to this enormous wastage and endless expense, however, we are not greatly surprised – and that though it serves no necessity and enhances no one's standing; indeed, though the very delight of the masses lasts but for a brief and paltry moment, and though that delight belongs only to the most frivolous, for whom the moment that their satiety dies, so does the very memory of their pleasure. His conclusion is also a good one: those things are gratifying to boys and to weak women, to slaves and to those free men that are most like slaves; but a serious man who weighs with steady judgement what is done cannot in any way approve of them. And yet I do realize that even in the good old days it had become a tradition in our city to demand splendour from the best men in their aedileships. Consequently Publius Crassus, 'Dives' (Rich) in both surname and substance, fulfilled his functions as aedile with extravagance. A little later, Lucius Crassus, together with that most moderate of all men, Quintus Mucius, discharged his aedileship with utmost magnificence; and then Gaius Claudius, the son of Appius, and many after him, the Luculli, Hortensius, Silanus. But in my consulship Publius Lentulus surpassed all his predecessors; Scaurus imitated him; and the events provided by my friend Pompey in his second consulship were extremely magnificent. You can see what I myself would approve in all this. On the other hand, any suspicion of avarice must be avoided. There is the case of Mamercus, an extremely rich man, whose bypassing of the aedileship brought him rejection when he was a consular candidate. Therefore if something is demanded by the people, and if good men, though they do not actually ask for it, do not however disapprove, it should be done – but only in proportion to one's resources (as I myself did); and similarly, when some

greater and more useful thing may be achieved through gifts to the populace: the dinners which Orestes recently gave in the streets were nominally tithe-offerings, but won him great honour. Nor indeed was it counted a vice for Marcus Seius that when the price of corn was high he gave it to the people at only one as a measure. For he freed himself from a great and long-standing unpopularity, by a sacrifice that was neither dishonourable, as he was aedile, nor very great. But the highest honour fell recently to my dear Milo, who bought gladiators for the sake of the republic (which depended on my safety) and suppressed all the insane ventures of Publius Clodius. There is a case for lavish distribution, then, if it is either necessary or beneficial. However, in these very matters the rule of the intermediate course is best. Cicero, *On Duties*, op. cit. Locations 2587-2616.

³⁴⁷ As a form of political theater, the entry did provide city officials with a unique means of engaging their overlord in a theoretical exploration of the reciprocities that bound a prince to his subjects. On the one hand, the event furnished the people of Antwerp with an opportunity to rationalize their position within a more expansive empire and to articulate their concerns with preserving the customary liberties. On the other hand, the entry rituals asserted Antwerp's position as an international commercial hub, using the city's own human and material resources to generate a world picture.

³⁴⁸ Important studies of the 'market for beliefs' in Antwerp have been provided in sources such as Marnef, *Antwerp in the age of Reformation*, op. cit. Waite, *Reformers on Stage*, op. cit.

³⁴⁹ Peter van der Coelen, "Cornelis Bos: Where Did He Go? Some New Discoveries and Hypotheses about a Sixteenth-Century Engraver and Publisher," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 23 (1995), 119–146.

³⁵⁰ Marcus De Schepper, "Humanism and Humanists," in *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis*, op. cit.

³⁵¹ "The council feared that Antwerp's troubles might scare the merchants away, and precipitate the city's decline, bringing reversal of all the hard won expansion and advancement the city had experienced since the turn of the sixteenth century." Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 344; On July 17 1566 (slightly more than a month before iconoclasm swept the city), in an address to the Large Council, the city counsel of Antwerp issued the following statement in opposition to the public preaching: "From experience one knows that [the preachings] inhibit trade (which is, nevertheless, the principal foundation on which the city's wealth rests) and intends to inhibit even more trade since many of the merchants, foreign and other, are leaving the city because of fear for the inconveniences which could arise from these gatherings and novelties to encounter here." Kint, "Community of Commerce," op. cit., 343 See also Thørfer's discussion of the politicization of the ommegang: Thørfer, *Common Art*, op. cit., 50.

³⁵² For an extended treatment of this topic, see Jervis Wegg, *The Decline of Antwerp under Philip of Spain* (London: Methuen & Co., 1924); see also J.J. Woltjer, *Op weg naar tachtig jaar oorlog: het verhaal van de eeuw waarin ons land ontstond : over de voorgeschiedenis en de eerste fasen van de Nederlandse opstand* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2011).

³⁵³ Bussels has made these points quite beautifully:

Under the powerful influence of this latter group of political thinkers, in 1581 the States General issued a so-called 'Act of Segregation' in which they argued that Philip was a tyrant and that he rightfully was to be dethroned as a result of applying the centuries-old legal rights his subjects enjoyed. In the act the royal ideals of the entry into Antwerp were kept intact. But they were no longer assigned to the Habsburg monarch but, rather, used

against him. The States General wrote that a monarch should, in the first place, protect his subjects ‘for all injustice, damage and violence, just as a shepherd must protect his flock’.

Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power*, op. cit., 129–30.

³⁵⁴ Peter Arnade has argued, in reference to the 1520 Antwerp entry, “In the Low Countries, Italianate and Humanist forms steadily gained prominence in entry ceremonies, and even began in the early decades of the sixteenth century to include echoes, however minor, of colonial empire.” Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008)

³⁵⁵ Although I can think of other spatial registers that have not been adequately considered as strata of meaning in the entry rituals, such as the performative interplay of musical, theatrical, and visual staging, and the dynastic territoriality of urban and imperial heraldry and livery, my intention here is to begin to gesture toward the rich heuristic possibility of delving into the ritual’s spatial significances. My interests in the expressions of these forms of spatialities as part of a metropolitan/cosmopolitan identity have generally been generally informed by readings of Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); Michel de Certeau, *The practice of everyday life*, trans. Steven Rendall. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

³⁵⁶ Thøfner argues that,

[E]arly modern processions were a form of self-portraiture. They were spatial, performative and commemorative works of art. [...] Their main purpose was to make princes, patricians, and ordinary folk perform together. In this manner all of these individuals fashioned themselves into a compelling image of an urban community, of the very idea of a city. The processions were a common art.

Thøfner, *A Common Art*, op. cit., 20

³⁵⁷ Roy Wagner, “The Fractal Person,” in *Big Men and Great Men: Personifications of Power in Melanesia*, eds. Marilyn Strathern and Maurice Godelier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 159–173, 163.

³⁵⁸ For a more extensive study of the cult of Dürer and appropriations of his art, see Andrea Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer: the appropriation of art, 1528-1700* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013). Of particular interests to this chapter is Bubenik’s discussion of Karel van Mander’s interest in Dürer as an artist that represented a ‘northern’ tradition, pp. 19–20. Van Mander’s entry on “Het leven van Albert Durer, uytnemende Schilder, Plaet-snijder, en Bouw-meester, van Norenburgh” has been transcribed and is available at:

http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/mand001schi01_01/mand001schi01_01_0191.php

³⁵⁹ Erwin Panofsky, *The life and art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 207.

³⁶⁰ *Antwerps huiszilver uit de 17e en 18e eeuw* (Antwerp: Rubenshuis, 1988), 24. For a more general study of gold- and silver-smith works, see the catalogue, Johannes R. Ter Molen, *Zilver uit de gouden eeuw van Antwerpen* (Antwerp: Rockoxhuis, 1988).

³⁶¹ Jan van Damme, “Portrait Bust of Albrecht Dürer,” in *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis*, op. cit., 165–166. See also F.H. Mertens and K.L. Torfs, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen sedert de stichting der stad tot onze tyden* (Antwerp: C. de Vries-Brouwers, 1975–1977), 8–9.

³⁶² Abraham Ortelius arranged his Dürer prints into an album, which is now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. On Ortelius’s “museo” see Zirka Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*

(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 64–65; On his acquisition of Dürer prints, see Iain Buchanan, “Dürer and Abraham Ortelius,” *The Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982), 734–41; see also Dagmar Eichberger, “Dürer and the Netherlands: Patterns of Exchange and Mutual Admiration,” in *The Essential Dürer*, eds. Larry Silver and Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 65.

³⁶³ B. Decker, “Im Namen Dürers: Dürer-Renaissance um 1600,” *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch* 6 (1991), 9–49; G. Goldberg, “Zur Ausprägung der Dürer-Renaissance in München,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 31 (1980), 129–75.

³⁶⁴ Panofsky, op. cit. 205–206.

³⁶⁵ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 236.

³⁶⁶ See Arjun Appadurai’s classic introduction to *The Social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); There is no telling, of course, exactly how systematic Dürer was in tracking his expenses and income. I am here invoking, albeit rather loosely, Marshall Sahlins’s concept of the gift economy’s ‘spectrum of reciprocities.’ Sahlins developed this concept in many writings during the 1960s and 70s. See for example, Sahlins, “Exchange value and the diplomacy of primitive trade,” in *Essays in economic anthropology, dedicated to the memory of Karl Polanyi*, ed. June Helm (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965). See also Natalie Zeamon Davis’s consideration of this literature within the sixteenth century, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 5.

³⁶⁷ The genre of portraiture has an uneasy relationship to personhood, whether the issue is discussed in terms of resemblance, ingenuity, occasionality, performativity, subjectivity or interiority—theoretical issues that would have mattered to Dürer in varying degrees of self-consciousness. Particularly in terms of Dürer’s Netherlandish output, this already vexed relationship is further complicated by the fact that so very few of his charcoal portraits can be firmly linked to historical persons. Although his *Tagebuch* may state that he made a portrait of a certain person, identifying that subject within the scores of surviving uninscribed, unannotated charcoal studies is quite often impossible. The now classic attempt to theorize portraiture is Harry Berger, Jr., *Fictions of the pose: Rembrandt against the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000). On Dürer’s self-portraiture, Joseph Leo Koerner, *The moment of self-portraiture in German Renaissance art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

³⁶⁸ Gell, *Art and Agency*, op. cit., 98–99.

³⁶⁹ Alfred Gell’s work has influenced my thinking here, particularly in the Maussian elements of his approach to material exchange. See also Marcel Mauss, *The gift: the form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*, trans. W.D. Halls (New York: Norton, 2000). Also important to my general line of questioning has been the series of essays in Gadi Algazi et al., eds., *Negotiating the gift: pre-modern figurations of exchange* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).

³⁷⁰ Dürer simply refers to him as the “warden,” *Tagebuch der niederländischen Reise* (Leitshuh edition) p.156 note 19; Unless otherwise noted, the page numbers noted hereafter refer to the Roger Fry translation: Albrecht Dürer, *Records of journeys to Venice and the Low Countries*, trans. Roger Fry (Boston: The Merrymount Press, 1913). Hereafter “*Tagebuch*” refers to German edition; “*Diary*” to the English edition of Dürer’s travels.

³⁷¹ My reading of the *Tagebuch* has cross-referenced the identification of people and places with Gerd Unverfehrt, *Da sah ich viel köstliche Dinge: Albrecht Dürers Reise in die Niederlande* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 132–43; *Diary*, p.72; *Tagebuch*, p. 74.

³⁷² Ibid, “Ich hab 2 fl. mit Spihl gewonnen.”

³⁷³ “den klain Bernhart von Breßlen.”

³⁷⁴ “mit dem kohl conterfet”; “dem ich das gelt angewann.”

³⁷⁵ My conservative estimate yielded a count of 106; others have counted more than 120. The varying estimates depend on how certain phrases and repetitions are counted; Jeffrey Chipps Smith, “The 2010 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture: Albrecht Dürer as Collector,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 64:1 (Spring 2011), 1-49; See also Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Dürer* (New York: Phaidon, 2012), 295.

³⁷⁶ *Tagebuch*, 59; *Diary*, 49.

³⁷⁷ Dürer uses the term ‘conterfet’ to describe the act of taking a portrait. For more on the use of the term, see Peter Parshall, “Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance,” *Art History* 16 (1993), 554–579.

³⁷⁸ Unverfehrt, op. cit. 148

³⁷⁹ Indeed the confirmation of his pension would only come three month later, in November, and then thanks only to the “great effort and labor” [“*mit grosser mühe und arbeit*’] of his promoters. *Tagebuch*, p. 66.

³⁸⁰ Durer dined with Bernhard Stecher, the manager Fugger’s Antwerp firm, on the very night of his arrival in Antwerp; the Imhofs often lent him money and handled the freight of his artworks; Dürer also transacted with Sebald Fisher, a factor of Nuremberg Hillebrant merchant family, who perhaps served as a distributor of Dürer’s prints; he also repeatedly refers to his ‘Lords of Nuremberg’—Hans Ebner, Niklas Haller, and Leonhard Groland—who were together the delegation charged with looking after the imperial jewels that were used during the coronation. Unverfehrt, op. cit. p. 36

³⁸¹ On Dürer and Margaret of Austria’s collection see Dagmar Eichberger, “Dürer and the Netherlands” op. cit.; Dagmar Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst, Wirken durch Kunst: Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlande* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

³⁸² I am here loosely invoking Sahlins concept of a “spectrum of reciprocities”, Marshal Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1972); My own thinking about reciprocity as a system in search of equilibrium owes more to David Graeber, *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

³⁸³ On gifting as it relates to the market economy see Maurice Bloch, *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). On the notion of ‘spheres of exchange,’ see Paul Bohannan, “The Impact of money on an African subsistence economy,” *The Journal of Economic History* 19:4 (1959), 491–503.

³⁸⁴ Although Leitshuh seems to think the reference to a mirror is a figurative reference to something gambled, it seems more likely from the context that the terms are literal denotations of the games that Dürer was playing. *Tagebuch*, p. 64 “in spiegel verspielt”; “in ein... konig verspielt”. Although is also possible that Dürer was playing either board game or with dice, I have found no references to variants of games known as ‘spiegel’ or ‘konig.’

³⁸⁵ As material extensions of what Johan Huizinga described as the symbolic universe of play forms, cards games expressed a repertory of cosmological, linguistic, and mythical concepts that

remain inchoate in human society, but nevertheless assume a culturally and communally defined reality through the creation and performance of the games. Johann Huizinga, *Homo ludens: Vom Ursprung der Kultur im Spiel* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1956). My thinking about gambling to specific knowledge forms has been informed by Gerda Reith, *The age of chance: gambling in western culture* (New York: Routledge, 1999); Marieke de Goede, *Virtue, fortune, and faith: a genealogy of finance* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005); David Bellhouse, “The Role of Roguery in the History of Probability,” *Statistical Science* 8:4 (1993), 410–420; Bellhouse and J. Franklin, “The Language of Chance,” *International Statistical Review* 65:1 (1997), 73–85.

³⁸⁶ Girolamo Cardano is often identified as the first early modern scholar to have used games of chance as logical proofs for studying probabilities. Though Cardano may have been the first to write about this, it is quite likely that other, highly numerate members of society, particularly merchants, understood these ideas implicitly. On Cardano and probability, see Prakash Gorroochurn, *Classic problems of probability* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012). These games, as social occasions, functionally relate to the financial transactions that occurred on the floor of the Bourse, in so far as the timely payment of gambling debts was part and parcel to a system of credit based on individual honor. For a discussion on the bourse, see: Geert de Clercq, *Ter beurze: geschiedenis van de aandelenhandel in België* (Bruges: Van de Wiele, 1993); Margaret Jacob, “Markets Not so Free,” in *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe*, op. cit., 6-94. Some historians have even posited that gambling served an important function within proto-capitalist systems; these scholars have argued that participating in games of chance provide a ritualized and institutionalized release from the anxieties and hostilities that characterize their business interactions. Even beyond professional networking, playing cards cultivated intellectual skills that resounded with the visual practices of early modern merchants. One of the salient visual properties of these cards is the conspicuous absence of numerals. Even by the early sixteenth century, Arabic numerals had not been fully assimilated by Western Europe merchants. Because Roman numerals do not lend themselves to computational mathematics, late medieval and early modern merchants had to hone visual skills of assessment based on enumeration—I understand it as a kind of visual reckoning. In other words, these merchants were probably far more practiced than we are at instantaneously gauging the number of pips of a card. The visual language of these playing cards, moreover, operates as sort of vestigial memory system, where the marginal figures take center stage to assist the gamer in his computational operations. Furthermore, despite geographic variations in suit signs, the number of suits was standardized at four with identical series of values ranging from the ace to the three court cards. Even without knowing the specific nature of the games these merchants played, we can know that visual system of card games promoted a knowledge of computational combinatorics—that is combinations, permutations, factors, and probability. For merchants engaged in underwriting the shipment of cargo overseas, the opportunity to improve one’s estimation of risk was undoubtedly desirable. Participating in games of chance provided merchants with an opportunity to confront the arbitrariness of fortune. See for example Edward Devereaux, *Gambling and the Social Structure* (New York: Arno Press, 1980). Playing cards, like all games of chance, as Gerda Reith has argued, found their origin in forms of divination, and early modern merchants were undoubtedly a superstitious bunch. It is generally held that the playing cards of the sixteenth century retained their symbolic connection

to tarot cards: a fifteenth-century German book, *Eyn Loszbuch ausz der Karten gemacht* (*A lot book made from cards*), indicates that these cards were being used for the purposes divination.

³⁸⁷ Van der Stock has estimated that 1% of the population of Antwerp—around 100,000 in the early sixteenth century—found employment in the printmaking industry, and that of those 100 individuals, 20-30 individual names have been linked to the production of playing cards. See Jan van der Stock, *Printing images in Antwerp: the introduction of printmaking in a city: fifteenth century to 1585*, op. cit.

³⁸⁸ E. van Autenboer, “Speelkaarten en kaartspelers te Antwerpen (15de-16de eeuw),” *Volkskunde* 74:1 (1973), 44–48. See also, Trevor Denning, *The Playing Cards of Spain: A Guide for Historians and Collectors* (Cranbury: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996); Detlef Hoffman, *The Playing Card: An Illustrated History* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1973); Hanna Dornik-Eger, *Spielkarten und Kartenspiele* (Wien: Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, 1973); Catherine Perry Hargrave, *A history of playing cards and a bibliography of cards and gaming* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930).

³⁸⁹ Archival documents, which give the names of the playing card makers and related documents pertaining to their citizenship, confirm that the majority of these craftsmen had immigrated to Antwerp from France, in particular from Rouen and Lyon. The suit signs found on the surviving cards also suggest that the French style of cards were the most common. See Van der Stock, op. cit., Andre Kint, *Antwerpse Kaartspelers in de 16de Eeuw* (S.I.: Volkskunde, 1986); Leon de Burbure, *Robert Peril, graveur du seizième siècle; sa vie et ses ouvrages* (Bruxelles: 1869); Laura Smoller, “Playing Cards and Popular Culture in Sixteenth-century Nuremberg,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 17:2 (1986), 183–214; Sandra Hindman, “Pieter Bruegel's Children's Games, Folly, and Chance” *The Art Bulletin* 63:3 (1981), 447–75.

³⁹⁰ Van Autenboer, “Jehan Maillard en de Antwerpse uitvoer van speelkaarten in de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw.” Andre Kint, “An important discovery in Antwerp (London: Playing Card, 1984).

³⁹¹ Very little is known with any certainty about the games, and the game form, that were played in 16th century Antwerp. As in Dürer's *Tagebuch*, evidence is sometimes limited to simply the names of the games. While the game of “Maîtresses,” indicates that the game was probably of French origins, “Landsknechtspiel” possibly derived from “Karnöffel-spiel,” a game played by Swiss and German mercenaries. Even this scant evidence suggests that to some extent games traveled along with cards, providing opportunities for cross-cultural dialogue. See Hargrave, *A history of playing cards*, op. cit.

³⁹² Autenboer, “Speelkaarten en Kartenspielers,” op. cit.

³⁹³ As a form of ritualized chance, gambling also took important visual and material forms, and it was these material forms that mediated social interactions, particularly in instances where merchants from different nations encountered linguistic communication problems. As a microcosm of the dynamic, cross-cultural synergism fostered by the Antwerp market, playing cards suggest the synergistic relationship between artistic production and commercial subculture.

³⁹⁴ I am here invoking the concept of a ‘trading zone’ discussed in an unpublished lecture by Anthony Grafton in Basel. Grafton discussed this idea with regard to the activities of the publishing house. My thoughts here are somewhat more peculiar because the ‘centers’ of gambling are inevitably mobile and intersect in convoluted ways to the business of the print industry.

³⁹⁵ Beginning at Ehrenfels, Dürer indicates coming up against the jurisdictional limits of his toll exemption. While some custom agents insisted he pay 2 florins, the agent at Trier made him sign a declaration that he carried “no common merchandise” [*das ich nit gemeine kauffmannswahr führet*]. *Diary*, 36; *Tagebuch* 50.

³⁹⁶ His journal entry explains, “[O]n the next day, Friday, we came to Forchheim [...] and presented to the Bishop a painted Virgin and a “Life of the Virgin,” an “Apocalypse,” and a florin's worth of engravings. He invited me to be his guest, gave me a toll-pass and three letters of introduction, and settled my bill at the inn, where I had spent about a florin. [...] I paid 1 florin to the Bishop of Bamberg's chancery.” *Diary* 31; *Tagebuch*, 47.

³⁹⁷ The bishop, of course, made off even better from the deal, since writing a toll exemption cost him nothing. Elsewhere in the journal, Dürer notes selling a painting of the Madonna and Child on the open market for two gulden, which was roughly equivalent to two florin. In Antwerp, Dürer sold a large volume of prints to Sebald Fischer, who perhaps acted as a colporteur for Dürer, which yields historians with a sense of the wholesale prices of Dürer's prints. From that transaction we can calculate that each of Dürer's big books were valued at six stuivers; Durer regularly sold set of two of his big books for 1 florin. Altogether Durer's gift may have been valued at 4 florins (he gave 1 florin in engravings, a painting that may have been valued at 2 florins, and woodcuts worth 1 florin.) Since the bishop covered Dürer's charges at the inn, the artist's payment of 1 florin to the chancery was a zero-sum balance. See also Hirakawa's reckonings of the values of Durer's prints in *The Pictorialization of Dürer's Drawings in Northern Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Berlin: Lang, 2009).

³⁹⁸ I count 26 occasions when Dürer mentions that his toll exemption from the bishop enabled him to pass without paying tariffs on his wares. Assuming that the 2 florins he paid at Ehrenfels was the standard charge assessed against his cargo that would make 52 florins. For his return voyage, Dürer borrowed 100 florins from the Imhofs, a sum that suggests the costliness of the journey. It's unclear if Dürer's toll exemption also pertained to the return journey home.

³⁹⁹ Dürer mentions that some of the toll agents and hosteliers he met during the voyage already knew his wife.

⁴⁰⁰ Although the sworn statement Dürer made at Trier would seem to imply a commercial distinction between his finished artistic products and the raw materials most merchants shipped along that route, it is more likely that Dürer wanted his cargo to ‘pass’ for personal property, since under regular circumstances his bundles of prints would have been subject to fees. It also seems that Dürer hired the Imhofs, at least for the return journey, to transport the rest of his “bale.”

⁴⁰¹ The first line reads: “*Anno 1520*. On Thursday after St. Kilian's Day, I, Albrecht Dürer, at my own charges and costs, took myself and my wife from Nuremberg away to the Netherlands, and the same day, after we had passed through Eriangen, we put up for the night at Baiersdorff, and spent there 3 crowns, less 6 pfennigs.” *Diary* 31; *Tagebuch*, 47.

⁴⁰² Chipps Smith has made a similar observation. That Dürer was experimenting with this idea of a financial journal seems evident from his surviving writings, especially read against the epistolary exchanges of his stay in Venice.

⁴⁰³ The obvious point of comparison, at least within this dissertation, is to Lucas Rem's *Tagebuch*, who separates out his financial dealings from his verbal description of his travels.

⁴⁰⁴ For more on merchant's itineraries as a genre, see Peter Spufford, *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2002).

⁴⁰⁵ From Bamberg to Frankfurt these were the towns they passed through; persons showing some form of generosity to Durer and company are noted in parentheses: Bamberg (Bishop; Master Lucas Benedict and Hans the painter); Eltman; Zeil; Hassfurt; Theres; Lower Euerheim; Meinberg; Schweinfurt (Dr. George Rebart gave us wine in the boat); Volkach; Schwarzach; Tettelbach; Kitzingen; Sulzfeld; Marktbreit; Frickenhausen; Ochsenfurth; Eibelstadt; Haidingsfeldt; Wurzburg; Erlabrunn; Retzbath; Zelligen; Karlstadt; Gmunden; Hofstetten; Lohr; Neustadt; Rothenfels; St. Eucharius; Heidenfeld; Triefenstein; Homburg; Wertheim; Prozelten; Miltenberg; Klingenberg; Worth; Obernburg; Aschaffenburg; Selgenstadt; Steinheim (Dürer notes that they stayed with Johannes for the night, who was friendly and showed them the town); Kesselstadt; Frankfurt (Durer notes: “Jacob Heller gave me some wine at the inn. I bargained to be taken with my goods from Frankfurt to Mainz for 1 florin and 2 white pf., and I also gave the lad 5 Frankfurt thaler, and for the night we spent 8 white pf.” From Frankfurt to Mainz: Hochst, Mainz (Durer notes: “Peter Goldschmidt, the warden there, gave me two bottles of wine. Veit Varnbuler invited me, but his host would take no payment from him, insisting on being my host himself; they showed me much honour. [...] Here, too, Leonhard Goldschmidt gave me wine and fowls in the boat to cook on the way to Cologne. Master Jobst’s brother likewise gave me a bottle of wine, and the painters gave me two bottles of wine in the boat.”) Then from Mainz to Cologne: Elfeld; Rudesheim; Ehrenfels; Bacharach; Caub; St. Goar; Boppard; Trier; Lahnstein (The customs officer let me go through, but he asked me that I should speak for him to my most gracious Lord of Mainz, and he gave me a can of wine, too, for he knew my wife well and he was glad to see me); Engers; Andernach; Linz; Bonn; Cologne (Nicolas, my cousin, I made a present of my black fur-lined coat edged with velvet, and to his wife I gave a florin; also at Cologne Fugger gave me wine: Johann Grosserpecker also gave me wine, and my cousin Nicolas gave me wine. They gave us also a collation at the Barefoot Convent, and one of the monks gave me a handkerchief; moreover, Herr Johann Grosserpecker has given me 12 measures of the best wine.) From Cologne, Durer proceeded via overland routes to Antwerp, passing through: Busdorf; Rodingen; Frei-Aldenhoven; Frelenberg; Gangelt; Stisterseel; Sittard; Stocken; Merten; Lewbehen; Stosser; West Meerbeck; Branthoek; Uylenberg; Op ten Kouys.

⁴⁰⁶ On the idea of thick description see Clifford Geertz, *Interpretation of Culture* (London: Fontana, 1993).

⁴⁰⁷ Philip Troutman, *Albrecht Dürer: Sketchbook of His Journey to the Netherlands* (New York: Praeger, 1971), 85, 95.

⁴⁰⁸ Donald Harreld, “Trading Places: The Public and Private Spaces of Merchants in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp,” *Journal of Urban History* 29 (2003), 657–669; Unverfehrt, *op. cit.* 33–34.

⁴⁰⁹ *Tagebuch*, 53; *Diary* 95.

⁴¹⁰ In the sixteenth century, borax was usually imported into Europe from Asia, though sixteenth-century Antwerp did have some soap works. Herman Van Der Wee mentions the growth of new industries, including soap works and sugar refineries: van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy, fourteenth–sixteenth centuries*, 2 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963), 197. If the stuff exchanged between Dürer and Plankfeldt was truly borax and not some other compound, it was sometimes used as a cleansing agent for cloth and metal, but it more commonly saw industrial application in metallurgy and cloth refining. If Plankfeldt wasn’t trading in local product, he may have obtained his stock through Portuguese wholesalers. It’s unclear exactly how Dürer intended to use five pounds of the stuff. I have not

been able to find any statistics on the value of borax or other cleansing agents sold in Antwerp per pound. For an overview of early modern soap production, see Alberto Grandi, "The Secret Perfume: Technology and the Organization of Soap Production in Northern Italy between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Bert De Munck and Karel Davids, *Innovation and Creativity in Late Medieval and Early Modern European Cities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); See also F. W. Gibbs, "The history of manufacturing soap," *Annals of Science* 4:2 (1939), 169-90.

⁴¹¹ On hostels as intermediary nodes within larger commercial networks see, James Murray, *Bruges: Cradle of Capitalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁴¹² This had been the case earlier in Dürer's career with the German merchants at the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* in Venice. See Katherine Luber, *Albrecht Dürer and the Venetian Renaissance*, op. cit.

⁴¹³ See for example Claudia Goldstein discussion of mealtime material culture and the *tafelspel*, Claudia Goldstein, "Keeping up Appearances: The Social Significance of Domestic Decoration in Antwerp, 1508-1600" (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2003).

⁴¹⁴ Richard Ehrenberg, *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1963), 138–9; Christine Johnson, *German Discovery of the New World*, op. cit., 98. Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 51 cf. Kuzhippalli Skaria Mathew, *The Indo-Portuguese trade and the Fuggers of Germany* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997); Victor Klarwill and Pauline De Chary, *The Fugger news-letters: being a selection of unpublished letters from the correspondents of the House of Fugger during the years 1568-1605* (New York: Putnam, 1925); Donald Harreld, *High Germans in the Low Countries: German merchants and commerce in golden age Antwerp* (Boston: Brill, 2004).

⁴¹⁵ Due to their involvement in financial markets and the dispersion of their headquarters throughout Europe's most important port cities, it is most likely that the Fuggers provided these connections. The Fuggers were also important intermediaries in securing the commission for Dürer of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*'s burial chapel altarpiece. See Constantino Porcu, *Dürer* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2005). Originally a merchant, Staiber had been knighted in 1520 by HVIII. : <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz125368.html>

⁴¹⁶ Although *Mattingly's Renaissance* diplomacy remains a classic text on early modern diplomatic history, over the decade a new generation of scholars has reenergized inquiry into the social and cultural role of ambassadors. Although my understanding has been shaped in a general way by this 'new diplomatic history,' none have really questioned the significant professional overlap between ambassadors and international merchants. Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance diplomacy* (London, J. Cape, 1962); Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of embassy: literature and diplomacy in early modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox, eds. *Diplomacy and early modern culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); The *Journal of Early Modern History* has dedicated several special issues to diplomacy in the early modern period: see *Journal of Early Modern History*, 19:2 (2015) and 14:6 (2010): The *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* similarly dedicated its Winter 2008 issue to the 'new diplomatic history': 38: 1. For an overview, see John Watkins's introduction to that issue, "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe." *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies*, 38:1 (2010), 1–15; Sven Externbrink, "Internationale Politik in der Frühen Neuzeit: Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung zu Diplomatie und Staatensystem." *Historische Zeitschrift* (February, 2007), 15–39.

⁴¹⁷ Unverfehrt, 45

⁴¹⁸ Konrad Heinfogel had also translated astronomical treatise of Joannes Sacro Bosco between 1516 and 1539, see *Sphaera materialis: Text und Kommentar* (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1981). For more on the collaboration between Dürer, Stabius, and Heinfogel, see Renae Satterley, “The Rediscovery of Two Celestial Maps from 1537,” *Imago Mundi* 62:1, (2010), 86–91.

⁴¹⁹ Unverfehrt, 44

⁴²⁰ The literature on Erasmus is vast. For a recent catalogue with essays that gloss his biography, corpus of written works, and relationship with the arts, see Peter van der Coelen, *Images of Erasmus* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2008).

⁴²¹ Unverfehrt, 64; Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976-1984); Banisius was also good friends with Pirckheimer and had been in the service of Maximilian I; it very possible that he rendered this service to Dürer not only to honor his former patron by also at the bequest of Pirckheimer.

⁴²² To Erasmus, Banisius’s Secretary, Dürer gave: an engraved Passion; a sitting Jerome, a Melancholy, an Anthony, two new Marys, two small Marys, the Peasants (the latter gift—everything after the engraved Passion he says is worth 7 fl.) *Diary*, 51; *Tagebuch*, 59.

⁴²³ Dürer doesn’t mention meeting Ravensburger until after December, that is, during his ‘fourth’ stay in Antwerp, and it seems that he may have come into contact with Ravensburger as a result of his contacts with the Portuguese merchants. *Tagebuch*, 69; *Diary*, 68.

⁴²⁴ The distribution of his printed oeuvre via proximate retail outlets, such as the Frankfurt fairs, had undoubtedly increased his local celebrity, particularly amongst the artists and goldsmiths who sought out his company. See for instance, Jane Campbell Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 32–33.

⁴²⁵ It’s unclear from the historical record how the painters knew of Dürer’s arrival or from whom he received his invitation. The Saint Luke’s guildhall was named *De Bontemantel* and it was located at *Grote Markt* 38. See Unverfehrt, 38.

⁴²⁶ On the banquet at the goldsmith’s guildhall, Dürer write, “On Carnival Sunday early, the goldsmiths invited me to dinner, with my wife. In their assembly were many notable men. They prepared a very grand meal, and did me the greatest honor.” *Diary*, 71; *Tagebuch*, 74.

⁴²⁷ On Dürer’s influence, see for instance, Ellen Konowitz, “Drawings as intermediary stages: some working methods of Dirk Vellert and Albrecht Dürer re-examined,” *Simiolus* 20:2/3 (1990): 142–152; see also Stephen Goddard, “Assumed Knowledge. The use of prints in early sixteenth-century Antwerp workshops,” *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten*, 2004–5, op. cit.; Dagmar Eichberger, “Dürer and the Netherlands,” op. cit., 153–54.

⁴²⁸ Although Dürer had been invited to the *Serenissima* by his countrymen at the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* to make an altarpiece for their burial chapel in San Bartolomeo, the painters’ guild, putting pressure on the *Maggior Consiglio* to impose protectionist policies favoring local artists, succeeded in forcing Dürer to pay dues. See Dürer’s letters to Pirckheimer, *Diary*, p. 13; Katherine Luber, *Albrecht Dürer and the Venetian Renaissance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Heinrich Kohlhaussen, *Albrecht Dürer: Das Rosenkranzfest, 1506* (Berlin: Mann, 1943); Andrew Martin, “Dürers Rosenkranzfest und eine Fuggergrablege mit einem Gemälde von Battista Franco in San Bartolomeo di Rialto,” *Studia Rudolphina* (2006), 59-63. On the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, see Gunter Schweikhart, “Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi: Bau und Ausstattung im 16. Jahrhundert,” In *Die Kunst der Renaissance*, ed. Andreas Tönnesmann et

al. ([publisher not cited] 2001), 52–61. See also the essays on Dürer in *Renaissance Venice and the North*, Bernard Aikema et al. (New York: Rizzoli, 2000).

⁴²⁹ Though Dürer did have some positive interactions with painters during his residence in Venice, it was the shopping he did there for Pirckheimer that most anticipated his behaviors on the Antwerp market. Dürer seems to have acted at least in some capacity as Pirckheimer's buying agent in Venice, acquiring precious stones, rings, books, glassworks, carpets, and antiquities among other things. Though also peppered with financial considerations of loans, remunerations, transactions and barterings, the genial and jocular spirit of Dürer's letters to Pirckheimer differs significantly in tone to the Netherlandish journal.

⁴³⁰ For a longer discussion of this point, see Stephen Goddard, "Assumed Knowledge." op. cit.

⁴³¹ Unverfehrt, 42, 81, 115.

⁴³² Unverfehrt

⁴³³ Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 229, cf.

⁴³⁴ Dürer writes, "Raphael of Urbino's effects have been all dispersed after his death, but one of his disciples, Tommaso of Bologna by name, a good painter, desired to see me, so he came to me and gave me a gold ring, an antique with a well-cut stone worth 5 florins, but I have been already offered twice as much for it; in return I gave him my best engravings, worth 6 florins.[...] I gave to Tommaso of Bologna a whole set of prints to send for me to Rome to another painter, who will send me Raphael's work in return. [...] Thomas of Bologna has given me one or two Italian prints."

⁴³⁵ In witnessing the entry he remarked in his journal that "the gates were beautifully decorated, and there were plays, much rejoicing, and beautiful maidens in tableaux vivants, whose like I have seldom seen."

⁴³⁶ After noting that he paid, "2 stuivers to the joiner at the Painters' armoury," Dürer mentions that his host, Jobst Planckfeldt, "took me to the Painters' workshop in the armoury at Antwerp, where they are making the triumphal arches through which King Charles is to make his entry. It is 400 bows in length and each arch is 40 feet wide: they are to be set up on both sides of the streets, beautifully arranged and two stories high, and on them they are to act the plays; and this costs to make, 4,000 florins for the joiners and painters, and the whole work is very magnificently done." It seems logical that the 2 stuivers Dürer paid to the joiner was either for being granted preview of the entry or as a tip for the 'tour'.

⁴³⁷ While the classicizing leitmotifs of Gillis's program updated the rhetoric of the Burgundian entry tradition, he was not the first humanist in Erasmus's circle to press into service Greco-Roman republican virtues as a form of imperial imagery. In the printed propaganda for Charles's paternal grandfather, Maximilian I, Willibald Pirckheimer, also part of that international literary circle represented in *Utopia*, had developed an iconographic program of more than thirty personifications for the Great Triumphal Chariot. Though the planning evolved over the better part of ten years, production of the monumental print preceded Gillis's entry by only a few years. Before determining the final version, Pirckheimer explored different combinations of virtues, suggesting the philological complexity of sorting through the classical sources' terminological profusion. Many of personifications contained within Pirckheimer's imperial triumph overlapped with those selected by the Antwerp City Secretary, including figurations of Justice, Clemency, Truthfulness, Liberality, and Prudence. Gillis was probably familiar with Pirckheimer's travails and wanted to work with similar ideas in his ceremonial welcoming of the young emperor. He

nevertheless would have had to contend with the audience's more limited attention span and with the ephemerality of the event. See Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: the visual ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

⁴³⁸ He reserved his comments on the entry for when he purchases the booklet, indicating "I paid one stuiver for the printed "Entry into Antwerp," describing how the King was received with a splendid triumph; the gates were beautifully decorated, and there were plays, much rejoicing, and beautiful maidens in tableaux vivants, whose like I have seldom seen." Although Dürer definitely knew some Latin, he might not have attained sufficient fluency to read Gillis's account. The suggestion here that he would have shared the text with Pirckheimer is my own speculation, but one that would make sense given their collaboration on the iconography for the "Triumphal Car of Maximilian I" as well as Gillis's connection to Pirckheimer through Erasmus.

⁴³⁹ Seen Unverfehrt, 49-50.

⁴⁴⁰ "Ich hab in allen meinen machen, zehrungen, verkaufen, und andrer handlung nachthail gehabt im Nederland, in all mein Sachen, gegen großen und niedern ständen, und sonderlich hat mir frau Margareth für das ich ihr geschenckt und gemacht had, nichts geben." *Tagebuch*, 90.

⁴⁴¹ "Ich hab sonst hin und wieder viel viesierung und ander ding den leuthen zu dienst gemacht, und für den mehrenthail meiner arbeit ist mir nichts worden." *Tagebuch*, 86.

⁴⁴² He took out the loan in July 1521 shortly before leaving for his return trip to Nuremberg. He writes, "Alexander Imhof has lent me a full hundred gold florins: For this I have given him my sealed signature, which he will have presented to me at Nuremberg, when I will pay him back with thanks." This was not the only time he borrowed money from the Imhofs: on a separate occasion, he notes, "Sebastian Imhof lent me five florins." *Diary*, 65, 96.

⁴⁴³ Quoted in Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Pantheon, 1971), 36.

⁴⁴⁴ Quoted in Christopher Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 13. Wood cites the manuscript now in the British Library (MA Arundel 503 fol. 101r-102r) as well as Dieter Wuttke's discovery of the text, *Humanismus in den deutschsprachigen Ländern und Entdeckungsgeschichte: 1493-1534* (Bamberg: Lehrstuhl für Neuere Geschichte der Univ. Bamberg, 1989).

⁴⁴⁵ Technical examinations conducted on the painting have revealed that a slightly larger version of the hammer is evident in lower paint layers. The x-rayography is not sufficient to tell us, however, when or where the details were added. See Lloyd De Wit and Mark Tucker's entry on this painting in *Patinir: essays and critical catalogue*, ed. Alexander Vergara (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2007), 349.

⁴⁴⁶ The existence of close variations and duplicates of the same basic composition generally confirms what scholars have observed about the currency and entrepreneurialism of Patinir's paintings. On Patinir's variations on compositional themes, see Arianne Farber Kolb, "Varieties of Representation: 'Trend' versus 'Brand' in Landscape Paintings by Joachim Patinir and His Workshop," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28 (1998), 167-200. Other studies that have examined the innovativeness of Antwerp artists' marketing strategies include: Larry Silver, *Peasant scenes and landscapes: the rise of pictorial genres in the Antwerp art market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Maximiliaan Martens and Natasja Peeters, "Paintings in Antwerp houses (1532-1567)," in *Mapping markets for paintings in Europe 1450-1750*, eds. Neil De Marchi and Hans van Miegroet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006);

Maryan Ainsworth, “The Business of Art: Patrons, Clients, and Art Markets,” in *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: Early Netherlandish Painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, eds. Maryan Ainsworth and Keith Christensen (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 23-39; Maximiliaan Martens, “Antwerp Painters: their Market and Networks,” *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten*, op. Cit.; Filip Vermeyleen, “Exporting Art across the Globe: The Antwerp Art Market in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Art for the market*, eds. Reindert Falkenburg et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), 12-29.

⁴⁴⁷ This observation comes from my own examination of works attributed to Rem’s collection. Rem may have continued traveling to Antwerp as late as 1532, when he notes meeting up with Anthony of Bamberg at the autumn fair in Frankfurt, who had just traveled from Antwerp – but in so far as the *Tagebuch* only definitely mentions a round trip in 1528, I think a more conservative estimation of his activities in Antwerp is prudent. Lucas Rem, *Tagebuch des Lucas Rem aus den Jahren 1494-1541. Ein Beitrag zur Handelsgeschichte der Stadt Augsburg. Mitgeteilt, mit erläuternden Bemerkungen und einem Anhang von noch ungedruckten Briefen und Berichten über die Entdeckungen des neuen Seeweges nach Amerika und Ostindien versehen*, ed. B. Greiff (Augsburg, J.N. Hartmann, 1861), 26–27, hereafter truncated to *Tagebuch*; Vergara, *Patinir: essays and critical catalogue*, op. cit., 36–37.

⁴⁴⁸ “Disse foranzaigten XVI Jar, nemlich VI Rechnongen, hab ich meyn muotter in Augspurg, noch ausserhalb, nichtz cost. In nottigen gepurenden costen auf der geselschaft, in unnotigen, lustigen mein selb cost gwest. Hab also hin und her alt schriften zesamen claupt, und erfind, daz ich in gemelten Jaren des meyn zwischen 900 und 1000 fl. verbraucht hab.” Rem, *Tagebuch*, 31.

⁴⁴⁹ The other years, he says, were sparse and his earnings paltry [*Sonst die andern [Jar] karg, gnach, einzogen gwest*]. Rem also explains that in settling with the Welsers, they determined that he was owed 9,400 florins and that they would settle this debt over the course of the next four Frankfurt fairs. “*Adi. 6 Novembrio 1517 auf beschlus Ant. Welser und geselschaft Generalrechnung erfint sich, daz Ich bey Inen hab fl. 9440. als in als. Die sollen Si mir in den 4 nachsten Frankfurter messen zallen. Ain jede Mess fl. 2360 nach Laut ains schuldbrief.*” He subsequently describes the amount of money accrued from people during his wedding as well as the amount of wealth he received from his wife from their marriage (presents, dowry), which combined with the Welser debt presumably served as the capital for his own firm with his brothers, the foundation of which is described thereafter. Rem, *Tagebuch*, 31f.

⁴⁵⁰ “*Die ersten drey Jar, zuo Lisbona, hab ich fil und fremd niu papgey, katzen, ander seltzam lustig ding, und dan lesten drey Jar zuo Antorff um gemel, tafeln, tiecher etc. den mertail verkramt und verschenkt.*” Translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

⁴⁵¹ Although Rem’s collection has not been the subject of rigorous scholarly inquiry, a number of art historians have noted its significance. See: Vergara, *Patinir: essays and critical catalogue*, op.cit.; Larry Silver, *Paintings of Quinten Massys with Catalogue Raisonné* (New Jersey: Allanheld and Schram, 1984). A non-circulating master’s thesis at Bryn Mawr that is sometimes cited as a treatment of the subject contains several errors, including a misinterpretation of the term ‘Leibgeding’ as “favorite things”.

⁴⁵² His journal covers the years 1494–154; on Rem’s biography and work history with the Welsers, see Mark Häberlein, “Atlantic Sugar and South German Merchant Capital in the Sixteenth Century.” in *Europeans Engaging in the Atlantic Knowledge and Trade, 1500–1800*. Ed. Susanne Lachenicht. (New York: Campus Verlag, 2014), 47–71; Jakob Reinhard, “Rem, Lucas” in *Neue Deutsche Biographie 21* (2003), S. 409-410 [Onlinefassung]; URL:

<http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd123622271.html>; Konrad Häbler, *Die überseeischen Unternehmungen des Welser und ihrer Gesellschafter* (Leipzig: Hirschfeld, 1903); W. Grosshaupt, “Commercial Relations between Portugal and the Merchants of Augsburg and Nuremberg,” in *La Découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe*, eds. Jean. Aubin (Hg.) et al. (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1990), 359–97; Mark Häberlein, “‘Die Tag und Nacht auff Fürkauff trachten.’ Augsburgers Großkaufleute des 16- und 17- Jahrhunderts in der Beurteilung ihrer Zeitgenossen und Mitbürger,” in *Augsburger Handelshäuser im Wandel des historischen Urteils*, ed. J. Burckhardt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 46–68; Wolfgang Reinhard, ed., *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Prosopographie wirtschaftlicher und politischer Führungsgruppen 1500-1620* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996).

⁴⁵³ Rem, *Tagebuch*, 43–55. The section is entitled “*Meins heyrotz beschlus, hochzeit, ausgab, verschenken. Was mir mein weib zuobracht hatt, und was mir gapt ist*”. See for example the numerous references to multiple ells of velvet [Samet] that Rem purchased in Antwerp and had made into wedding clothes, 44–45. Valentin Groebner has noted that Rem spent more money on the outfit he wore to his wedding than a servant would make in five-years time. See Valentin Groebner, “Inside Out: Clothes, Dissimulation, and the Arts of Accounting in the Autobiography of Matthäus Schwarz, 1496-1574,” *Representations* 66 (1999), 108. For a different contextual analysis of the complexities of provisioning clothing between Antwerp and Southern Germany, see Ulinka Rublack’s study of Hans Fugger’s process of acquiring leather shoes in Antwerp: “Matter in the Material Renaissance,” *Past & Present* 219 (May 2013), 41–85.

⁴⁵⁴ Overlooking the significance of other types of luxury goods to Rem’s collection, art historians have usually focused exclusively on the paintings he acquired, for the good reason that no cloth or metalwork items can be definitely linked him. On the significance of cloth as a liquid wealth, see Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance clothing and the materials of memory* (New York: Cambridge, 2000).

⁴⁵⁵ See in particular the commissioning of the ‘Seven Sorrows’ polyptych for the Madre de Deus convent in Xabregas and the Coimbra Altarpiece, which Larry Silver describes in “Merchants and Monarchs: Art for Export,” in *Paintings of Quinten Massys with Catalogue Raisonné* (New Jersey: Allanheld and Schram, 1984). See also A. de Bosque, *Quentin Metsys* (Bruxelles: Arcade, 1975).

⁴⁵⁶ Rem would not be taken into the Augsburg patriciates until 1539. In the Holy Roman Empire, unlike in other principalities of the Continent, heraldry wasn’t the exclusive preserve of nobles. Many burghers obtained coats of arms, although the heraldic symbols were carefully regulated. See Paul Knötel, *Bürgerliche Heraldik* (Breslau: W. John, 1922), 24cf.

⁴⁵⁷ On Haugenauer, see: Paul Arnold, *Medaillenbildnisse der Reformationszeit* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1967); Wolfgang Steguweit, *Europäische Medaillenkunst von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1995); Arthur Suhle, *Die deutsche Renaissance-Medaille* (Leipzig, E. A. Seemann, 1950), 136–51. See also a more recent encyclopedic entry in Grove: Hermann Maué, “Hagenauer, Friedrich.” *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed September 1, 2015, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T036088>. Annette Kranz has also written a more recent essay of the production of portrait medals in Augsburg: see, “Zur Porträtmedaille in Augsburg im 16. Jahrhundert” in *Die Renaissance-Medaille in Italien und Deutschland*, ed. Georg von Satzinger (Münster: Rhema, 2004), 301–42.

⁴⁵⁸ On the artistic and patronage situation in Augsburg in the early sixteenth century, see Klaus Bergdolt, ed., *Kunst und ihre Auftraggeber im 16. Jahrhundert: Venedig und Augsburg im Vergleich* (Berlin: Akademie, 1997); Carl Hoffmann et al, *Als Frieden möglich war: 450 Jahre Augsburger Religionsfrieden* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2005); Gregory Jecmen and Freyda Spira, *Imperial Augsburg : Renaissance prints and drawings, 1475-1540* (Washington DC: National Gallery, 2012); Andrew Morrall, “Drawing connoisseurs into the market. Entrepreneurial craftsmen in late sixteenth-century Augsburg,” in *Mapping markets for paintings in Europe 1450-1750*, eds. Neil De Marchi & Hans J. van Miegroet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

⁴⁵⁹ Sometimes identified as Hendrik van Wueluwe, the Master of Frankfurt was active in Antwerp slightly earlier than Massys, and served as an important forerunner. See for instance Dan Ewing, “Archival Notes: Jan de Beer and Hendrik van Wueluwe (Master of Frankfurt),” *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen* (1994), 29–34; Stephen Goddard’s dissertation, *The Master of Frankfurt and his shop* (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1983), also presented numerous archival documents to substantiate the identity of the artist. Lynn Jacobs has argued that ‘demi-grisaille’ dates back to the 1470s in Bruges, but it seems to me that the *Annunciation* on the exterior wings of the Ghent Altarpiece innovated this visual paradox between white stone-like bodies with flesh-toned hands and faces. This in turn became the representational model for the later generation of Flemish primitives, such as Hans Memling’s statuettes of the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary in his *Annunciation* (1467) now in the Groeninge Museum, Bruges. See Lynn F. Jacobs, *Opening Doors: The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 226. Massys appears only to have used this technique for the Rem altarpiece, preferring a more traditional monochromatic grisaille technique for the exterior wings. For example, in the *Lamentation Triptych*, a commission for the Joiner’s Guild, Massys employed a purer grisaille treatment for the figures of John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. He also made a grisaille *Annunciation* in the manner of Memling for the exterior wings of the Coimbra Altarpiece; see Silver, *Paintings of Quinten Massys*, op. cit.

⁴⁶⁰ A coloristic grisaille technique was also known in German art dating back to the fifteenth century, for example in the Master of the Tegernsee Passion’s *Crucifixion* (now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, but other panels from the altarpiece are dispersed between the Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg and the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin). and it’s possible that Rem, during his regional pilgrimages in Bavaria, would have encountered other examples of this technique. For a very nice overview of the continental development of grisaille, see the entry on grisaille in Gerald Ward, ed., *The Grove Encyclopedia of Materials and Techniques* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 262–266.

⁴⁶¹ Although inventories were regularly made for royal and ecclesiastical collections, urban burgers and patricians rarely kept such records in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Inventories of artworks among other kinds of possessions appear with greater frequency as the sixteenth century progressed, for example in probate records. See Maximiliaan Martens and Natasja Peeters, “Paintings in Antwerp houses (1532-1567),” in *Mapping markets for paintings in Europe 1450-1750*, op. cit.

⁴⁶² For an illuminating discussion of personal emblems and armorials as identity markers, see Chapter 2, “Images and Signs” in Valentin Groebner, *Who are You: Identification, Deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Mark Kyburz and John Peck (Brooklyn: Zone Books, 2007). On the complexity of signatures more generally: Valentin Groebner, “Describing

the Person, Reading the Signs in Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe: Identity Papers, Vested Figures, and the Limits of Identification, 1400–1600,” in *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World*, eds. Jane Caplan and John Torpey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). On the complexity of signatures as a philosophical question, see Jacques Derrida, “Signature, Event, Context,” in *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 309 cf. See also Michel Foucault, *Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, op. cit.

⁴⁶³ Robert Koch has pointed out that “Reem” means wild ox in Hebrew. See Robert A. Koch, *Joachim Patinir* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 10.

⁴⁶⁴ See Pierre Terjanian, *Princely Armor in the Age of Dürer: A Renaissance Masterpiece in the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2012); Tobias Capwell, *Masterpieces of European Arms and Armour in the Wallace Collection* (London: Holberton Publishing, 2001); “Tournament Helm (Stechhelm) [German (probably Nuremberg)] (29.156.67a)”, in Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–): <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/29.156.67a> (October 2006).

⁴⁶⁵ The Marian, maternal theme of the painting would certainly have made the painting an appropriate gift to his wife.

⁴⁶⁶ Heraldry scholars have suggested that mottos were not very common in German coats of arms before the nineteenth century. Carl Alexander von Volborth, *Heraldry: Customs, Rules and Styles* (Poole, England: Blandford Press, 1981), 145cf.

⁴⁶⁷ Job 17:11–13: “*dies mei transierunt cogitationes meae dissipatae sunt torquentes cor meum/noctem verterunt in diem et rursum post tenebras spero lucem/si sustinero infernus domus mea est in tenebris stravi lectulum meum.*”

⁴⁶⁸ It is clear from the passage that Rem considered the venture as a kind of risky gamble: “*Hab mit Seguriern etlich fil gelt gewonnen—Nie nichtz, des Namen hab, verspilt, aber in Niderland auff 3mal etlich hundert gulden gewonnen, und mit obstendem onworden.*” Rem, *Tagebuch*, 31. As Greiff, the archivist who transcribed and annotated the *Tagebuch*, notes, this type of insurance was frequently used in the Portuguese spice trade. *Tagebuch*, 104, n. 222

⁴⁶⁹ See for example the Welser coat of arms on the Monogrammist SM’s *Portrait of Bartholomäus Welser* and the no longer extant wall painting of the *Death of the Virgin* from St. Jakobskirche Augsburg. Both are reproduced in Mark Häberlein and Johannes Burkhardt, eds., *Die Welser. Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte un Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002); see the essays by Peter Geffcken, “Anmerkungen zu architektonischen sepulkralen und künstlerischen Zeugnissen der Welser im Spätmittelalter,” 168–183, 181; Annette Kranz, “Christoph Amberger und einige Welser-Bildnesse des 16. Jahrhunderts,” 409–49; 443.

⁴⁷⁰ Most business ventures in the early sixteenth century depended on kinship bonds. Like so many other professionals in the medieval and early modern world, merchants ran family businesses and the international extension of their companies depended on a diaspora of kinsfolk, whose geographic and cultural mobility helped knit the world’s port cities into closer webs of association. On the importance of kinship bonds in Southern German merchant corporations, see Mark Häberlein, *Brüder, Freunde und Betrüger. Soziale Beziehungen, Normen und Konflikte in der Augsburger Kaufmannschaft urn die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akademie, 1998).

⁴⁷¹ Wallerstein, *The modern world-system I*, op. cit.

⁴⁷² On going into business with his brothers, Rem fretted about their inexperience and lack of training in business, stating, “*Und um meyner brieder ungnuogsame, clainer Erfarnus, kainer geschäfft kentnus, noch grund der hendel willen.*” Rem, *Tagebuch*, 33. Rem’s criticism of the Welser & Vöhlín Associates has been the subject of some scholarly commentary. Rem, *Tagebuch*, 17; 19. Häberlein, “Atalantic Sugar,” op. cit., 55; Valentin Groebner, “Inside Out: Clothes, Dissimulation, and the Arts of Accounting in the Autobiography of Matthäus Schwarz, 1496-1574,” op. cit., 114.

⁴⁷³ Dürer mentions having dinner with Utz Hanolt and having paid Jorg Meiting 20 stuivers to ship boxes from Antwerp; he doesn’t indicate the destination or content of the boxes, but presumably it was belongings that he was shipping back to Nuremberg. Rem, *Tagebuch*, 22. The Meitings were also notable art patrons. Pascal Griener and Oskar Bätschmann reproduce an epitaph painting attributed to the Augsburg workshop of Jörg Breu that had been commissioned by the Meiting family for the Church of St. Anna in Augsburg. See Griener and Bätschmann, *Hans Holbein: Revised and Expanded*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 167. See also Pia Cuneo, *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany: Jörg Breu the Elder and the Fashioning of Political Identity, 1475–1536* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 57.

⁴⁷⁴ On merchant’s marks, see for example F. A. Girling, *English merchants’ marks; a field survey of marks made by merchants and tradesmen in England between 1400 and 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964). Peter Geffcken discusses the merchants marks of the Welsers, in “Die Welser und ihr Handel 1246–1496,” in *Die Welser: neue Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses*, eds. Häberlein and Burkhardt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 166-67. See also the significance of these marks for Hanseatic merchants in Thomas S. Holman, “Holbein’s Portraits of the Steelyard Merchants: An Investigation,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 14 (1979), 139–158.

⁴⁷⁵ The Ore Mountains run along the historical borders of Saxony, Tyrol, and Bohemia, and there was a good deal of uniformity in mining culture of the period since miners were free and tended to work together in settlements and collectives. Wilhelm Günter, “Bergbau, Montankultur und Heligenverehrung im Bergrevier Leogang,” in *Maria: Licht im Mittelalter*, ed. Hermann Mayrhofer (Leogang: Bergbaumuseum, 2003), 29–30. See also Manfred Bachmann et al., *Der Silbere Boden: Kunst und Bergbau in Sachsen* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1990).

⁴⁷⁶ Christoph Bartels, “The administration of mining in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (fourteenth through eighteenth centuries,” in *Monies, Markets, and Finance in East Asia, 1600-1900, Volume 4: Mining, Monies, and Culture in Early Modern Societies: East Asian and Global Perspectives*, eds. Nanny Kim and Keiko Nagase-Reimer (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 118.

⁴⁷⁷ Pamela Smith has recently pointed out that sixteenth-century scholars, merchants, and members of the political elite all relied on and perpetuated the knowledge forms developed by miners. Smith, “The Matter of Ideas in the Working of Metals,” in *the Matter of Art: Materials, practices, cultural logistics c. 1250-1750*, eds. Christy Anderson, Anne Dunlop, and Pamela Smith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 49.

⁴⁷⁸ “*Darum Ich vetter Ant. Welser und ander fast schrieb und batt, michan ander ortt zuo schicken.*” Rem, *Tagebuch*, 5.

⁴⁷⁹ For an overview of these important economic developments, see Tom Scott, “Economic Landscapes,” in *Germany: A new social and economic History. Volume 1: 1450-1630*, eds. Bob Scribner and Sheila Ogilvie (London: Arnold, 1996), 1-32, 3 c.f.; A useful survey of the mining boom as it related to the money market is offered in Ian Blanchard, “International capital markets

and their users, 1450–1750,” in *Early Modern Capitalism: Economic and Social Change in Europe 1400-1800*, ed. Maarten Prak (London: Routledge, 2001), 105–122.

⁴⁸⁰ Like Georg Agricola’s *De Re Metallica*, Von Calw’s *Bergbüchlein* and *Probierbüchlein* anticipated a general readership, composed partly of merchants, architects, artists, and bureaucrats. Very nice translations of Von Calw’s *Bergbüchlein* (circa 1505) and *Probierbüchlein* (circa 1520) have been prepared by Anneliese Grünhaldt Sisco. *Bergwerk- und Probierbüchlein: a translation from the German of the Bergbüchlein, a sixteenth-century book on mining geology*, trans. Anneliese Grünhaldt Sisco and Cyril Stanley Smith (New York: American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, 1997–8); Georg Agricola, *De re metallica*, trans. Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover (New York, Dover Publications, 1950), 3–4. See also Smith, “The Matter of Ideas in the Working of Metals,” op. cit.

⁴⁸¹ Rem notes in Lyon, “kam Ich zu Piero Deburg. Belib bei Im die sprach lernen... Um mer zuo sechen lernen ... kam Ich zu Jan Richier, mintzmaister.” Rem, *Tagebuch*, 6.

⁴⁸² The mine, located in Hall, a town in the Inn valley in the Tyrolean Alps, became part of Rem’s ‘*Leibgeding*,’ or inheritable property, through his wife: “*Mer haben wir geörbt ain bergwerk, und nit tailt. Ist zuo Hal im Intal—nix wertt, wie im schwartz Zinbuch a R. 98 mer beschaid statt. Über die 2 Zins um flo. 1 und um fl. 5 hat mein weib gnuogsam brief und siegel.*” Rem, *Tagebuch*, 62. Here, the “schwartz Zinbuch” must refer to some official register of the district. It certainly does not refer to the illuminated, Tyrolian mining codex, *Das Schwazer Bergbuch* (1554–6), eleven copies of which survive in different archives and which describes various legal issues related to mining as well as descriptions of equipment and cultural aspects of the lives of miners. See the facsimile: *Schwazer Bergbuch: Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift Codex 10.852 aus dem Besitz der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Wien*, with commentaries by Erich Egg and Heinrich Winckelmann (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1988). Christoph Bartels, Andreas Bingener, and Rainer Slotta, ‘1556 Perkwerch etc.’: *das Schwazer Bergbuch* (Bochum: Deutsches Bergbau-Museum, 2006).

⁴⁸³ Michael Baxandall was among the first to demonstrate an intellectual sympathy that extended between merchants and artists, and in a series of arguments that exposed a homology between merchant’s visual geometric capacities to ‘measure’ or gauge the content of a barrel and artist’s interest in optically reproducing volumes through linear perspective. My arguments here extrapolate from and hopefully extend Baxandall’s seminal thesis. See Michael Baxandall, *Painting and experience in fifteenth century Italy: a primer in the social history of pictorial style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 86–89.

⁴⁸⁴ On Vaughan, see my discussion in the introduction. Rem often complains about working long hours: “*Da wolten mich meine heren nun gen Saragossa haben. Des sperret ich mich ernstlich, wolt kainswegs raysen.*” A paragraph or two later, he says, “*Plib 4 tag dar, tag und nacht im werk.*” Rem, *Tagebuch*, 16. See also Häberlein, *Fuggers*, op. cit., 57.

⁴⁸⁵ Rem received directives from his employers on occasion to travel by sea or land [“*Ich sollte per mar oder per terra gen Lixbona, Madera, Palma raissen.*”], 12. But there are several other references in the journal to ship-bound voyages along the Atlantic coast. See for instance, the voyage described *Tagebuch*, 10.

⁴⁸⁶ Häberlein, “Atlantic Sugar,” op. cit., 53; see also Christine Johnson, *German Discovery of the New World*, op. cit.; Christopher Ebert, *Between Empires: Brazilian Sugar in the Early Atlantic Economy, 1550-1630* (Boston: Brill, 2008), 28–29; Stuart Schwartz, *Tropical Babels: Sugar*

and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450-1680 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 67.

⁴⁸⁷ Rem mentions the expansion of his commodity portfolio in his account of his business travels, see Rem, *Tagebuch*, 7–9. The diversity of goods that Rem handled was not typical of other German merchants active on the Antwerp market. For example, many Fugger agents dealt almost exclusively in the metal trade. See Mark Häberlein, “Atlantic Sugar and South German Merchant Capital in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Europeans Engaging in the Atlantic Knowledge and Trade, 1500–1800*, ed. Susanne Lachenicht (New York: Campus Verlag, 2014), 49 cf. See also Häberlein, “Fugger und Welser: Kooperation und Konkurrenz 1496–1614,” in *Die Welser. Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte un Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses*, eds., Mark Häberlein and Johannes Burkhardt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 223–239.

⁴⁸⁸ Antwerp’s painting and printing industries, as discussed in the previous chapters, responded to the visual tradition of migrant artists from Italy, France, and Germany, and adapted their products to suit the demands of different export markets. On the intersection between the trade in pigments and artistic production, see Filip Vermeulen, “The Color of Money: Dealing in Pigments in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp” in *European Trade in Painters’ Materials to 1700*, ed. Jo Kirby Atkinson (London: Archetype, 2010), 356–365. On Netherlandish recipe books in early sixteenth-century Antwerp, see Van Damme, “Een 16e-eeuwse Zuidnederlands receptenboek,” *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen* (1974), 101–37.

⁴⁸⁹ In the “Life of Joachim Patinir, Painter from Dinant” [“*Het leven van Ioachim Patenier*”, *Schilder van Dinant*], Karel van Mander’s *Het Schilderboek* established many of the facts and fictions that continue to influence modern scholarship on the landscape painter, confirming the artist’s migration to Antwerp and the date of his registration in the *Liggeren*, the register of Antwerp’s Saint Luke’s Guild. An important historiographic source, Van Mander’s account provides perspective into the particular visual engagements of later generations of connoisseurs [‘*liefhebbers*’], which were undoubtedly quite different from the cultural context and occupational background that informed Rem’s reception of the paintings. Van Mander states:

De vermaerde heerlijcke stadt Antwerpen, door de Coopmanschap in voorspoet wesende, heeft over al tot haer gewenct d'uytnemenste onser Consten, die veel hun tot haer oock begeben hebben, om dat de Const geern is by den rijckdom. Onder ander is ooc haer by gecomen desen Ioachim Patenier, gheboren te Dinant. Hy is ghecomen in't Gildt, en edel Schilder gheselschap der stadt Antwerpen, in't Iaer ons Heeren 1515. Hy hadde een seker eygen manier van te maken Landtschappen, seer aerdich en suyver, de boomen soo wat ghetippelt, oock daer in makende aerdige beeldekens, so dat zijn dingen wel begheert, vercocht, en in verscheyden Landen ghevoert zijn. Hy hadde voor ghewoonte in al zijn Landtschappen erghen te maken een Manneken zijn ghevoegh doende, waerom hy den kacker wiert gheheeten: dit kackerken was t'somtijt te soecken, ghelijck het Wilken van Hendrick met de Bles. Desen Patenier was een Mensch, die neffens zijn edel Const was van een rouw leven, seer tot den dranck gheneghen, dat hy heel daghen sat in de Herbergh, zijn ghewin overdadigh doorbrengende, tot dat hy dan door noodt ghedronghen hem tot de gheld-vruchtighe Pinceelen most begeben: by hem leerde Frans Mostert, dien hy door korselheyt en dronckenschap dickwils ten huys uyt jaeghde, soo dat hy veel by hem verdroegh, gheneghen zijnde om leeren. Ten tijde doe Albert Durer t'Antwerpen was, hebbende groot behaghen in de handelinghe van Patenier, conterfeytte hy hem op een Leye, oft misschien een Tafelet, met een Coperen stift, seer uytnemende

ghedaen. Van Patenier sietmen by verscheyden liefhebbers seer fraey Landschappen. Te Middelborgh by Melchior Wijntgis, den Munt-meester van Zeelandt, zijn van hem dry uytnemende stucken, het een wesende vol beeldekens, een bataillie, so wel en suyver gheschildert, dat geen verlichterije soude vermoghen daer teghen te wedden. Tot hem spreeckt den gheleerden Lampsonius, onder een Conterfeytsel, dat den Hoornschen Cornelis Cort (dien hy Curtius noemt) nae t'ghene Albert Durer dede, heeft seer constigh ghesneden, en seght op deser meeninghe:

Dat onder dees al t'saem niet een ghesien can wesen,/Soo levend uytghdruckt zijn beeldt, ghedaent en wesen,/Als dijn, o Ioachim, is hierom niet alleen,/Dat ghy in Coper zijt van Curti handt ghesneen,/De welcke handt niet vreest, dat ander haer sal trotsen:/Maer om dat Durer sagh Landschappen, hutten, rotsen,/Van u gheschildert cloeck, verwondert zijnde seer,/Met Coper stift op Ley u wesen track wel eer:/Dees trecken volghde Cort, en heeft met dit te connen,/Al ander niet alleen, maer hem self overwonnen.

Koch has provided this partial English translation:

The famous and imposing city of Antwerp, prosperous because of its commerce, attracted the most eminent artists from many parts, and in large numbers, since art flourishes where there is wealth. Among others this Joachim Patinir, who was born in Dinant, was attracted there. He became a member of the guild and noble company of painters of Antwerp in the year of our Lord 1515. He painted landscapes in a particular way, very beautiful and pure, his trees being stippled. Also he included nice little figures, so that his works were in demand, were sold and carried to divers countries. It was his custom to place somewhere in his landscapes a little man answering the call of nature, whence he was called 'de kakker' [the defecator]. One repeatedly looked for this little man, just as one did for the little owl in Herri met de Bles. Besides being an artist, this Patinir was someone who led a wild life and very prone to drink, so that he would waste entire days at the inn spending his money until the need for more took him back to his profitable brushes [...].

See Koch, *Joachim Patinir*, op. cit. See also P. Rombouts and T. van Leries, *De liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde* (Antwerp: Baggerman, 1872).

⁴⁹⁰ I here take cues from Koch, who argued, "Landscape paintings would have appealed to worldly travelers of every sort, especially merchants or merchant bankers, who comprised a newly expanded clientele in the early sixteenth century. Bourgeois collectors wanted paintings that were not only pleasant to look at but mobile and negotiable and Patinir's sanctified landscape adventures nicely filled these requirements." Koch, *Joachim Patinir*, op. cit., 9.

⁴⁹¹ In this regard, I follow closely the scholarship of Falkenburg, expressed initially in Reindert Falkenburg, *Patinir: het landschap als beeld van de levenspelgrimage* (Nijmegen: published not identified, 1985). Although Vandenbroeck's notion of 'compulsive-unconscious' fascination with landscapes as a registration of sin and temptation is suggestive, I don't see this operating as a plausible interpretation of Rem's interest in Patinir's landscapes. See Paul Vandenbroeck, "Joachim Patinir en het ontstaan van de Vlaamse landschapskunst," in *De Uitvinding van het landschap: van Patinir tot Rubens 1520-1650*, ed. Hans Devisscher (Antwerpen : Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 2004), 33–51, 36.

⁴⁹² de Bosque, *Quentin Metsys*, op. cit., 187. Although it has been suggested that the altarpiece would have adorned a chapel in an Augsburg religious institution, perhaps St.-Anna-Kirche or Dom Unserer Lieben Frau, evidence for this is entirely lacking.

⁴⁹³ Rem, *Tagebuch*, 8.

⁴⁹⁴ Rem, *Tagebuch*, 8-9.

⁴⁹⁵ “*Got behiet uns! Die Pestilenz XImal im haus hett, mir fil einkaufer, megdt & sturben. Bott durch forpitt Maria seiner warden muetter, Sct. Sebastian und Sct. Rochus, aler gotz hayligen hat mich gar winderperlich behiet, demnach Ich mit fil leyten genanter armazion ze ton gehept hab, und sunst mit leitten hab miessen vermischet sein.*” Rem, *Tagebuch*, 9.

⁴⁹⁶ In historical texts the phrase ‘*himlisch her*’ [himmlisches heer] is usually translated as ‘heavenly host.’ I’ve opted here for the more modern interpretation of the term. In one instance, Rem invokes also St. Anne; significantly, this opens the section on Rem’s *Leibgeding*, which included property inherited through his wife. Rem, *Tagebuch*, 1; 5; 25; 30; 43; 45–46; 48–50; 52; 56; 64; 66; 67–68; 71; 73.

⁴⁹⁷ The garments worn by the archer were in 1518 slightly outmoded; they resemble the types of costumes worn by figures in earlier Antwerp mannerist work. On the clothing of landsknechten and sumptuary issues, see J.B. Hale, *Artists and warfare in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

⁴⁹⁸ Klaus Herbers und Hartmut Kühne, eds., *Pilgerzeichen–“Pilgerstrassen”* (Tübingen: Narr, 2013); Denis Bruna, ed. *Enseignes de pèlerinage et enseignes profanes* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1996); Alicia Walker, “Notes on the historiography and iconography of pilgrim souvenirs and secular badges,” in *From minor to major : the minor arts in Medieval art history*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2012).

⁴⁹⁹ The original frame may have helped harmonize what now appears as a disjunctive sequence of spaces.

⁵⁰⁰ Revelations 12:1 describes a woman “clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.”

⁵⁰¹ Felix Thürlemann, *Robert Campin: a monographic study with critical catalogue*, tans. Ishbel Flett (Munich: Prestel, 2002).

⁵⁰² *Adj, 13 Jener rich ich gen Valentz, sach die triumphlich Sct. Sebastian und sonder Sct. Vizenz process, dz ain uberaus schon costlich wesen ist.*” Rem, *Tagebuch*, 8.

⁵⁰³ “*Adj. 20 Ottobr rit ich von Coromha gen Compostela zuo dem hailigen hern St. Jac^o mit meim schifhernm hochpotzman, und stiurman, kam demselben aubend dar und belib bis adj 22 dito.*” Rem, *Tagebuch*, 9. On the pilgrimage to Santiago historically, see the opening chapter of Conrad Rudolph, *Pilgrimage to the end of the world: the road to Santiago de Compostela* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

⁵⁰⁵ On his voyage from Spain to the Netherlands, see Rem, *Tagebuch*, 9–10; On his visit to Our Lady of Guadalupe, see *Tagebuch* 14. (“*Dz ist das reichest, bas geordnest Closter, fil meyl von steten und dörfer... Ubergros wunderzaichen da geschehen etc., der gleich in der welt nit.*”)

⁵⁰⁶ Rem’s brother, Gilg, was appointed as the Bishop of Chiemsee in 1526. Rem, *Tagebuch*, 10; see also Greiff’s commentary, note 81.

⁵⁰⁷ Rem, *Tagebuch*, 11.

⁵⁰⁸ Catherine Delano-Smith, “The intelligent pilgrim: maps and medieval pilgrimage to the Holy Land,” in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travelers, 1050-1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Debra Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: continuity and change* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1998).

⁵⁰⁹ Although credit for the earliest treaties usually goes to the Welser factor Simon Seitz, it is clear from the *Tagebuch* that Rem had been an important player in brokering the agreements with King Manuel I, which allowed a small cooperative of German merchants to become active in overseas imperial and commercial expansion. Rem appears to have enjoyed something of a friendly relationship with the Portuguese royal family. His description of his 1510 meeting with Manuel I and Maria of Aragon suggests that he was invited into their personal quarters, met their six children, and was allowed to kiss their hands at his departure. “Im urlaub nemen lüos der king die Kunigin und al sein kindt mit fil köstlichkait in sein kamer kommen 4 sun und 2 doctern in ordnung. Küset Inen alen die hendt, und nam mein abschid, Inen mein brooder Hans hoch befelschendt.” 14. See also Ehrenburg, *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance*, op. cit., 138–9; Christine Johnson, *German Discovery of the New World*, op. cit., 98. Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, op. cit., 51 cf.

⁵¹⁰ Rem mentions boarding French and Genoses galleons in turn in the *Tagebuch*, 11.

⁵¹¹ See Regina Dauser, *Informationskultur und Beziehungswissen : das Korrespondenznetz Hans Fuggers (1531-1598)* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2008); Kuzhippalli Skaria Mathew, *The Indo-Portuguese trade and the Fuggers of Germany* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997); Victor Klarwill and Pauline De Chary, *The Fugger news-letters: being a selection of unpublished letters from the correspondents of the House of Fugger during the years 1568-1605* (New York: Putnam, 1925).

⁵¹² A Dutch version of the text printed in Antwerp by Jan van Doesborch appeared a decade or so after the German edition. The German edition first appeared in 1509. A transcription of the text of the *Merfart* has been made available through the Justus Liebig Universität Giessen, <http://www.staff.uni-giessen.de/gloning/tx/merfart.htm>. A somewhat damaged first edition has been digitized by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00045403/images/>.

On Burgkmair’s illustrations for the *Merfart*, see Stephanie Leitch, “Burgkmair’s “Peoples of Africa and India” (1508) and the Origins of Ethnography in Print,” *Art Bulletin* 91: 2 (2009), 91, 123–159.

⁵¹³ Rem was speaking specifically of the port of Tazacorte; he had traveled to oversee production on the sugar plantations of Madeira, Palma, and the Canary Islands. Rem, *Tagebuch*, op. cit. 13.

⁵¹⁴ Silver, *Paintings of Quentin Massys*, op. cit.

⁵¹⁵ On Behaim, see Peter Bräunlein, *Martin Behaim : Legende und Wirklichkeit eines berühmten Nürnbergers* (Bamberg: Bayerische Verlagsanstalt, 1992); Ernst Georg Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim, his life and his globe* (London: G. Philip & Son, Ltd., 1908).

⁵¹⁶ Peutinger was also at Rem’s wedding. *Tagebuch*, 50. On Peutinger, see, Heinrich Lutz, *Conrad Peutinger: Beiträge zu einer politischen Biographie* (Augsburg: Verlag Die Brigg, 1958).

On his library, see Jochen Brüning, ed. *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers: Edition der historischen Kataloge und Rekonstruktion der Bestände* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003).

⁵¹⁷ Silver, *Paintings of Quentin Massys*, op. cit.

⁵¹⁸ On the vogue for Flemish art at the Lisbon court, see for instance *Portugal en Vlaanderen: Europa in het Verschiet (1550-1680)* (Brussel: Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, Museum voor Oude Kunst, 1991); *No tempo das feitorias: a arte portuguesa na época dos descobrimentos : Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Lisboa: Instituto Português de Museus, Secretaria de Estado de Cultura, 1992); *Portugal e Flandres: visões da Europa, 1550-1680*. (Lisboa: Instituto Português do Património Cultural, 1992); Bernardo García and Fernando Grilo,

eds., *Ao modo da Flandres: disponibilidade, inovação e mercado de arte na época dos descobrimentos (1415 - 1580)* (Madrid: Villaverde, 2005); Maria da Conceição Amaral, ed., *Feitorias: l'art au Portugal au temps des grandes découvertes (fin XIVE siècle jusqu'à 1548)* (Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, 1991).

⁵¹⁹ See Arianne Kolb, "Varieties of repetition: 'trend' versus 'brand' in landscape paintings by Joachim Patinir and his workshop," *Journal Of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 28:1 (1998), 167–200; Filip Vermeulen, "Exporting Art across the Globe: The Antwerp Art Market in the Sixteenth Century," op. cit.; Antonia Boström, "The acquisition of Flemish landscapes for Italy on the Antwerp art market," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 48 (September 1997), 8–21.

⁵²⁰ Falkenburg's study of Patinir's landscapes remains the classic inquiry into the relationship of Patinir's imagery to Flemish iconographic tradition, discussing with great historiographic sensitivity the significance of terms like *Andachtsbilder* and the *Weltlandschaft*. Reindert Falkenburg, *Patinir: het landschap als beeld van de levenspelgrimage*, op. cit.; See also Walter Gibson, *Mirror of the Earth*, op. cit.; Larry Silver, *Peasant scenes and landscapes*, op. cit., 26–51.

⁵²¹ Falkenburg has written an updated version of this thesis concerning the importance of the concept of a life pilgrimage; see Reindert Falkenburg, "The Devil is in the Details: Ways of Seeing Joachim Patinir's 'World Landscapes,'" in *Patinir: essays and Critical Catalogue*, op. cit., 61–81.

⁵²² Dan Ewing, "Multiple Advantages, Moderate Production: Thoughts on Patinir and Marketing," in *Patinir: essays and Critical Catalogue*, op. cit., 81–95. Ewing made convincing, similar points about export-oriented paintings from earlier in the century. See Dan Ewing, "Magi and Merchants: the force behind the Antwerp Mannerists' Adoration pictures," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten*, (2004-5), 274–99.

⁵²³ On devotion to Mary Magdalene see Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁵²⁴ On his visit to St. Baume, see Rem, *Tagebuch*, 11.

⁵²⁵ On his visit to Montserrat, see Rem, *Tagebuch*, 15.

⁵²⁶ Vergara, *Patinir: essays and Critical Catalogue*, op. cit., 326.

⁵²⁷ See the version in the Louvre.

⁵²⁸ Vergara, *Patinir: essays and Critical Catalogue*, op. cit., 232.

⁵²⁹ John Oliver Hand, *National Gallery of Art: Master Paintings from the Collection* (Washington DC: National Gallery, 2004), 52–53.

⁵³⁰ A digitized version of the woodcut where the text is legible can be found at: <http://images.zeno.org/Kunstwerke/I/big/HL00245a.jpg>.

⁵³¹ Bartels provides a very nice, succinct overview of the legal aspects of mining administration in the early sixteenth century. Christoph Bartels, "The administration of mining in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (fourteenth through eighteenth centuries)," op. cit., 117.

⁵³² On Altdörfer and the German landscape schools of the early sixteenth century, see Christopher Wood, *Albrecht Altdörfer and the Origins of the Landscape*, op. cit.

⁵³³ Patinir's rock formations were not entirely fanciful: their general form was based on the geological features of landscapes along the Meuse River, near the artist's place of birth. John Oliver Hand and Martha Wolff, *Early Netherlandish Painting: The Collections of the National Gallery of Art, Systematic Catalogue* (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 1986), 224.

⁵³⁴ Nothing certain is known about the patron for this painting. It was presumably commissioned for a church in Nuremberg, as Saint Sebald, patron saint of Nuremberg, was represented on the outside wings. It is, moreover, likely, given the strong commercial ties between Antwerp and Nuremberg, that the patron was a merchant. See, Vergara, *Patinir: essays and Critical Catalogue*, op. cit., 282–286.

⁵³⁵ The Welsers were no exception to this rule and they invested in mines and liquation factories in the Saxon region as well as in the Tyrolean Alps. This point is discussed in Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, op. cit.; Häberlein, *Die Welser*, op. cit.; Häberlein, “Atlantic Sugar and South German Merchant Capital in the Sixteenth Century,” op. cit. Beham himself came from Nuremberg, but was expelled from the city in 1525 as a heretic. He then set up shop in Frankfurt. Since the dating of the broadside is uncertain, it is hard to speculate who the intended audience was; presumably its employment of Patiniresque forms intended to appeal to the German merchants underwriting many of the mining and metallurgical operations. A recent provocative discussion of Beham’s output and his unconventional religious beliefs is provided in Mitchell Merback, “Nobody Dares: Freedom, Dissent, Self-Knowing, and Other Possibilities in Sebald Beham’s Impossible.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 63:4 (Winter 2010), 1037–1105.

⁵³⁶ This may have to do with different social distinctions between iron and stone miners and the ‘noble,’ ‘free,’ and ‘privileged’ status of the miners who excavated and refined precious metals and salt in Ore Mountains of the Holy Roman Empire. See Christoph Bartels, “The administration of mining in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe,” op. cit., 118.

⁵³⁷ Mention of Dinant’s vital copper alloy industry is made in Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, trans. I.E. Clegg (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1937), 159. The social and cultural significance of metallurgy in French Flanders and the north of France is suggested by Nicolas Bourbon’s Latin verse poem, *Ferraria*, which constructs a vision of the forge as a kind of utopian landscape, rewritten through an idiosyncratic classicizing imagination. Bourbon’s father was a forge master in Vandoeuvre, and the poem is constructed as a dialogue between father and son.

http://books.google.de/books?id=pLuxG0YIJgoC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁵³⁸ A nice overview of the Housebook’s section on mining and metallurgy is provided in Christoph Graf zu Waldburg Wolfegg, *Venus und Mars: the world of the Medieval Housebook* (Munich: Prestel, 1998), 80–83.

⁵³⁹ Pamela Long, “The Openness of Knowledge: An Ideal and its Context in 16th century Writings on Mining and Metallurgy,” *Technology and Culture* 32 (1991), 318–55.

⁵⁴⁰ On the mining booms impact of regional networks, see Tom Scott, “Economic Landscapes,” op. cit., 3–4; 20–21.

⁵⁴¹ On the intellectual cultural and craft-based interests in genesis of matter, and the relationship between the physician-treatise writers and miners, see Smith, “The Matter of Ideas in the Working of Metals,” op. cit., 52.

⁵⁴² See the introduction to *Bergwerk- und Probierebüchlein*, op. cit.

⁵⁴³ Wilhelm Pieper, *Ulrich Rülein von Calw und sein Bergbüchlein: mit Urtext-Faksimile und Übertragung des Bergbüchleins von etwa 1500 und Faksimile der Pestschrift von 1521* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955).

⁵⁴⁴ *Bergwerk- und Probierebüchlein*, 17–18

⁵⁴⁵ *Bergwerk- und Probierebüchlein*, Ibid 19–20

⁵⁴⁶ *Bergwerk- und Probierebüchlein*, Ibid 21.

⁵⁴⁷ Pieper, *Ulrich Rülein von Calw*, op. cit.; On Annenberg, See Manfred Bachmann et al., *Der Silberne Boden: Kunst und Bergbau in Sachsen*, op. cit.

⁵⁴⁸ An overview of the Daniel legend is provided by Wilhelm Günter, “Bergbau, Montankultur und Heligenverehrung im Bergrevier Leogang,” op. cit., 33. In addition to the prophetic vision of the bird’s nest, there were two other visions miners attributed to Daniel, which they believed suggested the sanctity of their profession. According to one, Daniel interpreted Nebuchadnezzar’s dream that a single stone destroys a statue made of four metals—gold, silver, copper and iron—to signify the decline of the four great world empires, whose value and brilliance are symbolized by the four metals. In the other legend, Daniel has a vision of a heavenly apparition with hands and feet of a bright smooth iron—a prophecy that portended the coming of Christ.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ Smith, “The Matter of Ideas in the Working of Metals,” op. cit. p. 57–58. Günter, “Bergbau, Montankultur und Heligenverehrung im Bergrevier Leogang” op. cit., p. 30.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid. Smith, p. 58. Günter, p. 29.

⁵⁵² Ibid. Günter, p. 31.

⁵⁵³ The exterior of the altarpiece shows scenes of the Annunciation, St. Leonhard, and St. Matthew. Gabriele Guntzsch-Liessmann and Friedrich Leitner, *Grubenhunt und Ofensau. Vom Reichtum der Erde* (Klagenfurt: Kärntner Landesausstellungsbüro, 1995), 80.

⁵⁵⁴ Jörg Völlnagel, *Splendor solis, oder Sonnenglanz : Studien zu einer alchemistischen Bilderhandschrift* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2004).

⁵⁵⁵ Salomon Trismosin, *Splendor solis*, trans. Joscelyn Godwin (Grand Rapids: Phanes Press, 1991), 32.

⁵⁵⁶ Frank Fürbeth, “Der ‘Tractatus De Balneis Germaniae’ des Caspar Schober (um 1530). Zur Stellung Der Frühneuzeitlichen Balneologie in Deutschland Zwischen Mineralquellenanalyse und Schrifttradierung,” *Sudhoffs Archiv* 80 (2), 150–66; 150. See also M. Stolberg, “‘You have no good blood in your body.’ Oral communication in sixteenth-century physicians’ medical practice,” *Medical History* 59 (1), 2015, 63–82; Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonder and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone, 2001), 137–146.

⁵⁵⁷ Erik Anton Heinrichs, “The Plague Cures of Caspar Kegler: Print, Alchemy, and Medical Marketing in Sixteenth-Century Germany,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 2 (2012), 417–440.

⁵⁵⁸ See *Tagebuch*, 7, 8, 14, 15, 22

⁵⁵⁹ *Tagebuch* 23–24, 26–29

⁵⁶⁰ Frank Fürbeth, “Der ‘Tractatus De Balneis Germaniae’ des Caspar Schober (um 1530),” op. cit. On the alchemical canon of the period, see William Newman, *Promethean ambitions: alchemy and the quest to perfect nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

⁵⁶¹ *Bergwerk- und Probierebüchlein*, op. cit., 70.

⁵⁶² Brandenburg obtained the vast majority of reliquaries between 1513 and 1526. Dagmar Eichberger, “A Renaissance Reliquary Collection in Halle and its Illustrated Inventories,” *Art Bulletin of Victoria* 37 (1996), 19–36; Ursula Timann, “Bemerkungen zum Halleschen Heiltum,” in *Der Kardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg. Renaissance Fürst un Mäzen* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner Halle, 2006); My thinking has been informed by a number of essays in Andreas Tacke, ed. *Ich armer, sundiger mensch: Heligen- und Reliquienkult am Übergang zum knofessionellen Zeitalter*, (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006). From this volume, see the following essays: Carola Fey,

“Beobachtungen zu Reliquienschatzen deutscher Fürsten im Spätmittelalter;” 11–36; Livia Cárdenas, “Albrecht von Brandenburg—Herrschaft und Heilige: Fürstliche Repräsentation im Medium des Heiltumsbuches,” 239–270; Christof Diedrichs, “Ereignis Heilium: Die Heiltumsweisung in Halle,” 314–360.

⁵⁶³ As consecrated things that bore the will of divine agency, reliquaries carried their visual meaning dialectically through their effigies and materialities. On the one hand the effigy or encasement gave comprehensible visual form to fragmentary remains, creating a kind of visual synecdoche. On the other hand, the materiality of the reliquary—from its sanctifying detritus to its precious stuff—marked the liminality of the holy matter between this world and the next. In other words, reliquaries flaunted their wondrous materiality as part of their divine apparatus. What I am claiming here is that these Handsteine from Halle negotiated these meanings self consciously, and with an eye to knowledge forms related to both alchemy and mining culture.

⁵⁶⁴ See “Letters of Martin Luther To Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz,” October 31, 1517, Martin Luther, *Letters of Martin Luther*, trans. Margaret Currie (London: Macmillan & Co., 1908), 17.

⁵⁶⁵ The annual display of relics in Halle took place on the Sunday and Monday following the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Organized according to a holy hierarchy into nine different processional groups, the relics were sequentially displayed on a wooden scaffold temporarily erected at one of the exterior bays on the south side of the *Neues Stift*. The only other occasions when the reliquaries were visible to a wider viewing public were during particular feast days, when the relics associated with the particular event or saint being commemorated were displayed at either the high altar, or, when appropriate, at one of the other altars. Thus, the laity only very rarely had opportunities to view the relics in person. The rare occasionality of display must have heightened the visual experience of the reliquaries—their precious materials and curious forms. Hans-Joachim Krause, “Die Kirche des ‘Neuen Stifts’ in Halle und die Schloßkirche in Wittenberg: Zur Geschichte und ursprünglichen Gestalt beider Bauen.” In Andreas Tacke, ed. *Cranach. Meisterwerke auf Vorrat: Die Erlanger Handzeichnungen der Universitätsbibliothek* (Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek, 1994), 21–36.

⁵⁶⁶ Luther’s “Neu Zeitung vom Rhein” (1542), *Magazin für Theologie und Ästhetik* 19/2002: *Es ist eine Ankündigung von allen Kanzeln verkündet worden, die gilt, soweit sich das Mainzer Erzbistum am Rheinstrom erstreckt. Sie besagt, dass dessen Bischof alle Reliquien, die Seine Kurfürstlichen Gnaden zu Halle in Sachsen gehabt hat und die mit großem römischen Ablass, mit Gnaden und Privilegien begnadet und bestätigt sind, aus triftigen Gründen und auf Eingebung des heiligen Geistes hin nach Mainz in die St. Martinskirche überführt hat. Dort sollen sie jährlich, am Sonntag nach dem Bartholomäustag, mit großer Feierlichkeit verehrt werden, mit gleichzeitiger Verkündigung, was eine jede Reliquie darstellt - und mit großer Vergebung vieler Sünden, damit die lieben Rheinländer den armen, entblößten Knochen wieder zu neuen Kleidern verhelfen sollten. Denn die Röcke, die sie in Halle gehabt haben, sind zerrissen. Und wenn sie länger in Halle geblieben wären, hätten sie dort erfrieren müssen. Man berichtet auch zuverlässig, dass Seine Kurfürstlichen Gnaden viele bedeutende neue Stücke neuerdings dazugebracht habe, von denen man vorher nichts gehört hat, und dass außerdem ein besonders großer Ablass gegeben sein soll vom jetzigen allerheiligsten Vater, Papst Paul III., nämlich:*

-Ein schönes Stück vom linken Horn des Mose.

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- Drei Flammen vom Busch des Mose, auf dem Berge Sinai.
 - Zwei Federn und ein Ei vom heiligen Geist.
 - Ein ganzer Zipfel von der Fahne, mit der Christus die Hölle aufstieß.
 - Auch eine große Locke vom Barte des Beelzebub, der an der Fahne kleben blieb.
 - Ein halber Flügel von St. Gabriel, dem Erzengel.
 - Ein ganzes Pfund von dem Wind, der an Elia vorbeirauschte, in der Höhle am Berge Horeb.
 - Zwei Ellen von dem Ton der Posaunen, auf dem Berge Sinai.
 - Dreißig FÜRze von der Pauke Miriams, der Schwester Mose, gehört am Roten Meer.
 - Ein großes, schweres Stück vom Geschrei der Kinder Israel, womit sie die Mauern Jerichos niedergeworfen haben.
 - Fünf schöne helle Saiten von der Harfe Davids.
 - Drei schöne Haarlocken des Absalom, mit denen er an der Eiche hängen blieb.
 - Doch dies erklärt man nicht als Reliquie, sondern als Wunder, wie in Rom der Strick des Judas in der St.-Peters-Kirche erklärt wird.

Es hat mir ein besonders guter Freund insgeheim gesagt, dass Seine Kurfürstlichen Gnaden in seinem Testament ein ganzes Quäntchen (¼ Lot) von seinem treuen frommen Herzen zu einer solchen Reliquie bestimmt hat und ein ganzes Lot von seiner wahrhaftigen Zunge. Dazu soll schon vom allerheiligsten Vater, dem Papst, folgendes erreicht sein: Wer solch eine Reliquie mit einem Gulden ehren wird, der soll Vergebung aller seiner früheren Sünden haben, die er bis zur Stunde begangen hat. Und alles, was er danach sündigen kann oder mag, zehn Jahre lang, soll ihm nicht schaden zur Seligkeit. Das ist wirklich eine große, reiche Gnade, von der man bisher nie gehört, über die sich jeder mit Recht zu freuen hat.

⁵⁶⁷ Brigitte Buettner, “Bones and Stones: Reflections on Jeweled Reliquaries,” in *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*, eds. Bruno Reudenbach and Gia Toussaint (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005).

⁵⁶⁸ My thinking on Luther has been influenced by Carlos Eire’s classic work, *War against the idols: the reformation of worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

⁵⁶⁹ Rem’s conversion is known from genealogical research. See Reinhard Jakob, “Lucas Rem,” *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 21 (2003), 409–410, accessible online at: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd123622271.html>.

⁵⁷⁰ See the chapter on “The Outstretched Finger,” in Joseph Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 191–200.

⁵⁷¹ In an influential essay, Gombrich asked an important two-part question, “What type of public provided the market for the unprecedented kind of [landscape] painting... [and] How could anyone demand landscape paintings unless the concept and the word existed?” While Gombrich sought to answer these questions in the categories developed by Italian art theoreticians, who represented an important segment of the art market for Flemish landscapes, the more recent scholarship of Reindert Falkenberg and Paul Vandenbroeck has provided alternative paradigms to clarify the relationship of Netherlandish landscapes to native religious and secular traditions. There has however been little attempt to understand the significance of Antwerp landscape to the intellectual culture of South German patrons, who, despite art historical recalcitrance to recognize it, came to Antwerp with cultural sensibilities that departed from Italian and

Netherlandish norm. See Ernst Gombrich, “Renaissance Artistic Theory and the Development of the Landscape Painting,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 41 (1953), 335–360.

⁵⁷² It has sometimes been suggested that the patronage of German merchants provided the impetus for mining landscapes, but there is no concrete evidence to substantiate such claims. Gibson has speculated, “Although the mining scenes of Bles and Gassel make no pretense to be accurate depictions of the Meuse area or the Tyrolean Alps, they may well have been commissioned by people whose wealth was derived from the mines in these regions. Thus these pictures may have found their way into the mining areas of Germany and Bohemia in the sixteenth century...” Walter Gibson, *Mirror of the Earth: the world landscape in sixteenth-century Flemish painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 30.

⁵⁷³ I want to thank Celeste Brusati for encouraging me to think about this issue during my CASVA interview.

⁵⁷⁴ Van der Stock, *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis*, op. cit.

⁵⁷⁵ Jan van der Stock, *Printing images in Antwerp*, op. cit., 87.

⁵⁷⁶ For German miners in England and the Fugger connection in Antwerp see, Deborah Harkness, *The Jewel house: Elizabethan London and the scientific revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); On German miners in the New World, see Glenn Penny, “Latin American Connections: Recent Work on German Interactions with Latin America,” *Central European History* 46 (2013), 362–394.

⁵⁷⁷ John Rigby Hale, *Renaissance Europe, 1480-1520*. (London: Fontana, 1971), 52.

⁵⁷⁸ Unless otherwise noted, biblical sources refer to the King James Version.

⁵⁷⁹ The mercantile aspects of Góis’s career have received almost no consideration, especially in contradistinction to his historical and ‘humanist’ writings. For an overview of the Antwerp Feitoria da Flandres, see John Everaert, “Les Comptoir Portugais en Flandres” in *Feitorias: L’art au Portugal au temps des Grandes Découvertes*, op. cit., 45 cf; See also Hans Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen: (1567-1648): Zur Geschichte Einer Minderheit*. (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977); Maria do Rosário Themundo Barata, García, “A feitoria Portuguesa em Antuérpia: actividade mercantil e mecenatismo no tempo de Dürer,” in *Ao Modo Da Flandres: Disponibilidade, Inovação E Mercado De Arte Na Época Dos Descobrimentos (1415-1580): Actas Do Congresso Internacional Celebrado Em a Retoria Da Universidade De Lisboa (11-13 De Abril De 2005)*, eds. B. J. García and Fernando Grilo (Madrid: Fernando Villaverde, 2005), 47–52.

⁵⁸⁰ Dagoberto Markl, “De Kunst in de verdediging van Damião de Góis. Zijn smaak en zijn verzameling” in *Portugal en Vlaanderen* op. cit., 193–195; I. da Rosa Pereria, “Damião de Goes devant le tribunal de l’Inquisition (1571–1572),” in *Damião de Goes humaniste européen*, (Paris: Jean Touzot, 1982) 331–355.

⁵⁸¹ Elizabeth Feist Hirsch, *Damião de Góis: The Life and Thought of a Portuguese Humanist, 1502–1574*, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), 47, note 46. I here deviate from Hirsch’s translation in order to forefront the more literal meanings of the words. She provides the original Latin, taken from the *Legatio Magni Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Joannis ad Emanuele Luistaniae Regem*, (Antwerp, 1532) D5, as follows:

Piget bone o Christie, ah piget,/Mea est, mea est culpa haec scio,/Quod sic relictus ab omnibus,/Quod tam cruentus undique/Protectus altum in aera/Confixus hac pendes cruce/Ergo ad tuos supplex pedes/Volutus en adsum miser/Damianus hic tuus, mihi/Ignoscito, O ignoscito/Qui totius pro orbis malo/Hanc innocens poenam subis.

Hirsch also notes that Grapheus's poems about Góis's devotional exercises were also reprinted separately: "Grapheus Cornelius (Scribonius) Carmina aliquot in Damianum Goem Luisitanum" in W. Nijhoff and M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, ('s-Gravenhage: 1923–1971).

⁵⁸² See for example, Luther's letter to his barber, Peter Beskendorf on how one should pray, reproduced in J.J. Pelikan, H.C. Oswald and H.T. Lehmann, eds., *Luther's Works*, American Edition, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968) 43 "Devotional Writings II," 189cf. See also the following secondary sources on Luther, prayer, and penitence: Volker Leppin, "'Omnem Vitam Fidelium Penitentiam Esse Voluit' -- Zur Aufnahme Mystischer Traditionen in Luthers Erster Ablassthese." *Archiv Für Reformationsgeschichte* 93, (July 2002), 7–25; Hendrix Scott, "Martin Luther's Reformation of Spirituality." *Lutheran Quarterly* 13: 3 (Fall 1999), 249–270.

⁵⁸³ His correspondence with Melanchthon was especially amicable, for in addition to theology and ancient languages, they shared interests in astronomy and mathematics. Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, op. cit. 33. See also Damião de Góis, *Lisbon in the Renaissance: a new translation of the Urbis Olisiponis description*, Jeffrey Ruth, trans. (New York: Italica Press, 1996), xvii. For his letters, see Philipp Melanchthon, *Philippi Melanchthonis epistolae, iudicia, consilia, testimonia aliorumque*, Heinrich Ernst Bindseil, ed. (Halis Saxonum: Schwetschke, 1874) 499. Góis also maintained correspondence with Luther, although evidence suggests that he destroyed the letters. See Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, op. cit. 95. For an understanding of the interpenetration of natural philosophy, astrology, and theology in Melanchthon's thought, see Sachiko Kusukawa, *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy: The Case of Philipp Melanchthon*. (Cambridge, 1995); Dino Belluci, *Science de la Nature et Réformation: La physique au service de la Réforme dans l'enseignement de Philip Melanchthon*, (Rome, 1998); Claudia Brosseder, *Im Bann der Sterne: Caspar Peucer, Philipp Melanchthon und andere Wittenberger Astrologen*, (Berlin, 2004); Claudia Brosseder, "The Writing in the Wittenberg Sky: Astrology in Sixteenth-Century Germany," in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 66: 4 (October 2005): 557-76; Günther Frank, *Die theologische Philosophie Phillip Melanchthons (1497–1560)*, (Leipzig, 1995); Karl Hartfelder, "Der Aberglaube Philipp Melanchthons," in the *Historisches Taschenbuch*, vol. 6 (Leipzig, 1889). Jürgen Hoppmann, ed. *Melanchthons Astrologie: Der Weg der Sternwissenschaft zur Zeit von Humanismus und Reformation*, (Wittenberg, 1997). I want to thank Jennifer Morris for sharing with me her thoughts Melanchthon's faith and investment in natural philosophy as well as for pointing me in the direction of this bibliography.

⁵⁸³ Góis served as a page at Manuel's court in Lisbon from 1511; it is very likely, though not certain, that he would have met Lucas Rem, the subject of Chapter Four, during these years.

⁵⁸⁴ Lübeck, being a bishopric, was slow to adopt Lutheran teachings, but the reformist doctrine was wide-spread amongst the city's bourgeoisie by 1530. See Joseph Lins, "Lübeck" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. 9 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910).

⁵⁸⁵ Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, op. cit. 20

⁵⁸⁶ See the Inquisitorial transcripts, transcribed and reproduced in Guilherme Henriques, *Ineditos Goesianos, colligidos e anotados por (da Carnota)*, (Lisboa, V. da Silva & Ca., 1896-98), 48–49; Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, op. cit. 32.

⁵⁸⁷ In the King James Version, the full verse is: "There is nothing from without a man, that entering into him can defile him: but the things which come out of him, those are they that defile the man."

⁵⁸⁸ Góis also confessed the heresy of these statements during his trials. Henriques, *Ineditos Goesianos*, op. cit. 76–77; Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, op. cit. 31–32.

⁵⁸⁹ For an overview of the ancient and medieval legal background underlying international diplomacy in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962) 17–25.

⁵⁹⁰ Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, op. cit., 13.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid*, 96, 186.

⁵⁹² For instance, on the occasion of Henry VIII’s “great matter,” when the English king had broken with Rome in order to divorce Charles V’s sister, Catherine of Aragon, Góis had probably been charged with secretly conveying to the Tudor court the Portuguese king’s intention to maintain neutral in the growing peaceful trade relationships. The foremost specialist on Catherine of Austria’s art collection is Annemarie Jordan-Gschwend, who has since her 1994 dissertation, “The Development of Catherine of Austria’s collection in the Queen’s household: Its character and cost,” (Brown University 1994), published on a variety of related issues, see Annemarie Jordan, “Portuguese Royal Collecting after 1521: The Choice Between Flanders and Italy” in *Cultural Links Between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, ed. K.J.P. Lowe, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 265–293; Annemarie Jordan-Gschwend, “Catherine of Austria and a Habsburg relic for the monastery of Valbemfeito, Obidos,” *Journal of the history of collections* 2: 2 (1990), 187-198; Almudena Pérez de Tudela and Annemarie Jordan-Gschwend, “Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors: Exotica, Princely Gifts and Rare Animals Exchanged Between Iberian Courts and Central Europe in the Renaissance (1560-1612).” *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 3, (2001): 1–127; Annemarie Jordan-Gschwend, “Antonis Mor at the Lisbon Court in 1552: new notes on the Brussels portrait of Joanna of Austria.” *Bulletin Musées Royaux Des Beaux-Arts De Belgique*, 38–40 (January 1989), 217–250.

⁵⁹³ This picture of Portuguese ‘pragmatism’ with its emphasis on technologies of navigation and cartography, suppressing as it were Portugal’s more mercenary involvements in the slave trade, the expulsion of Jews, and repression of Muslims, was popularized in Jerry Brotton, *Trading territories: mapping the early modern world*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998) 46–86; Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 100–148. For a recent perspective that revisits Manuel’s anti-Islamic policy, see François Soyer, “Manuel I of Portugal and the End of the Toleration of Islam in Castile: Marriage Diplomacy, Propaganda, and Portuguese Imperialism in Renaissance Europe, 1495–1505,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 18 (2014), 331–356.

⁵⁹⁴ Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, op. cit., 22

⁵⁹⁵ It’s unlikely that Grapheus’s own sympathies would have colored his account of his patron’s private devotion. Having faced Inquisitors himself, one would think that he would have been especially conscientious about not publicized anything incriminating or detrimental to his patron. On Grapheus being forced to recant the preface he had written to a theological tract published in Antwerp, see James Tracy, *Erasmus: The Growth of a Mind*, (Genève: Droz, 1972), 193.

⁵⁹⁶ Góis mentions visiting Peutinger’s library in a letter to Fugger; Damião de Góis, *Correspondência latina*, (Coimbra: University of Coimbra, 2009) 345. See also Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, op. cit., 17, 26.

⁵⁹⁷ Góis also later published a separate account, dedicated to Pope Paul II, which focused to a greater extent on the faith of the Ethiopians, Damião de Góis, “Fides, religio moresque Aethiopum sub imperio Preciosi Joannis degentium Damiano a Goes ac Paulo Jovio

interpretibus. Deploratio Lapianae gentis, ipso etiam Damiano a Goes autore” (Louvain 1540). See also Siegbert Uhlig and Gernot Bühring, eds. *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*. (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1994).

⁵⁹⁸ See Dagoberto Markl, “De Kunst in de verdediging van Damião de Góis. Zijn smaak en zijn verzameling” in *Portugal en Vlaanderen* op. cit., 193–195; I. da Rosa Pereria, “Damião de Goes devant le tribunal de l’Inquisition (1571–1572),” in *Damião de Goes humaniste européen*, op.cit., 331–355.

⁵⁹⁹ Before Góis provides testimony, itemizing his activities on the Antwerp art market, he expresses his frustration with the continual probing of his ‘false accuser,’ noting that the three ‘new articles’ that his accuser has brought before the Tribunal have ‘no substance’, blaming the accuser’s lack of understanding in the nature of the transactions:

Muyto illustres e magnificos senhores Inquisidores, porque ho meu adversario e accusador (seja quem quer que for) veio agora de sobre posse com tres novos artigos contra mim todos de assaz pouca substancia, a hos quaes tenho respondido por via de meu procurador e por do que toque a eu ter visto ir Martim luterio a cavalo, e melanchton diante delle escarapuçado, segundo elle testemunha diz, eu disse o que na verdade passa, e assi de eu ouvir sempre missa ho mesmo, e dado dysso muitas testemunhas he bom que amostre aguora por obras quam affeioada sou a pinturas e imagens, e quanto nestas cousas despendi para confusão de meu falso accusador, a ho quale u espero em Deus que dará ho paguo que costuma dar a hos que Inique agunt supernaque como ho diz o psalmista, mas porque, ahos taes testemunhas falsas e has que subornão para aprovarem suas maldades, se não dá logo ho castigo que merecem he a terra chea de males e pecados, como o diz ho sabedor, assi que constrangido da injuria que se me faz, direi aqui ho que nunca cuidei de dizer pello que deixadas a parte as pinturas que ainda tenho em casa declararei aqui pera minha justicação quanto contra della faço, e a reverencia em que has tenho, e algumas que tenho dado de muito preço [...]. (Henriques, *Ineditos Goesianos*, op. cit. 114–115.) Emphasis added.

⁶⁰⁰ Henriques, *Ineditos Goesianos*, op. cit. 116; Markl, “De Kunst in de verdediging van Damião de Góis.” op. cit. 193; Da Rosa Pereria, “Damião de Goes devant le tribunal de l’Inquisition (1571–1572),” op. cit. 347.

⁶⁰¹ Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, op. cit. 72.

⁶⁰² See Matthias Mende, “Dürer’s so-called Portrait of Damião de Góis: toward a reconstruction of a lost painting of 1521,” in *Tribute to Lotte Brand Philip*, ed. William W. Clark, (New York, 1985) 103–111.

⁶⁰³ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do felicissimo rei Dom Manuel*, vol 2. (Coimbra, 1949-55); the translation of text from which I cite appeared in Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, eds. *Illuminating the Renaissance: the triumph of Flemish manuscript painting in Europe*, (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003) 460; For more on the Bening-Holanda collaboration and the manuscript, see Antonio de Aguiar, *A Genealogia Iluminada do Infante Dom Fernando*. (Lisbon: Estudo Historico e Critico, 1962).

⁶⁰⁴ Reynaldo dos Santos, “Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés au Portugal,” *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures*, 14 (1932) 26–27; On the functional significance of such a gift within the particular cultural and social environment of the Lisbon court, see Isabel dos Guimarães Sá., “The use of luxury: some examples from Portuguese courts from 1480 to 1580.” *Análise Social*, 192 (2009), 589-604.

⁶⁰⁵ There's no evidence that Bening had ever undertaken any other collaborative projects; the two year time frame initially quoted must have also anticipated output for other patrons and en-spec productions for the open market

⁶⁰⁶ The Table of Nations, described in Genesis 10: 1-2, states, "Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth: and unto them were sons born after the flood. The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras." On Magog as topographic and apocalyptic figure, see Victor Scherb, "Assimilating Giants: The Appropriation of Gog and Magog in Medieval and Early Modern England." *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 32: 1 (Winter 2002), 59; Andrew Gow, "Gog and Magog in 'Mappaemundi' and Early Printed World Maps: Orientalizing Ethnography in the Apocalyptic Tradition." *Journal of Early Modern History* 2, no. 1 (February 1998): pp. 61-88.

⁶⁰⁷ This passage was provided and translated in Catarine Barceló Fouto, "Damião de Góis's *Livro de Linhagens: An Untold (Hi)Story*," *Portuguese Studies*, 31: 2 (2015), 235–249. The original Portuguese is:

E se algũa pessoa achar este discurso maes breve do que se a tão larga materia require, saiba que as genealogias se vem melhor por arvores, e pinturas do que se podem declarar por escriptura, e alem disto as cousas desta qualidade não são para pessoas a quem natureza não separou do saber, e condições das alimarias, mais que na forma, e na fala, senão para homens doctos, discretos, criados e cursados nas cortes dos Reis, e Principes, e praticos nos negocios dellas.

⁶⁰⁸ On genealogy and the Tree of Jesse, see Arthur Watson, *The early iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, (London: Milford, 1934); Kathleen Biddick, "The Cut of Genealogy: Pedagogy in the Blood." *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 30: 3 (Fall 2000): 449–462 Elizabeth Carson Pastan, "'And he shall gather together the dispersed': the Tree of Jesse at Troyes Cathedral." *Gesta* 37: 2 (December 1998), 232–239; Karel Boon, "Een Utrechtse schilder uit de 15de eeuw, de Meester van de Boom van Jesse in de Buurkerk." *Oud-Holland* 76:1-2 (January 1961), 51-60; Hartmut Scholz, "Ein unbekanntes Augsburger Wurzel-Jesse-Fenster nach Entwürfen aus dem Werkstattkreis Hans Holbeins der Älter und Thoman Burgkmairs." *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 63, (January 2009), 199–214; Britta Reimann, "Eine 'Wurzel-Jesse'-Darstellung des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts in einem Lübecker Bürgerhaus." *Pantheon* 57 (January 1999), 192-193; Benjamin Westervelt, "The power to take and the authority to hold: fabrications of dynastic legitimacy in twelfth-century Catalonia." *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 29, no. 2 (Spring 1999), 227–252. On these concepts beyond Europe, see Herman Bennett, "'Sons of Adam': Text, Context, and the Early Modern African Subject." *Representations* 92: 1 (Fall 2005): 16-41; Crispin Branfoot, "Dynastic Genealogies, Portraiture, and the Place of the Past in Early Modern South India." *Artibus Asiae* 72: 2 (December 2012): 323–376; Angelica Jimena Afanador Pujol, "The tree of Jesse and the *Relacion de Michoacan*: mimicry in colonial Mexico." *The Art Bulletin* 92 (2010), 293-307.

⁶⁰⁹ Margaret intended the designs to be a gift to her father Maximilian I, who had himself commissioned several important visual genealogies. See Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: art and Magnificence*. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 139; On Habsburg royal genealogies before Perlin, see the entries under "Genealogy: Maximilian between Poetry and Truth" in *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, op. cit. 160–184; for more on Margaret of Austria's interests and agency as a art collector see Dagmar Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst, Wirken*

durch Kunst: *Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlande*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

⁶¹⁰ The series was made circa 1540. An edition has been preserved in the British Museum: <https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/u/0/asset-viewer/robert-peril-the-genealogical-tree-of-the-house-of-hapsburg-colour-woodcut/2AGU9QtVheks4A?hl=en>; For more on Robert Peril, see Leon de Burbure, “Robert Peril, graveur du seizième siècle; sa vie et ses ouvrages,” *Bulletins de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 2e série, XXVII, 322–355.

⁶¹¹ Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, 17.

⁶¹² *ibid*

⁶¹³ For a historical overview of developments in ‘golden age’ Portugal, see A.R. Disney, *A history of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, 2 vol. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, vol 1. 143–159; George Winius, ed. *Portugal, the pathfinder: journeys from the medieval toward the modern world, 1300-1600*, (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995); On chronicles as historiography in Portugal, see Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa “Medieval Portuguese Royal Chronicles: Topics in a Discourse of Identity and Power” *eJournal of Portuguese History*, 5: 2 2007, 1-7; Manoel Cardozo, “The Idea of History in the Portuguese Chroniclers of the Age of Discovery,” *The Catholic Historical Review*, 49: 1 (Apr., 1963), 1-19; Susannah Humble Ferreira, *The crown, the court and the Casa da Índia: political centralization in Portugal, 1479-1521*, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 39cf; For a recent study of the interpenetration of historicity and futurity as it relates to the chronicles in the Nuremberg Chronicles, see Jonathan Green, “Translating time: chronicle, prognostication, prophecy,” *Renaissance Studies* 29:1 (2015) 162-177.

⁶¹⁴ Jeremy Lawrance, “The Middle Indies: Damião de Góis on Prester John and the Ethiopians.” *Renaissance Studies* 6: 3/4 (September 1992), 306–324; On the legend of Prester John and the broader context of the search for Prester John and Portuguese voyages overseas, see Andrew Kurt, “The search for Prester John, a projected crusade and the eroding prestige of Ethiopian kings, 1200–1540.” *Journal of Medieval History* 39: 3 (September 2013): 297–320; Adam Knobler, “The Power of Distance: The Transformation of European Perceptions of Self and Other, 1100-1600.” *Medieval Encounters* 19: 4 (November 2013), 434–480; Vsevolod Slessarev, *Prester John: the letter and the legend*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959); Christopher Taylor, “Global Circulation as Christian Enclosure: Legend, Empire, and the Nomadic Prester John.” *Literature Compass* 11, no. 7 (July 2014): 445; Charles Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton, eds. *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*. (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996). On the failures of a Portuguese embassy to Ethiopia, see Cates Baldrige, *Prisoners of Prester John: the Portuguese mission to Ethiopia in search of the mythical king, 1520–1526*. (Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2012); For an account of this history that forefronts the Ethiopian’s historical perspective, see Matteo Salvatore, “The Ethiopian Age of Exploration: Prester John’s Discovery of Europe, 1306-1458.” *Journal of World History* 21: 4 (December 2010): 593–627.

⁶¹⁵ Dedicated to the exiled Archbishop of Sweden, John Magnus, the *Legatio* refers to their mutual friendship, forged during Góis embassy there on matters of state business, at which time they discussed Portuguese voyage to the East—to India, the Arabian Peninsula, and Persia. In his address, Góis also recalls their conversations about the ‘difficult passage into those countries, of the perils of the main ocean sea also [...]’ In his dedication to John Magnus, Góis also acknowledges the topological difficulties that contributed to the cultural estrangement:

Through the great famylyar frenshyp [...] that was between your holynes and me when we were together at Dantiske, what tyme I had there maters of my pryncis to do, after often metynges, at the last happened us comunycacyon of y maters of Portigale, as of y viages of the Indyans, Arrabies, and Perses. And also of the long and dyffyculte passage into those countreys, of the parelles of the mayne Ocean. [...]

Damião de Góis, *The legacye or embassate of the great emperour of Inde prester Iohn, vnto Emanuell kynge of Portyngale, in the yere of our lorde M. volume C.xiii. Of the fayth of the Indyans, ceremonies, relygyons [and] c. Of the patryarche [and] his offyce. Of the realme, state, power, maiesty, and order of the courte of prester Iohn*, trans. John More, (London: W. Rastell in Fletestrete in saynte Brydys chyrch yarde, 1533), Hereafter, *Legatio*. B-i)

⁶¹⁶ Hirsch has speculated that Góis may have been personally acquainted with Sir Thomas More, either through Erasmus or from his 1528 embassy to Henry VIII's court. Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, op. cit. 18–19.

⁶¹⁷ Góis, *Legatio* A iii

⁶¹⁸ Ibid, A iv

⁶¹⁹ Ibid, Cii

⁶²⁰ On the origins of the Holy Cross, Jacobus de Voragine writes:

The holy cross was found two hundred years after the resurrection of our Lord. It is read in the gospel of Nicodemus that, when Adam waxed sick, Seth his son went to the gate of Paradise terrestrial for to get the oil of mercy for to anoint withal his father's body. Then appeared to him S. Michael the angel, and said to him: Travail not thou in vain for this oil, for thou mayst not have it till five thousand and five hundred years be past, how be it that from Adam unto the passion of our Lord were but five thousand one hundred and thirtythree years. In another place it is read that the angel brought him a branch, and commanded him to plant it the Mount of Lebanon. Yet find we in another place that he gave to him of the tree that Adam ate of, and said to him that when that bare fruit he should be guerished and all whole. When Seth came again he found his father dead and planted this tree upon his grave, and it endured there unto the time of Solomon. [...] Then, after this history, the cross by which we be saved came of the tree by which we were damned, and the water of that piscine had not his virtue only of the angel but of the tree. With this tree, whereof the cross was made, there was a tree that went overthwart, on which the arms of our Lord were nailed, and another piece above, which was the table wherein the title was written, and another piece wherein the socket or mortice was made, wherein the body of the cross stood in, so that there were four manner of trees, that is of palm, of cypress, of cedar, and of olive. So each of these four pieces was of one of these trees.

Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints*, trans. William Caxton, (London: 1483), volume 3, 78. The text has been transcribed and is available online through Fordham University: <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/goldenlegend/GoldenLegend-Volume3.asp>

⁶²¹ Góis, *Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio*, 29–30.

⁶²² Góis had spent a significant amount of time in Italy (1534–38), where he befriended Pietro Bembo, it is likely that he encountered variants of this genre, such as Leon Battist Alberti's *Descriptio Romae* (1440s) or Leonardo Bruni's *Laudatio Florentinae* (1403). See Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, 90–114.

⁶²³ Góis, *Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio*, 3.

⁶²⁴ *Ibid*, 3–4

⁶²⁵ *Ibid*, 2.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid*, 14–15. On the circumstances of the Reconquest and Afonso I Henrique's leadership in the twelfth-century battles to recapture Lisbon, see Disney, *History of Portugal*, op. cit. 79–82.

⁶²⁷ Hercules, partly cloaked in the skin of the Nemean Lion, bears the weight of the firmament. Flanking are two subsidiary allegories related to the themes of love: on the left two women attempt to restrain cupid's bow, an allegory the triumph of reason over blind love; on the right Mercury forewarns Venus and Mars of the wrath of Vulcan. An allegory of Human Toil occupies the upper right corner of the tapestry, and in the upper left Destiny recognized the zodiac signs as written in the heavens. The banderole declares, "Great power, but subject to another" [*Magna Virtus, sed Alienea Obnoxia*]. On either side of Atlas, who bears the armillary sphere on his shoulders, are Aurora meeting the Moon and the Hours, who are represented as Maidens pouring water that symbolizes the stream of time. In the foreground, the Portuguese heraldic dragon is presented as a winged serpent. Within the upper corners, Mercury, signifying commerce, accompanied the muse of astronomy, Urania. The inscription reads, "Fame is vast, but powerless being another's" [*Ingens Fama, Sed Alterius, Ea Est Igepsinops*]. The iconography of the Spheres tapestries has been described in Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, Concha Herrero Carretero, and José Godoy. *Resplendence of the Spanish Monarchy: Renaissance Tapestries and Armor from the Patrimonio Nacional*. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 55–67.

⁶²⁸ Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: describing the world in the Reformation*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, p. 179 cf.

⁶²⁹ Góis, *Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio*, p. 22.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid*, 32–33.

⁶³¹ Filip Vermeyleen mentions that a crate of these 'Jezusbeeldjes' cost 606 guilders. Vermeyleen, *Painting for the Market*, op cit. 86; See also G. Stam, *Vroomheid per dozijn*. Utrecht: Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent: 1982.

⁶³² Vermeyleen, *ibid*; Leon Voet, *De Gouden Eeuw van Antwerpen. Bloei en uitstraling van de Metropool in de zestiende eeuw*, (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1973), 309; Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales*, op. cit., 284.

⁶³³ For more on the peculiarities of Portuguese diplomacy in Africa, see Ivana Elbl, "Cross-Cultural Trade and Diplomacy: Portuguese Relations with West Africa, 1441–1521," *Journal of World History* 3:2 (Fall 1992), 165–204.

⁶³⁴ Although the symbolism of the Magi's gift had been discussed in sermons and biblical exegesis since the Middle Ages, what these texts stressed was that, as examples of human offerings, it was not the gift itself that mattered to God, but what the act of giving revealed about the supplicant's heart and soul. In other words, it was the spirit of generosity and the purity of intentions—not the material qualities of the gift—that counted most within the ethics of Christian giving, see, Bernhard Jussen, "Religious Discourses of the Gift in the Middle Ages." In *Negotiating the gift: pre-modern figurations of exchange*. eds, Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.)

⁶³⁵ On the instabilities between diplomacy and the missionary motive of Portuguese explorers in Africa and Asia, see Stefan Halikowski-Smith, "'The Friendship of Kings was in the Ambassadors': Portuguese Diplomatic Embassies in Asia and Africa during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Portuguese Studies* 22: 1 (November 2006), 101–134.

⁶³⁶ My stress on the importance of recognition in encounter fraught with linguistic miscommunications follows Stuart B. Schwartz, *Implicit understanding: observing, reporting, and reflecting on the encounters between Europeans and other peoples in the early modern era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; Peter Mason, *Infelicities: representations of the exotic*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous possessions: the wonder of the New World*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.)

⁶³⁷ For an overview of this field of inquiry, see Gauvin Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.)

⁶³⁸ For an alternative take on the interactions between Africans and Portuguese, see Suzanne Preston Blier, "Imaging otherness in ivory: African portrayals of the Portuguese circa 1492." *Art Bulletin* 75: 3 (September 1993), 375-397.

⁶³⁹ I want to thank Markus Neuwirth for pointing me in the direction of this fascinating object. Susan Lowndes Marques, *Portuguese expansion overseas and the art of ivory*. (Lisbon 1991), 101.

⁶⁴⁰ John William Burgon, *The life and times of Sir Thomas Gresham*. (London: R. Jennings, 1839)

⁶⁴¹ Richard Clough to Thomas Gresham, Antwerp, Wednesday, August 21, 1566. A series of more recent essays on the intellectual context of Gresham's experiences are collected in Francis Ames-Lewis, *Sir Thomas Gresham and Gresham College: studies in the intellectual history of London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999). Transcriptions of the Clough letter is available through the Universiteit Leiden:

<http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/english/sources/Pages/15660721.aspx>

⁶⁴² On iconoclasm generally, see Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the altars: traditional religion in England, 1400-1580*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); David Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and painting in the revolt of the Netherlands, 1566-1609*. New York: Garland, 1988; David Freedberg, *The power of images: studies in the history and theory of response*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. W. Kloek, Willy Halsema-Kubes, and R. J. Baarsen. *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: Noordnederlandse kunst 1525-1580*. ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1986.)

⁶⁴³ On the Royal Exchange see Ann Saunders, *The Royal Exchange*. (London: London Topographical Society, 1997); Ann Saunders, *The Royal Exchange*, (Leeds: W.S. Maney & Sons, Ltd.) 1991.

⁶⁴⁴ *ibid*

⁶⁴⁵ The Latin Poem: "De frequentia omnium gentium in Ioanimedio, vulgo Die Burse," "Dissonus auditur rumor, laus ipse repletur/Et variis linguis, vestibus et varris/O decus eximium visu et mirabile cunctis! Orbis in exiguo maximus Orbe viget," cited in Meganck, "Erudite Eyes," 213-14.

⁶⁴⁶ Jan Materné, "'Schoon ende bequaem tot versamelinghe der coopliden.'" De Antwerpse beur tidens de gouden 16de eeuw," in *Ter Beurze*, ed. De Clercq op. cit; 50-85

⁶⁴⁷ Ewing, "Marketing art in Antwerp," op. cit.; Vermeyelen, *Painting for the market*, op. cit.

⁶⁴⁸ Sir Thomas Elyot, *The boke named The governour*, New York, E.P. Dutton & co., 1907.

⁶⁴⁹ He did get the city of London to donate some land to the purpose, but the building itself and its construction was underwritten by Gresham. Gresham and Clough continued to import Flemish materials for their private estates, too. Burgon, *The life and times of Sir Thomas Gresham*. op cit., 416.

⁶⁵⁰ On consumerism and shopping in London, see Linda Peck, *Consuming splendor: society and culture in seventeenth-century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

⁶⁵¹ For more on the ambitions of English merchants to displace Antwerp merchants, see the introduction Jeroen Puttevils, *Merchants and Trading in the Sixteenth Century*. (London: Pickering & Chatto Ltd., 2015).

⁶⁵² For a broader consideration of this theme see Koen Ottenheim and Krista de Jonge, eds., *The Low Countries at the crossroads: Netherlandish architecture as an export product in early modern Europe, 1480–1680*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.)

⁶⁵³ See Juliette Roding, “Dutch Architects and Engineers in Danzig and the Southern Baltic in the 16th and 17th centuries,” *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek*, 16: 2 (1995), 223-235.

⁶⁵⁴ On Pieter Coecke as an architect, see Krista de Jonge and Koen Ottenheim, Eds. *Unity and discontinuity: architectural relations between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530-1700*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); For the influence on Coecke’s Serlian translation on the stage form of civic entries, see Meadow, “Ritual and Civic Identity in Philip II’s 1549 *Blijde Incompst*,” op. cit. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks, eds. *Paper Palaces: the rise of the Renaissance architectural treatise*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

⁶⁵⁵ Soly, “Degrees of Intolerance” in *Antwerp, Story of A Metropolis*, op cit. 230.

⁶⁵⁶ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, op. cit. 222.

⁶⁵⁷ On the Farnese’s entry see Thøfner, “‘Willingly we follow a gentle leader...’: joyous entries into Antwerp,” op. cit., 190-191.

⁶⁵⁸ The first edition of *Iconologia* appeared in 1593; the first illustrated edition, published in Rome, appeared in 1603.

⁶⁵⁹ Adelheid Reinsch, *Die Zeichnungen des Marten de Vos. Stilistische und ikonographische Untersuchungen* (Bamberg: Urlaub, 1967), 170-171.

⁶⁶⁰ The gloss on liberality from Ripa is as follows:

Si dipinge con occhi concavi e fronte quadra per similitudine del leone liberalismo frà gli animali irragionevole, e col naso aquilino per la similtudine de l'aquila liberalism tra tutti gli ucelli, la qual si farà sopra la testa di detta figura, per mostrare, che la detta liberalità non consiste nell'atto casuale di donare altrui le cose proprie: ma nella habiro, e nella intentione della mente, come ancora tutte l'altre virtu. Scrive Plinio, che l'aquila se sa preda di qualche animale per propria industria, non attende tanto satiare l'appetito suo, che non si ricordi sempre di lasciarne parte à tanto gli altri ucelli godendo, e ripudiando si di assai per veder che l'opera sua so la sia bastante a mantenerne la vita di molti animali.

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Table 3.1: References to things lost, won, and received as a result of gambling from Dürer's *Tagebuch***

Lost Wagers:	Won Wagers:	To/From Whom & (Where):
7 stuivers		Hans Ebner (Aachen)
2 stuivers; 3 white pf.		(Antwerp)
2 stuivers & embossed silver medal of king		(Antwerp)
"my great ox horn" (presumably the one he bought in Antwerp for 1 fl.)		Leonhard Groland (Antwerp)
"my large cedar rosary" (presumably the one he bought in Antwerp for 10 white pf.)		Hans Ebner (Antwerp)
6 stuivers		(Zeeland)
4 stuivers		(Antwerp)
2 stuivers		(Antwerp)
1 stuiver		(Antwerp)
2 stuivers		(Antwerp)
2 stuivers		(Antwerp)
2 stuivers		(Antwerp)
8 stuivers		(Antwerp)
3 stuivers		(Antwerp)
	2 florins	Bernhard von Castell
4 stuivers		(Antwerp)
6 stuivers		(Antwerp)
1 florin		(Antwerp)
12 stuivers		(Antwerp)

**Dürer also records having received gifts from friends who had won wagers: "Master Hugo, Alexander Imhof, and the Hirschvogel's servant Frederick each gave me an Indian nut that they had won at play."

Table 3.2a Generosities noted in Dürer's *Tagebuch* during his trip from Nuremberg to Antwerp

Persons (Place along itinerary)	Generosities
Master Lucas Benedict and Hans the painter (Bamberg)	wine
Dr. George Rebart (Schweinfurt)	gave us wine in the boat
Johannes (Steinheim)	stayed with him for the night & showed the town and was very friendly
Herr Jacob Heller (Frankfurt)	gave some wine at the inn
Peter Goldschmidt (Mainz)	two bottles of wine
Veit Varnbuler (Mainz)	his host would take no payment from him, insisting on being my host himself; they showed me much honour
Leonhard Goldschmidt (Mainz)	wine and fowls
Master Jobst's brother (Mainz)	bottle of wine
the painters (Mainz)	two bottles of wine
Customs officer (Lahnstein)	can of wine
Nicolas, Dürer's cousin, (Cologne)	Dürer made a present of his black fur-lined coat edged with velvet, and gave his wife a florin. Nicolas gave Dürer wine.
Fuggers (Cologne)	wine
Johann Grosserpecker	Wine; 12 measures of best wine
The Barefoot Convent	meal
Monk at the Barefoot Convent	handkerchief

Table 3.2b Dürer's Itinerary

Leg One: From Bamberg to Frankfurt
 Bamberg→ Eltman→ Zeil→ Hassfurt→ Theres→ Lower Euerheim→ Meinberg→ Schweinfurt→ Volkach→ Schwarzach→ Tettelbach→ Kitzingen→ Sulzfeld→ Marktbreit→ Frickenhausen→ Ochsenfurth→ Eibelstadt→ Haidingsfeldt→ Würzburg→ Erlabrunn→ Retzbath→ Zellingen→ Karlstadt→ Gmunden→ Hofstetten→ Lohr→ Neustadt→ Rothenfels→ St. Eucharius→ Heidenfeld→ Triefenstein→ Homburg→ Wertheim→ Prozelten→ Miltenberg→ Klingenberg→ Worth→ Obernburg→ Aschaffenburg→ Selgenstadt→ Steinheim→ Kesselstadt→ Frankfurt

Leg Two: From Frankfurt to Cologne:
 Hochst→ Mainz → Einfeld→ Rudesheim→ Ehrenfels→ Bacharach→ Caub→ St. Goar→ Boppard→ Trier→ Lahnstein → Engers→ Andernach→ Linz→ Bonn→ Cologne

Leg Three: From Cologne to Antwerp:
 Cologne→ Busdorf→ Rodingen→ Frei-Aldenhoven→ Frelenberg→ Gangelt→ Stisterseel→ Sittard→ Stocken→ Merten→ Lewbehen→ Stosser→ West Meerbeck→ Branthoek→ Uylenberg→ Op ten Kouys→ Antwerp

Table 3.3 Dürer's Gifts and Gift Exchanges

Table 3.3-a Dürer's Gift Exchanges -- Portuguese Merchants

João Brandao	Dürer
dinner on 20 occasions	portrait in charcoal (x 3)
Portuguese & French wine (at inn)	statuette of a child
breakfast	"Adam and Eve"
3 porcelain dishes	"Jerome in His Cell"
brown velvet bag	"Hercules"
good electuary (medicine)	Nemesis
2 white sugar loaves	Eustace
dish sweetmeats	Melancholy
2 pots of preserves	Half-sheets of 3 new 'Virgins', Veronica, Anthony, Nativity, Crucifixion
4 ells of black satin	best of the quarter-sheets (8 pieces)
1 florin & 1 florin tip to Suzanna maid	3 Books--Life of the Virgin, Apocalypse, Big Passion, Little Passion and Passion on copper (all together 5 florins worth)
	painting of a child's head (worth 1 florin)
	paid 6 stivers for a panel and the portrait of the servant of the Portuguese on it in charcoal and gave that to factor as a New Years present
	Saint Veronica in oil
	portrait of his Moorish woman in silverpoint
	portrait of his secretary in charcoal

Francisco	Dürer
	small canvas with child, worth 10 florin
	Veronica face (sudarium) in oil worth 12 florin

Rodrigo Fernandez d'Almada	Dürer
Dinner on 2 occasions	portrait in charcoal
cask of sweetmeats box of sugar candy	"Adam and Eve"
two large dishes of barley sugar	"Jerome in His Cell"
many other kinds of sugar-work	"Hercules"
sugar cane	Nemesis
marzipan	Eustace
gave wife small green parrot	Melancholy
6 Indian nuts (coconuts)	Half-sheets of 3 new 'Virgins', Veronica, Anthony, Nativity, Crucifixion
fine pieces of coral	Painting of Jerome
two portuguese florin	black and white portrait on a large sheet
another parrot	paid 10 stuivers for Rodrigo's case
wine and oysters	gave servant a florin tip for bringing sweetmeats
muskballs cut from musk deer	
quarter pound of persin	
quince electuary	
two more boxes quince electuary & various sweetmeats	
A little ring worth 5 florins for Dürer's wife	
sweetmeats	
a parrot from Malacca	
6 ells course black cloth for a cape (worth a crown an ell)	

Table 3.3-b Dürer’s Gift Exchanges—Italians

Genoese Merchants

The Bombellis (Tomasin, Vincentius, and Gerhard)	Dürer
dinner 66 times	made charcoal portraits of entire family and other affiliates (8 portraits total)
dinner with wife and maid 4 times	3 florin worth engraving
gave Agnes 13 ells of good thick arras for a mantle and 3.5 ells of satin to line it	for pair of gloves, gave 3 fl. worth engravings
4 ells of gray damask for a doublet	made a second portrait of brother Vincentius
4 Brabant ells of the best satin	portrait of his daughter, Zutta
3 big boxes of candied citron	gave Tomasin's daughter painted Trinity worth 4 florins during trip to Aachen
small alabaster bowl	paid for dinner for Tomasin and 7 friends cost 2 florins
theriac (antidote for poisons)	portraits of Tomasin's son and daughter in silverpoint
	drawn two sheets of masks (for Carnival)
	design in tinted colors to have his house painted
	designed 3 dagger grips
white English cloth	portrait of the emperor
printed Turkish cloth	portraits of Gerhard Bombelli and Sebastian the procurator's daughter; took portrait of procurator's daughter very carefully in silver-point
two little pots with capers and olives	Tomasin's three maids three pairs of knives, which cost 5 stivers
	I have drawn twice in the more in silverpoint the beautiful maiden for Gerhardt
	made for Tomasin a design drawn and tinted in half-colours, from which he means to have his house painted
	Philip's florin in leaving gifts
	gave his maiden daughter a gold florin on leaving

Other Italians

Agostino Scarpinell (Milanese ambassador at Henry VIII's court)	Dürer
	2 Imagines (studies of norther and souther celestial hemispheres)
“Crooked-nosed Italian man” named Opitius	Dürer
	portrait
Thomas Polonius aka. Tommaso Vincido (artist with Raphael's studio)	Dürer
antique gem gold ring worth 5 florin; takes Durer's portrait back to Rome; one or two Italian prints	best engravings worth 6 florins; whole set of prints to send to Rome in exchange for Raphael's work; made a portrait in charcoal

Table 3.3-c Dürer's Gift Exchanges—Germans

Bernhard Stecher (merchant)	Dürer
costly meal (x5); 10 florins; tortoise shell, 2 Philip's florins; angel as compensation for the carnival designs	whole set of prints; the portrait of him and his wife, a second portrait of his wife portrait again, a little panel that Dürer had paid 6 stuivers for; a portrait of his wife's niece; made a drawing for a mask for the Fugger's people for masquerade at Carnival
Hans Ebner, Niklas Haller, & Leonhard Groland (delegation for imperial coronation charged with looking after the imperial jewels)	Dürer
stayed with Hans Ebner 7 nights; Ebner gave 2 florin, 4 stuiver; "Herr Hans Ebner and Herr Nicolas Groland would take nothing from me for eight days at Brussels, three weeks at Aachen, and fourteen days at Cologne."	Durer gave Nicolas's daughter 7 white pf. on departing, 1 florin to his wife, and again 1 ort to his daughter on leaving; gave Nicolas's man a "Nemesis; made two portraits for Hans Ebner
Lazarus Ravensburger	Dürer
a big fish scale, five snail shells, four silver medals, five copper ones, two little dried fishes and a white coral, four reed arrows and another white coral; dinner; sugar loaf	engraved "Jerome" and three large books; a portrait head on panel which cost 6 stuivers, and besides that I have given him eight sheets of the large copper engravings, eight of the half-sheets, an engraved "Passion," and other engravings and woodcuts, all together worth more than 4 florins
Alexander Imhof	Dürer
dinner (x2); later loaned 100 guilders for the return	
Tomasin Imhof	Dürer
hat of braided elder pith	
Felix Hungersberg	Dürer
bought whole set of copper engravings, wood cut of Passion and engraved Passion; two half-sheets, two quarter sheets all worth 8 florins; gave two maplewood bowls to his wife; dinner; 100 oysters	portrait; gave him another set of engravings; another portrait kneeling in his book in pen and ink
Nicolas Katzer (Henry VIII's court astronomer)	Dürer
very helpful and of great service to me in many matter	
Jacob Rehlinger the Younger (merchant)	Dürer
dinner twice, once at the Fugger house; ducat for his charcoal portrait	portrait

Wilhelm Hauenhut (in service of Duke Frederick II, Elector Palatine)	Dürer
	an engraved Jerome, two half sheets of Mary and Anthony
Wolff Haller (merchant)	Dürer
dinner	
Utz Hanolt (Augsburg merchant family)	Dürer
dinner	
Herr Kohler's wife	Dürer
paid 2 Philip's florins for	"SS. Peter and Paul"
Friedrich Kraussberger (merchant with the Hirschvogel firm)	Dürer
dinner (x 2); an Indian nut that they had won at play	
Ambrozio Hochstetter	Dürer
a model of his ship; dinner	gave a "Life of Our Lady"; made portrait in charcoal
Hans Lieber of Ulm	Dürer
wanted to pay him 1 florin, but Dürer would not take it	Portrait in charcoal
Hans Fehler	Dürer
dinner	
Anthony Hainault (aka. Anton Haunolt merchant for Fuggers)	Dürer
3 Philip's florins	black chalk on a royal sheet; two books
Wilhelm and Wolfgang Rogendorf (imperial service from Austria)	Dürer
dinner x2; seven ells of velvet (for the armorial srawing on wood); seven Brabant ells of velvet	large drawing of their armorial for engraving; charcoal portrait of Master Jacob, Rogendorf's painter; silverpoint portrait of Wolf; gave to Wolff Rogendorf a "Passion" on copper and one in woodcut

Table 3.3-d Gifts and Gift Exchanges-- Hanseatic Merchants

Hans Pfaffroth (Danzig merchant)	Dürer
a Philip's florin for his portrait in Charcoal	portrait charcoal
Jacob von Lubeck	Dürer
Philip's florin; maplewood bowl	portrait in charcoal
Lucas of Danzig	Dürer
1 florin and piece of sandelwood	portrait in charcoal
Bernhard von Reesen	Dürer
	portrait in charcoal
Andreas of Cracow	Dürer
1 Philip's florin	[drawings of] a shield and a child's head

**Table 3.3-f Dürer's Gift Exchanges—
Antwerpenaren & Netherlanders**

Alexander the Goldsmith (perhaps Alexander von Bruchsal)	Dürer
dinner	design for a forehead band (jewelry)
Joachim Patinir	Dürer
dinner 2 times; lent his assistant; invitation to his wedding	1 fl. worth of prints for loaning his assistant; gave the assistant 3 crowns worth of prints; portrait in silverpoint (x2), drawing of four "St. Christophers" on gray paper, heightened with white; Hans Grun woodcut
Lorenz Sterk	Dürer
child's head on linen, light wood reed, weapon from Calcutta; Spanish fur; ivory whistle and a very beautiful piece of porcelain; dinner; 20 florin for the portrait	St. Jerome; Melancholy; whole set of prints; a very fine and careful portrait in oils worth 25 florin
Pieter Gillis	Dürer
dinner with Erasmus	Eustace & Nemesis
Master Mark the Goldsmith (goldsmith from Bruges, active at Margaret's court in Mechelen)	Dürer
3 florins in payment + 3 fl. 20st. For prints.	Passion on copper ; book of Life of Our Lady
Glazier Honigen (perhaps Hennen Doghens)	Dürer
	4 little engravings
Dirk Vellert	Dürer
red pigment (perhaps red lake) found in bricks in Antwerp; "invited me and asked many other people to meet me, and especially among them Alexander, the goldsmith, a rich, stately man, and we had a splendid dinner, and they did me great honor."	Apocalypse series; Life of Mary series; an "Apocalypse" and the six "Knots."
Johann von den Winckel (trumpeter)	Dürer
	small Passion woodcut; St Jerome; Melancholy
Jan Provoost of Bruges	Dürer
1 florin	charcoal portrait
Master Jacob (Jacob Walchs/Jakob der Welsche)	Dürer
	two engraved "St. Jerome"s; copper "Passion" and a wood "Passion," and five other piece; drawn in charcoal Master Jacob, and had a little panel made for it, which cost 6 stuivers
Master Johann (marble	Dürer

worker)	
	portrait
Adrian Herbouts	Dürer
Meerseniers Guild	Dürer
3 Philip's florins	sitting "St. Nicolas"
Cornelius Grapheus	Dürer
Luther's "Babylonian Captivity"	portrait in hard chalk; three big books
Suanna Herenbout (daughter of Gerhard)	Dürer
	1 florin for an illuminated of "Our Savior"
Lucas van Leyden	Dürer
whole set of his engravings	drew portrait in silverpoint; 8 florins worth of prints
Art Braun and his wife	Dürer
	portraits in black chalk
Master Jan (goldsmith)	Dürer
dinner 3 times	engraved "Passion" to the wife of Master Jan, the goldsmith
Bartholomew	Dürer
	"Life of Our Lady"; 2 stuivers for services
Glazier Hennick	Dürer
dinner	two large books; engraved "Passion"
Master Art (probably Aert van Ort, a glass painter and medalist)	Dürer
	Life of Our Lady
Master Jean (perhaps Jean Mone)	Dürer
gave Dürer's wife six little , finely made glasses with rose water	whole set of prints
Stephen Capello (Jewler & Goldsmith in Antwerp: worked for Margaret of Austria)	Dürer
cedar rosary	portrait
Erasmus Schetz	Dürer
Spanish mantilla and three portraits	

Table 3.3-g Dürer's Gift Exchanges—Courtiers in Brussels and Mechelen

Conrad Meit	Dürer
pair of knives	St. Jerome, Melancholy, three new Marys; Anthony; Veronica; invited him to dinner; made his portrait by candlelight; made a portrait of his godmother; had him as guest in Antwerp; gave his 'old man' a 'Life of Our Lady'; charcoal the portrait of Stephen, chamberlain of Conrad
Herr Bannisius: imperial adviser	Dürer
4 dinners; wrote supplication for Dürer's pension	painting of Veronica, a Eustace, Melancholia; Jerome; Anthony; two new Marys, Peasants & two small Marys (all together valued at 7 florins); portrait in charcoal
Margaret of Austria	Dürer
A vague promise to speak to Charles V on Dürer's behalf	engraved Passion; Jerome engraved on copper; whole set of his works & drawn two pictures on parchment together worth 30 florins
Margaret of Austria's doctor	Dürer
	designs for house valued at 10 florins
Jan Marnix (Margaret of Austria's treasurer)	Dürer
	engraved Passion; made portrait
Bernard van Orley	Dürer
dinner so expensive, estimated to exceed 10 florins, gave 8 florins for portrait, and gave wife a crown; Susanna a florin worth 24 stuivers	portait in charcoal; portrait in oil
Gillis Busleyden (Brussels' treasurer)	Dürer
black Spanish bag worth 3 florin	engraved passion
Erasmus of Rotterdam	Dürer
	engraved Passion; made portrait
Erasmus, Bannisius's secretary	Dürer
	engraved Passion; sitting Jerome, a Melancholy, an Anthony, two new Marys, two small Marys, the Peasants (latter gift--everything after the engraved Passion he says is worth 7 fl.)
Nicolas Ziegler (imperial	Dürer

chancellor)	
dinner	Christ lying dead worth 3 florins; Jerome in his cell; two new Marys
Mathes	Dürer
	works of art worth 2 fl.
Stephen, Lady Margaret's chamberlain	Dürer
	portrait; 3 prints
Florent Nepotis, Lady Margaret's organist	Dürer
	portrait in charcoal
Master Hugo	Dürer
	Engraved "Passion and some other prints for his little porphyry stone
Master Johann, Brussels Goldsmith	Dürer
3 Philip's florin; jacinth and an agate with a Lucrecia engraved in it	portrait of him and his wife in charcoal; drawing for the seal; "Veronica" in oils, and the "Adam and Eve" that Franz did; Further, I gave him a whole set of engravings for a ring and six stones; each valued his portion at 7 florins

**Table 3.4-a: Dürer's Open Market Purchases—
Clothing & Mercery**

Clothing & Mercery	
a mantle	-unspecified
mantle for Suzanne	-unspecified
wife bought: slippers	-unspecified
gloves	6 stuivers
rabbit fur coat	23 stuivers
red wool shirt	31 stuivers
a piece of calico	3 stuivers
leather	1 stuiver
a girdle	2 white pfennig
a scarlet shawl	1 Philip's florin
a pair of shoes	7 white pfennig
a pair of shoes	6 white pfennig
a braid	1 white pfennig
lace (from Nicolas's daughter)	2 white pfennig
shoes	6 white pfennig
thin Netherlandish head cloth for his wife (Bergen)	1 florin, 7 st.
3 pairs of shoes (Bergen)	6 stuivers
eyeglasses (Bergen)	1 stuiver
an ivory button (Bergen)	6 stuivers
a camlet measuring twenty-four ells	16 florins
gloves	2 stuivers
a piece of arras for two mantles for my mother-in-law and my wife	10 florins, 8 stuivers
camlet cloak made from twenty-one Brabant ells (This includes 10 florins, 2 stuivers on Spanish skins; 1 florin in furrier fees, 5 florins for two ells of velvet for trimming; tailors wage of 30 stuivers)	14 1/2 florins
a broad cap	36 stuivers
two pairs of gloves	14 stuivers
a whole piece of arras	8 florins
fourteen ells of fine arras	8 florins
one dozen ladies' gloves	21 stuivers
coarse cloth	12 stuivers
coarse cloth	3 stuivers
a pair of shoes	6 stuivers
cord	3 stuivers
a pair of shoes	1 florin
a bag	6 stuivers
three bristle brushes	3 stuivers
a piece of fine red leather	1 stuivers
one pair of socks	3 stuivers
a cut [leather] bag	7 stuivers
a piece of glazed calico	4 stuivers
a bag	8 stuivers

Table 3.4-b: Dürer's Open Market Purchases—Crafted Goods, Curiosities, Animals, Luxuries

Crafted Goods, Curiosities, Exotic Animals, Luxuries	
Buffalo horns (Brussels)	
ox horn	9 stuivers
2 little maple wood bowls	3 stuivers
little frame	5 stuivers
bamboo rod	3 stuivers
12 little pipes	2 stuivers
a buffalo horn	10 stuivers
an elk hoof	1 florin for
wooden dishes and platters	3 stuivers
Elk's foot	20 stuiver
large ox horn	10 white pfennig
buffalo horn	8 white pfennig
fir cones	2 stuivers
a portmanteau	2 florin, 4 stuivers
a Paternoster	1 white pfennig
an ox horn	1 florin
cedarwood rosary	10 white pfennig
two ox horns	8 white pfennig
little skull	2 white pfennig
a little ivory skull	1 florin
a turned box	1 white pfennig
little monkey	4 gulden
two little powder horns	8 stuivers
two ivory salt-cellars from Calicut	3 florins
a bore	4 stuivers
three canes	3 stuivers
little tortoise	4 stuivers
Swiss jug	3 stuivers
two ivory combs (Bruges)	30 stuivers
three fine small rubies	11 gold florins
a little glass jar which once belonged to the King	2 stuiver
a little cage	2 stuivers
engraved goblets	2 stuivers
fourteen fish skins	2 Philip's florins
a small yellow post-horn	3 stuivers
an ivory comb	10 stuivers
two bed-covers	4 florins less 10 stuivers

Table 3.4-c: Dürer's Open Market Purchases—Art Supplies & Publications

Art Supplies, Publications	
red pigment found in bricks	2 stuivers
black chalk and carbon	4 stuivers
brick color	1 stuiver
Wood panel for a portrait (Ebner)	2 gold florin, 4 stuivers
stone color	1 stuiver
red chalk	1 stuiver
paper	3 stuivers
a piece of tin	2 florins less 5 stuivers
a bad piece of tin	2 florins
two little panels	1 Horn florin, less 6 stuivers
a panel	6 stuivers
six bristle brushes	3 stuivers
screw knife	2 stuivers
thirteen porpoise-bristle brushes	6 stuivers
an inkstand	6 stuivers
eight little boards	4 stuivers

Table 3.4-d: Dürer's Open Market Purchases—Provisions, Houseware, Sundries

Provisions, Houseware & Sundries	
1 pair snuffers	-unspecified-
wife bought: wood for cooking; foodstuff; washtub, basin, a birdcage; jugs	-unspecified-
1 mussels	2 stuiver
a whetstone	2 stuivers
a bath	5 stuivers
a rug (Zierikzee)	2 florins
fig-cheese (Zierikzee)	4 stuivers
five fish	14 stuivers
meat	24 stuivers

Table 3.4-e: Dürer's Open Market Purchases—Artworks, Prints, Maps

Artworks, Prints, Maps	
Italian prints	18 stuivers
two prints (Cologne)	1 stuiver
prints	4 florins
prints	29 stuivers
Italian works of art	3 florins (to Jan Turck)
an italian print	1 stuiver
7 stuivers for half a dozen Netherlandish maps	7 stuivers

Table 3.4-f: Dürer's Open Market Purchases—Books & Publications

Books & Publications	
Gillis's account of 1520 the Entry	1 stuiver
two <i>Eulenspiegel</i> (Brussels)	-unspecified-
Luther's publications "Condemnation" and the "Dialogue"	2 stuivers for the
'a little tract', presumable Lutheran	3 stuivers
tract of Luther's	5 white pfennig

Table 3.5: References to open market sales and bartering agreements

Works sold to unspecified buyers	Amount Received
Passion series	12 stuivers
Adam & Eve	4 stuivers
works of art (unspecified)	2 Philip's florin 6 stuivers
works of art (unspecified)	100 stuivers
2 "Adam and Eves," 1 "Sea Monster," 1 "Jerome," 1 "Knight," 1 "Nemesis," 1 "St. Eustace," 1 whole sheet, besides 17 etched pieces, 8t quarter- sheets, and 10 woodcuts, 7 of the bad woodcuts, 2 books, and 10 small wood "Passions,"	8 florins
three small canvases	4 florins, 5 stuivers
engravings	3 stuivers
I have sold a small woodcut of the "Passion" for florins.	-unspecified-
two reams and four books of Schauflein's prints	3 florins
prints	2 florins
prints	11 stuivers
prints	4 florins
prints	12 florins
some of Hans Baldung Grun's works	1 florin
works of art	4 florins, 10 stuivers
works of art	4 florins
prints	1 florin, 3 ort
two little books	3 stuivers
prints	2 florins
prints	1 florin, 1 ort
prints	13 stuivers

Appendix 5.1: Proceedings from Damião de Góis's Trial before the Inquisition, 1572

Muyto illustres e magnificos senhores Inquisidores, porque ho meu adversario e accusador (seja quem quer que for) veo agora de sobre posse com tres novos artigos contra mim todos de assaz pouca substancia, a hos quaes tenho respondido por via de meu procurador e por do que toqua a eu ter visto ir Martim luterio a cavallo, e melaughton diante delle escarapuçado, segundo elle testemunha diz, eu disse o que na verdade passa, e assi de eu ouvir sempre missa ho mesmo, e dado dysso muitas testemunhas he bom que amostre aguora por obras quam affeçoado sou a pinturas e imagens, e quanto nestas cou sas despendi, para confusão de meu falso accusador, a ho qual eu espero em Deus que dará ho paguo que costuma dar a hos que Ini- .que agunt supernaque como ho diz o psalmista, mas porque, ahos taes testemunhas- falsas e has que subornão para aprovarem suas maldades, se não dá logo ho castigo que merecem he a terra chea de males e pecados, como o diz ho sabedor, assi que constrangido da injuria que se me faz, direi aqui ho que nunca cuidei de dizer pello que deixadas a parte as pinturas que ainda tenho em casa de clararei aqui pera minha justificação quanto conta dellas faço, e a reverencia em que has •tenho, e algumas que tenho dado de muito preço:

-primeiramente á rainha nossa snra mãdei no anno de 1544, es tando ainda em frandes hu liuro das horas de nossa snra illuminado per mestre symão de bruges que foi unico nesta arte, ho qual me custou mais de trezêtos cruzados e foi avaliado neste reyno per An tonio de holanda jlluminador bij^e lta cruzados e ho avaliou por lho s. a. asi mãdar.

-a dita snra depois q vim a este reyno per mãos de joana vaz hu retabollo de vulto de noso snr jesu xpo aho natural e outro retabollo redondo da jmagem de nossa sitra cõ seu bento filho no collo, duas peças de mt0 preço e estima.

-a elrei nosso sor appresentei hu sam sebastião de vulto de co ral fino cõ seu assento de calcedonia, de quasi hu palmo de cõprido de hua só peça, atado cõ vergas douro a hu grade ramo de coral cõ suas setas douro peça muito riqua, e q s. a. tem em grãde estima.

-loguo quomo vim de frandes no anno de 1545, dei a meu irmão fructos de goes que deos haia hu retabolo grade cõ portas cõ ha imagem de nossa snra pintada cõ seu bento filho no collo, ha qual creio q elle deu a egreja de nossa snra do castello de almada onde tem sua sepultura.

-estando em frãdes mãdei pera ha dita egreja hua vidraça grade cõ ha pintura da anunciaçam.

-estando em frades muito tempo antes q viesse a este reyno, mSdei a egreja de nossa snra da varzea da villa dalanquer hu vulto inteiro do Ecce homo pintado muito deuoto que se pos em hu altar que se chama aguora de Jesu e he cõfraria de muita deuoção: e de pois que fundei na dita Egreja ha minha sepultura lhe dei hu retabolo cõ portas da pintura de nosso sôr Jesu xpto na cruz e hu painel da coroação grade tudo de muito preço e estima quomo ho ja tenho declarado nos autos do meu processo.

-ao nuncio monte pulesano dei hu painel da tentaçãode São Jobe ou tro das tentações de sancto antão que me custarão perto de duzêtos cru zados pintados da mão do grande jheronimo bosque has quaes me mã- dou cõmeter per jam lousado ejam quinoso q lhe vendesse e eu lhos mãdei em

presente pello q me elle prometeo mt0s beneficio» pera meus filhos, dos quaes ate guora não tenho visto nenhuns.

-a fernão Coutinho indo elle ter comigo a frandes dei hureiabollo pequeno de nossa snra cõ seu bento filho no regaço descido da cruz q elle tem em mta estima. • ao secretario p.0 dalçaçoua carneiro por respeito de mta" boas obras q delle recebi dei hu retabollo grade cõ portas dos tres reis magos, nascença e circumsisam peça de m^{to} vallia, e assi hu retabolo pequeno de vulto desãobernardino e outro de dous velhos q estão rezado, de mt0 artefecy e valor.

-do que tudo se pode clara e manifestamente ver, que sou eu muito devoto de imagens de devoção pois nestas que diguo, e ou tras que dei a diversas pessoas fora deste Reino, e em algumas que ainda tenho em casa despendi muito e muito dinheiro, e que não havia eu de consentir que da minha despensa corresse salmoeira sobollo crucifixo que está na capella dos paços d'alçaçova desta cidade de Lisboa, e se se fez sem ho eu saber, quomo ho sou besse, se foi assi, não havia destar sem prover nisso e isto parece que deve de abastar para minha justificação, sem me mais avexarem sobre setenta annos de idade, certa criação, e serviços feitos á coroa destes reynos, e sempre com nome de homem que viveo bem e com honra e para não darem credito has falsidades de quem me accusa, e fez vir a este carcere, ho qual nestes tres artigos que aguora testemunhou, mostrou bem ha grande peçonha que tem con cebido contra mim porque ho não faz senão para assi alongar ho tempo de minha prisão, pello que peço a vossas mercês que me des pachem com brevidade alembrando-se que muitas vezes discipat Deus consilia eorum, qui hominibus placent, hoje aos desaseis dias de junho de 1572, sobre quinze mezes de prisão

Figures—Chapter One



Figure 1.1. Jan de Gheet, “Salve felix Andwerpia. Conseruet[ur] diuina fave[n] te gr[at]ia” in *Unio pro conservatione rei publice*, Antwerp 1515. Leuven Katholieke Universiteit, Centrale Bibliotheek.



Figure 1.2. View of Antwerp from *Inventaris van de oorkonden van Brabant*, 1438. Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief



Figure 1.3. Limbourg Brothers: *Les très riches heures du Duc de Berry*: June, 1412-16; Illuminated Manuscript (Ms. 65), 294 x 210 mm, Musée Condé, Chantilly



Figure 1.4. Ambrosius Holbein, *Utopiae Insulae Tabula*, Woodcut, Thomas More's *Utopia*, 1518 edition

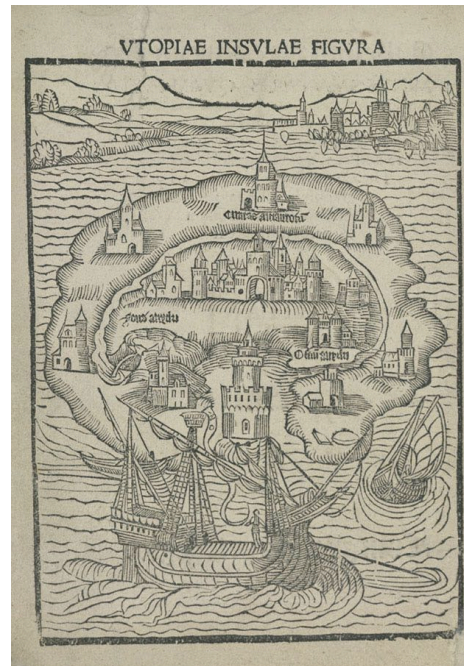


Figure 1.5. Holbein, *Utopiae Insulae Figura*, Woodcut, Thomas More's *Utopia*, 1516



Figure 1.6: Anonymous Artist, *Antverpia Mercatorum Emporium*, woodcuts (12 blocks), Paper on Linen, Antwerp Stedelijk Prentenkabinet (Inv. 20.839), circa 1518.

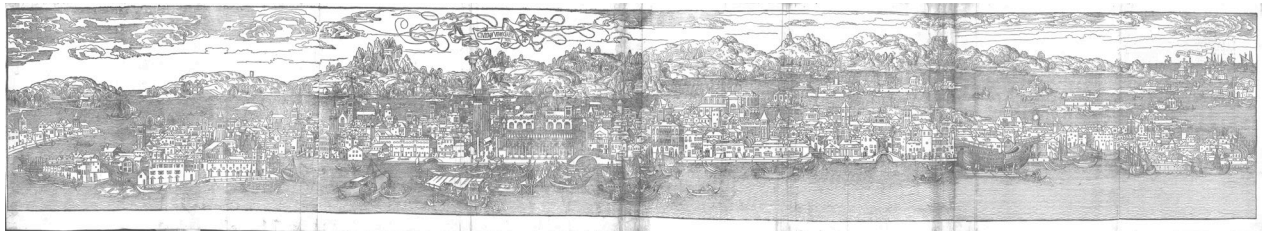


Figure 1.7. Erhard Reuwich, *View of Venice*, woodcuts, from Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, 1486



Figure 1.8 Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*, Woodcut (6 blocks; 6 sheets of paper), 134 cm x 281 cm, circa 1500.



Figure 1.9. “View of Antwerp from the East”, from Lodovico Guicciardini’s *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, 1567



Figure 1.10. Hieronymous Cock, *View of Antwerp from the East*, Woodcut, 1557



Figure 1.11. Virgilius Bononiensis, *Bird-eye view of Antwerp*, 1565, Antwerp Stedelijke Prentekabinet. 47¼" x 104½".



Figure 1.12 View of Antwerp from the West, circa mid 1520s



Figure 1.13. Woodcut illustration from *Die waerachtige Const der Geometrien (The True Art of Geometry)*, 1513

fores sunt suis rebus, idq; rursum eo excessu q est. 12. ad partes notatas p filu. Hic ergo multiplica vmbraꝝ loꝓitud, p partes a filo notatas. Hinc pductū diuide p 12, pdabit altitud, rei metiede. Vt si filū notauerit 7 partes vmbꝝ recte, vmbra aut fuerit 120 pedū. Duc 12 in 210, exiit 2520, q partire p 7, fiit, 360. ea est altitudo rei cuiꝝ vmbra. 210. pedes obrinuit.

De altitudine per solum visum. Caput .XIIII.

Fodem modo quo de vmbra diximꝰ, licet etiā solo visu ꝑcedere. Suspēdo enim annulo per filum in parte duodecima scalę, si eouſq; aut acceſſeris aut recesseris, donec fastigiū rei metiendę ad vtramq; pinnulā appareat. Tum si distantiam tuā dimensus fueris a re metiendā, simul habebis altitudinē ipsius, ab oculo tuo sursum. At si quocūq; loco conſiteris, placeat dimeſſi riri altitudinē rei. Suspenſo annulo, liga filū susq; deq; per partes scalę, donec ad vtramq; pinnulā appareat rei cacumen. Notaq; diligenter in quā partē scalę incidat filū. Quę si fuerit vmbꝝ rectę (vocatꝰ aut vmbꝝ, rectas oēs partes a pinnula vsq; ad 12, reliquas vmbꝝ versam, multiplica tū distantia ꝑ 12, procreatū deinde numerū diuide ꝑ partes a filo notatas, redit rei vera altitudo ab oculo sursum. Si fuerint partes vmbꝝ versę, ecōtra multiplica distantia ꝑ partes notatas a filo, puenient ē hinc diuide per 12. habebis rursus altitud, rei metiede quaesitā. Huic semp ad dēda erit altitudo oculi deorsum. Verbi gratia. Notauerit filū 3 partes vmbꝝ versę, sitq; distācia 60 pedū, eā in 3 ducto, sunt 480, quē si ꝑ 12 partitus fueris, exhibit altitudo rei mensurę supra tuū oculū. 40. pedū.

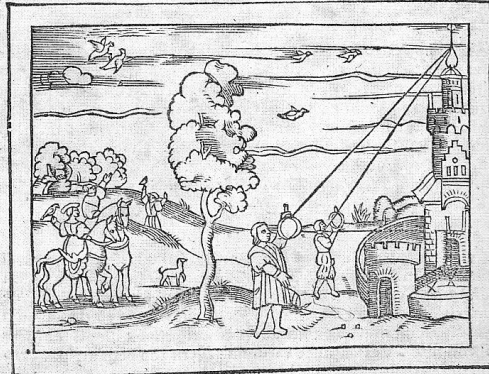


Figure 1.14. Gemma Frisius's *Usus Annuli Astronomici (On the Use of Astronomical Rings)*

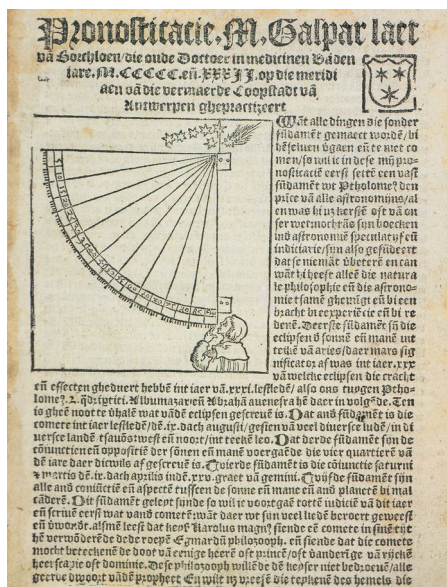


Figure 1.15. Gaspar Laet van Borchloen, *Prognosticacie*, 1531



Figure 1.16. Abraham Ortelius, *World Map*, from the *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, 1570



Figure 1.17. Joris Hoefnagel, *View of Antwerp from the North* in *Civitates orbis terrarum*, 1572



Figure 1.18. Joris Hoefnagel, *View of Antwerp from the East* in *Civitates orbis terrarium*, 1572

Figures—Chapter Two

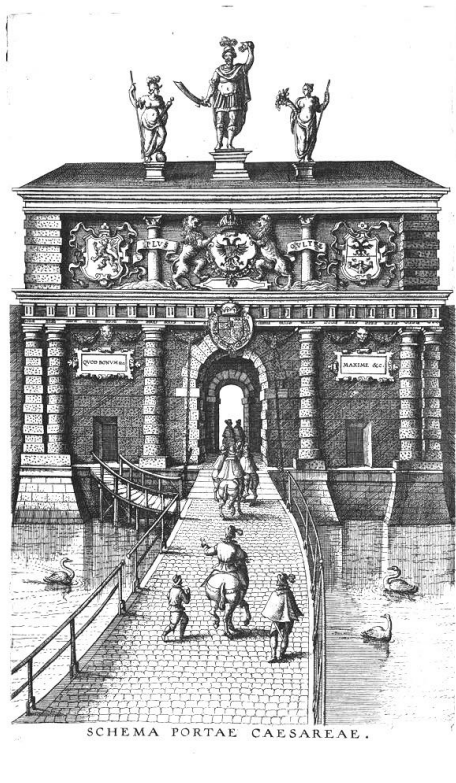


Figure 2.1 Pieter van der Borcht, "Emperor's Gate" Joannes Bochius, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis Spectaculorum... Ernesti archducis Austriae*, engraving, 1594



Figure 2.2 Van der Borcht, "Public Chariot," from Bochius, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis* engraving, 1594



Figure 2.3 Van der Borcht, "Ernst Liberating The Scheldt" from Bochius, *Descriptio* engraving, 1594



Figure 2.4 Van der Borcht, "Freight Galleon" from Bochius, *Descriptio*, engraving, 1594

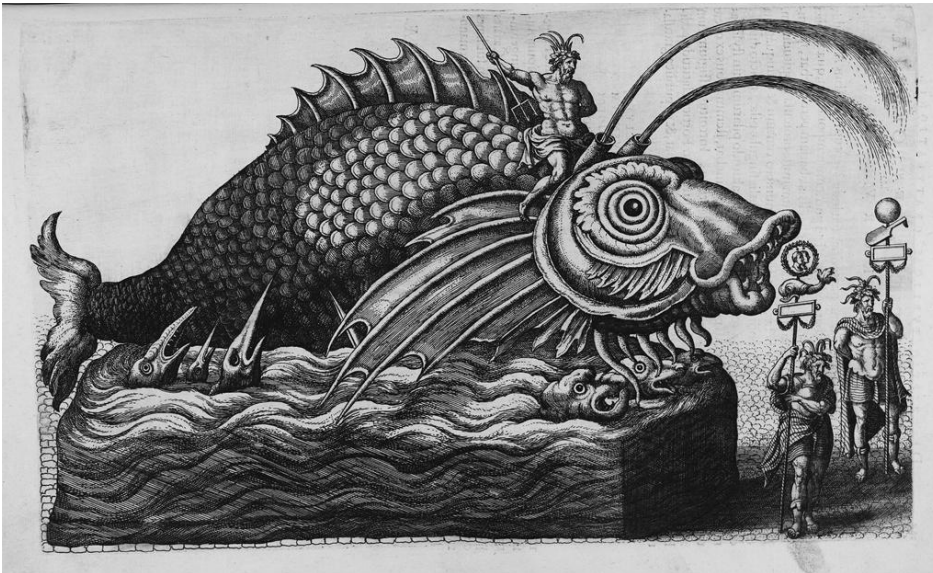


Figure 2.5 Van der Borcht, "Neptune Riding a Sea Monster" from Bochius, *Descriptio*, engraving, 1594



Figure 2.7 Quentin Massys, *The Friendship Diptych*, oil on canvas, 1517



Figure 2.9 Master of the Morisson Triptych
Adoration of the Magi, oil on panel, 1504

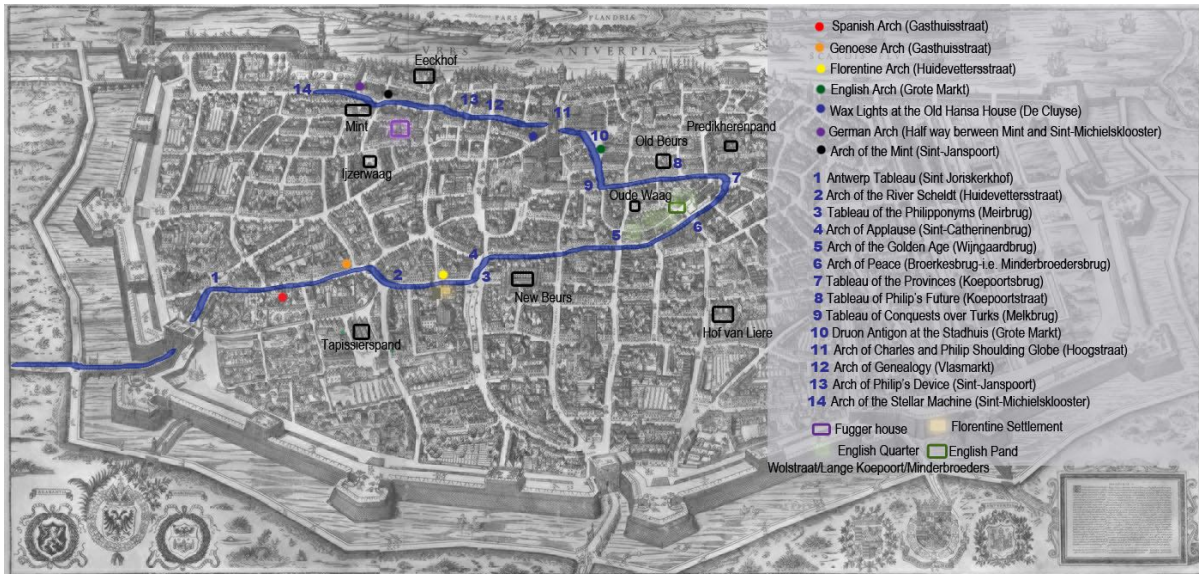


Figure 2.10 Route of the 1549 Entry, with a key to the relative placement of the city and foreign merchant arches



Figure 2.11 Pieter Coecke van Aelst "Antwerp Tableau" from Cornelius Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijcke, schoon, triumphelijcke incompst*, 1550

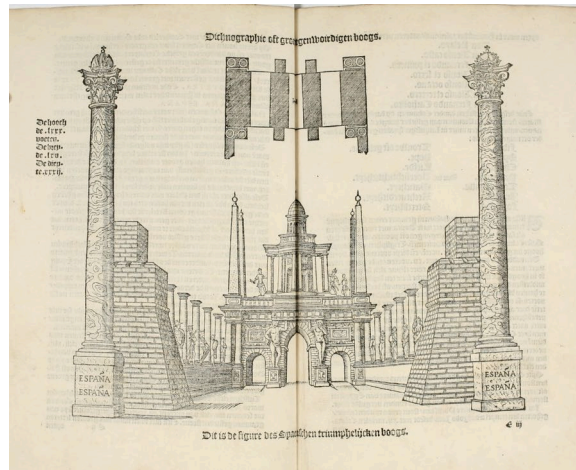


Figure 2.12 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, "Spanish Arch," from Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijcke, schoon, triumphelijcke incompst*, 1550

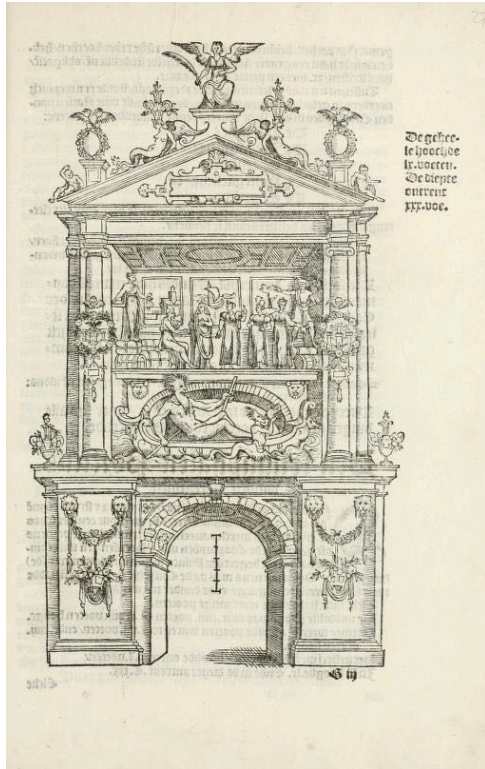


Figure 2.13 Coecke van Aelst, “Arch of the Scheldt” from Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijcke, schoon triumphelijcke incompst*, 1550

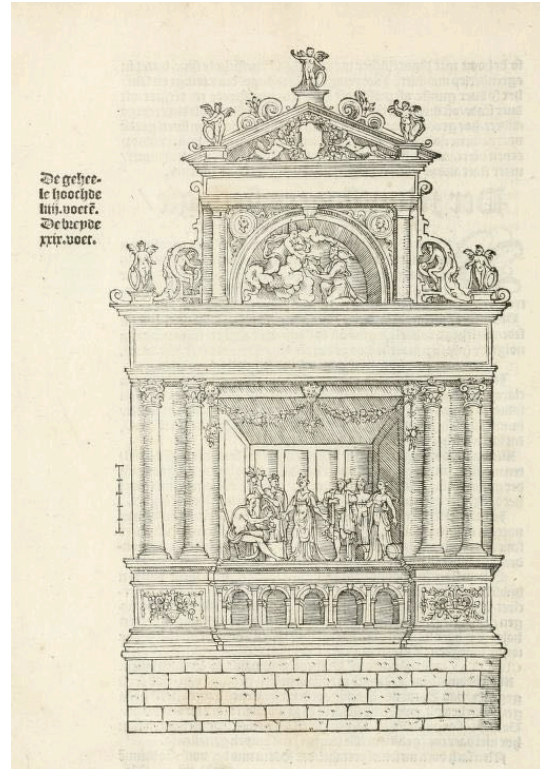


Figure 2.14 Coecke van Aelst, “Arch of the Mint,” from Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijcke, schoon triumphelijcke incompst*, 1550



Figure 2.15 Roman Denarius showing Liberty circa 153 CE

Figures—Chapter Three—Interlude



Figure 3.1 Detail of Cornelis de Vos, *Portrait of Abraham Grapheus the Elder*, 1620. The detail showing the ceremonial chalice of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke with portraits of Dürer and Raphael, silver gilt, 1549.

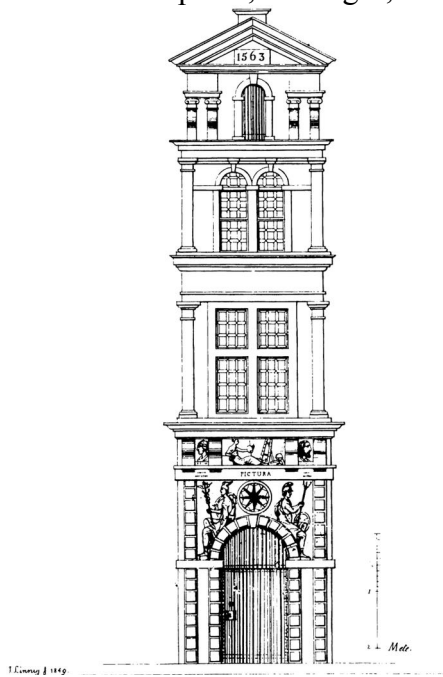


Figure 3.2 J. Linnig, *Façade of the House of Cornelis van Dalem*, etching 1849



Figure 3.3 Willem Paludanus, *Portrait Busts of Albrecht Dürer and Jan van Eyck*, from the house of Cornelis van Dalem, sandstone, Antwerp, Vleeshuis, 1563.



Figure 3.4 Henri Leys, *Albrecht Dürer viewing the Antwerp Ommegang of 1520*, Oil on panel, KMSK, Antwerp, 1829



Figure 3.5 Plaque on Wolstraat, commemorating Dürer's stay in Antwerp, 1971.



Figure 3.6 Dürer, Portrait of Bernhard von Reesen (aka Bernhard von Castell/Breslau), Oil, 1521



Figure 3.7 Jehan Henault, court cards, early 16th century, Cincinnati Art Museum

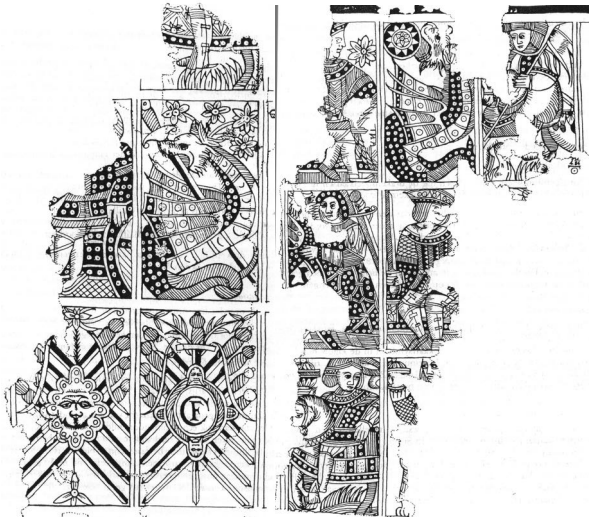


Figure 3.8 Anonymous Antwerp printer, playing cards with Portuguese 'dragon' aces, mid 16th c.

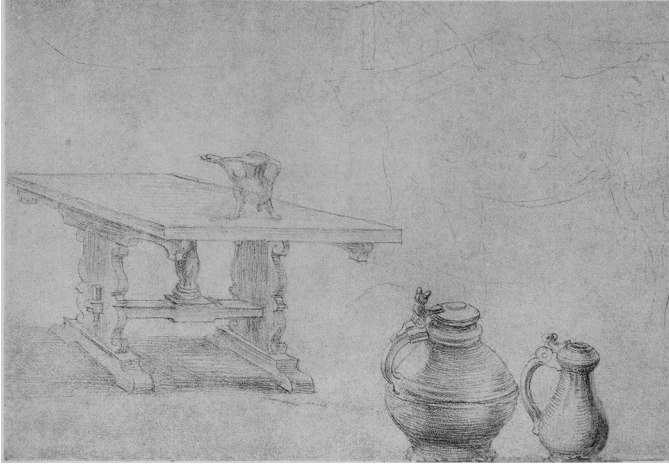


Figure 3.9 Dürer, Studies of Tables and Lidded Vessels, Büchlein, 1520-21



Figure 3.10 Dürer, Studies of a Dog, Büchlein, 1520-21



Figure 3.11 Dürer, Studies of Aachen Town Hall, Büchlein, 1520-21



Figure 3.12 Casper Sturm, Imperial Herald before River Landscape, silverpoint



Figure 3.13 Portrait of a Man, possibly Aert Braun, and View of Anderdach on the Rhine



Figure 3.14 Portrait of Jobst Planckfelt, Pen & Paper, 1520



Figure 3.15 Albrecht Dürer, View of the Antwerp Harbor, pen & Ink, 1520



Figure 3.16 Lazarus Ravensburger & Tower of Arnold van Liere's House.

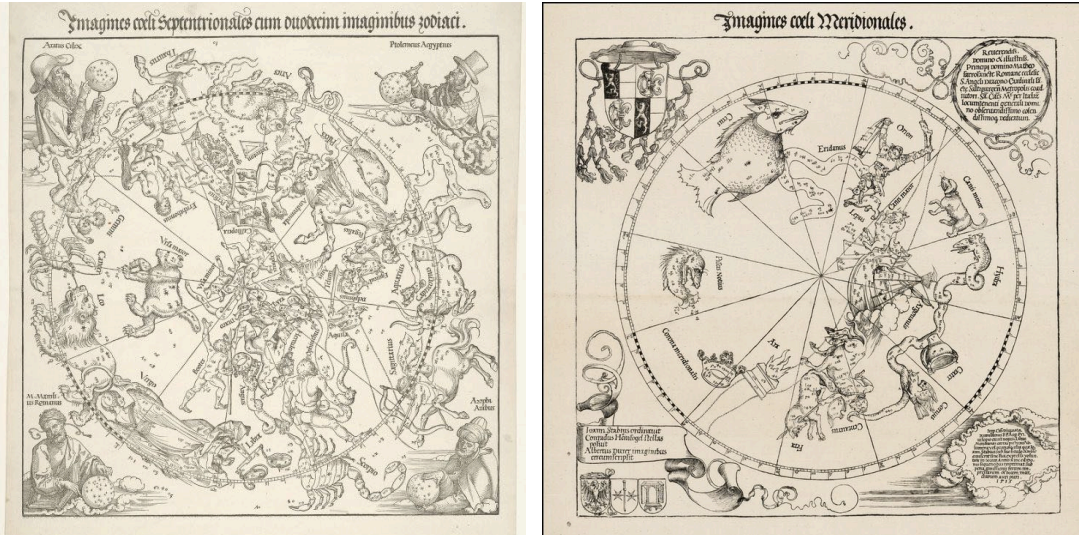


Figure 3.17 Albrecht Dürer, *Imagines*



Figure 3.18 Albrecht Dürer, Portrait of Rodrigo Fernandez D'Almada



Figure 3.19 Albrecht Dürer, Portrait of Katharina



Figure 3.20 Albrecht Dürer, Portrait of Hans Pfaffroth



Figure 3.21 Portrait of Nicholas Kratzer, Astrologer to Henry VIII, 1521

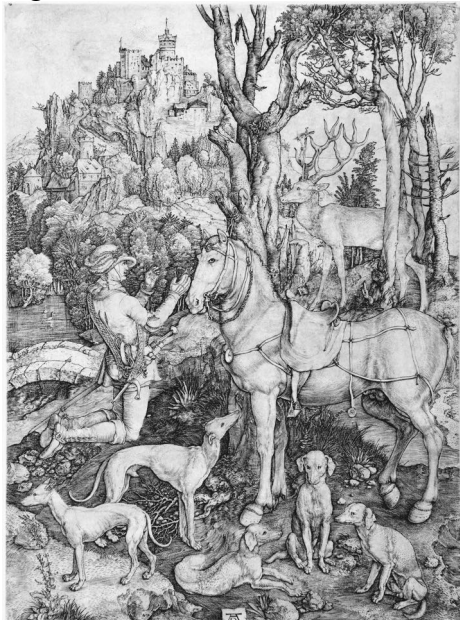


Figure 3.22 Dürer, St. Eustace, engraving, 355 x 259 mm, 1501



Figure 3.23 Dürer, Nemesis, engraving, 332 x 232 mm, 1502

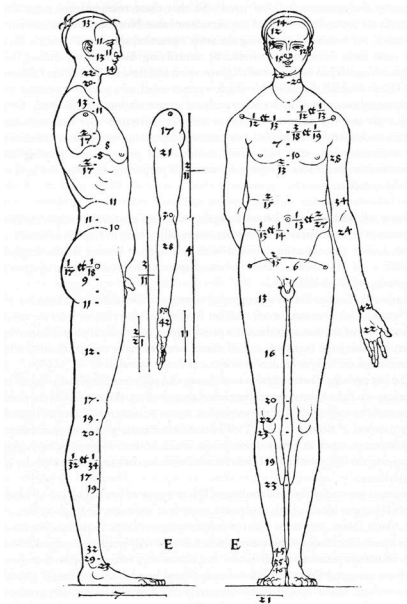


Figure 3.24, Albrecht Dürer, Study of a Tall Man from the Four Books of Human Proportion

Figures—Chapter Four



Figure 4.1a–b Joachim Patinir, *Landscape with Preaching of Saint John the Baptist*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, oil on panel, 37.5 x 50.8 cm, 1515–1518



Figure 4.2 Joachim Patinir, *Landscape with Preaching of Saint John the Baptist*, oil on panel, 36.3 x 45 cm, 1515–19.



Figure 4.3 Joachim Patinir, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, oil on panel, 1515–19.



Figure 4.4a-c Joachim Patinir, Assumption of the Virgin, Philadelphia, 1515–19.



Figure 4.4d-e Joachim Patinir, Assumption of the Virgin, 1515–19.



Figure 4.5a-b Joachim Patinir, Rest on the Flight to Egypt, oil on panel, 1515–19.



Figure 4.6a–c Quentin Massys, Rem Altarpiece Interior, Munich, 1518–20



Figure 4.6d–e Quentin Massys, Rem Altarpiece (Exterior Wings), 1518–20



Figure 4.7. Friedrich Hagenauer, Rem Medallion, 1530s

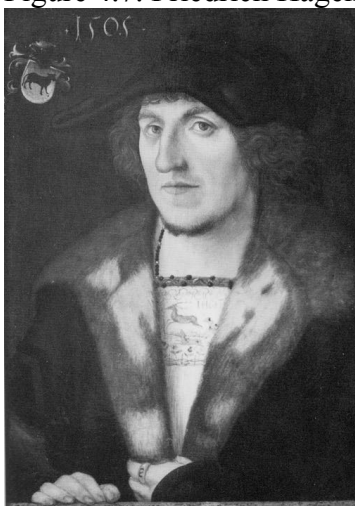
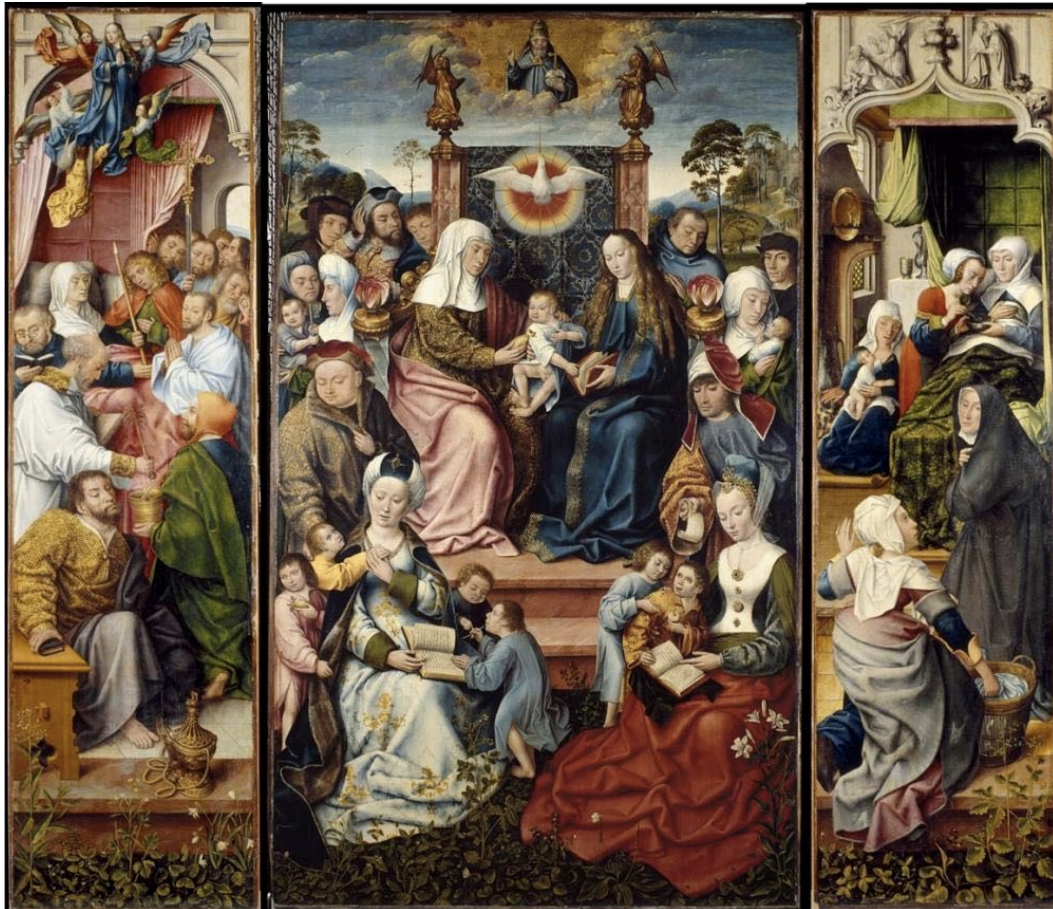


Figure 4.8 Leonard Beck (attributed), Portrait of a member of the Rem family, 1505



4.9 Master of Frankfurt, Exterior Wings of *The Altarpiece of St. Anne*, tempera on oak, Frankfurt, 1505



4.9 Master of Frankfurt, *The Altarpiece of St. Anne*, Interior View, tempera on oak, Historisches Museum Frankfurt, 1505

Ein nutzlich bergbüchlein



4.10 Woodcut frontispiece of Ulrich Rülein von Calw, *Ein Nutzlich Bergbüchlein*, published perhaps in Leipzig shortly before 1500.



4.11 Herri met de Bles, *Landscape with Mine and Forge*, oil on panel, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, circa 1540.



4.12 Herri met de Bles, Landscape with Mine and Forge, oil on panel, Museum of Fine Art, Budapest, Hungary, circa 1540.



4.13 Lucas van Valckenborch, Landscape with Mine and Forge, oil on panel, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1580



4.14 Lucas van Valckenborch, Landscape with Iron Mine, oil on panel, Museo del Prado, Madrid, 1580



4.15 Rogier van der Weyden, Diptych of Jeanne de France, oil on panel, Musée Conde, Chantilly, 1460s



4.16 Robert Campin, Throne of Mercy, oil on panel, Herimtage, 1430.



4.17 Albrecht Dürer, Adoration of the Trinity Altarpiece (Landauer Altarpiece), 1511



4.18 Limbourg Brothers, *View of Rome from the North, showing the Stations of Rome Pilgrimage*, from the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, illuminated manuscript, 1412 and 1416.



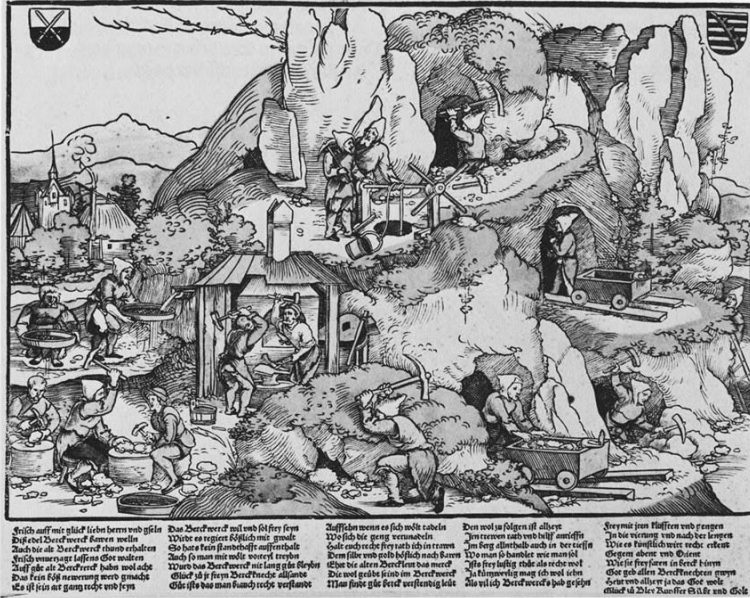
4.19 Albrecht Dürer, *The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin*, From the *Life of the Virgin*, woodcut, 1510



4.20 Aelbrecht Bouts, Assumption, oil on panel, circa 1500, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brussels



4.21 Master of St. Lucy Legend, Mary, Queen of Heaven, c. 1485/1500
oil on panel, National Gallery, Washington D.C.



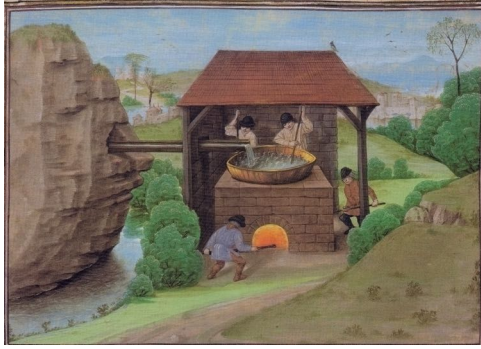
4.22 Hans Sebald Behaim (attributed), The Saxon Silver Mine, Single-leaf Woodcut, Herzogliches Museum, Gotha, 1528



4.24 Albrecht Altdörfer, Danubian Landscape, Parchment on wood, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 1520-25



4.25a–b Joachim Patinir, *The Penitence of Saint Jerome*, triptych, oil on wood, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1518



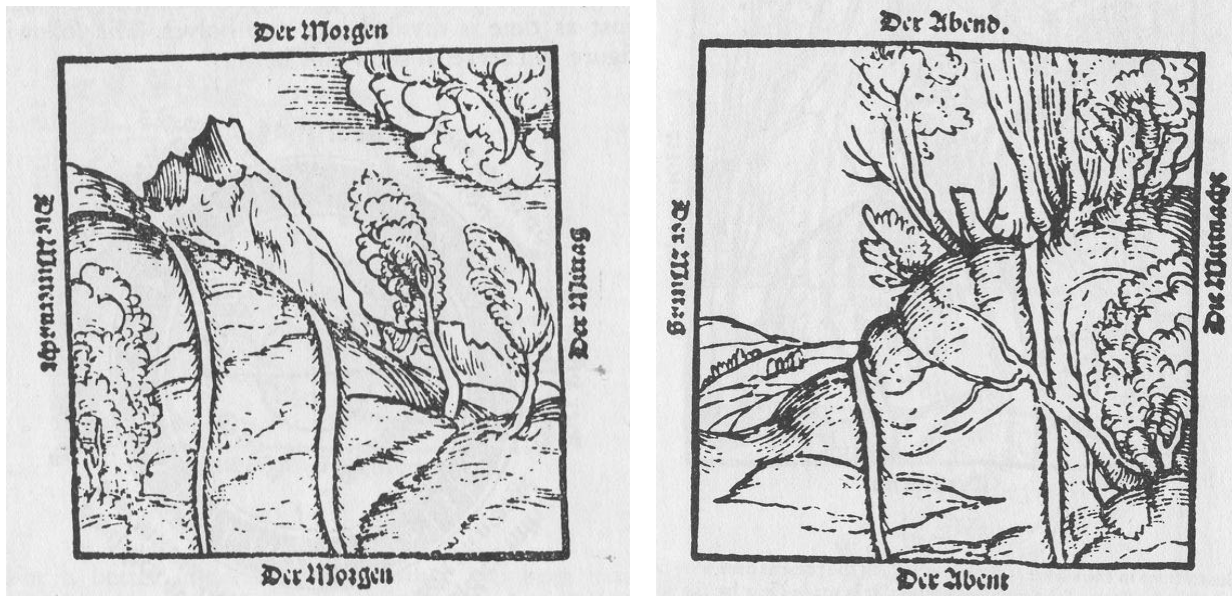
4.26 Master of the Getty Froissart, “The Saxon Forge” illuminated manuscript, Getty Museum, Los Angeles, circa 1475–85.



4.27 Housebook Master, Mining and Smelting Panorama, illumination on parchment, fol. 35r, circa 1475.



4.28a–b Ulrich Rülein von Calw, *Ein nützlich Bergbüchlein & Probierebüchlein*



4.29 a-b Two illustrations of the outcropping of veins, showing a.) South Slope; b.) North Slope, Ulrich Rülein von Calw, *Ein nützlich Bergbüchlein*, 1505.



4.30 Hans Hesse, *Annaberger Bergaltar*, oil on panel, 1522



4.31 Anonymous, *Bergmannsaltar*, Flitschl (Tyrolean Alps), 1515



4.32 Illustration from the *Schwazer Bergbuch*, Tyrol, 1556



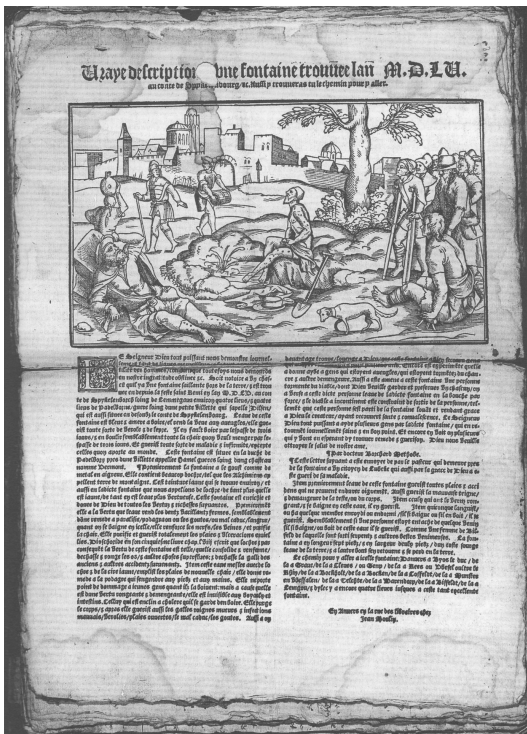
4.33a–b Jörg Breu (attributed), *Splendor Solis*, 1532.



4.34a–b Handstein from Halle, *Hallesches Heiltumsbuch*, woodcut, 1520



4.34 Jan van Vlierden, Silver Gilt Chalice, Antwerp, 1523-24



4.35 Jan Mollyns, “True description of a healing spring discovered at Spykenbourg,” Antwerp, 1555, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels, Manuscripts Divers, no. 1278, fol. 1087v-88r.

Figures—Chapter Five

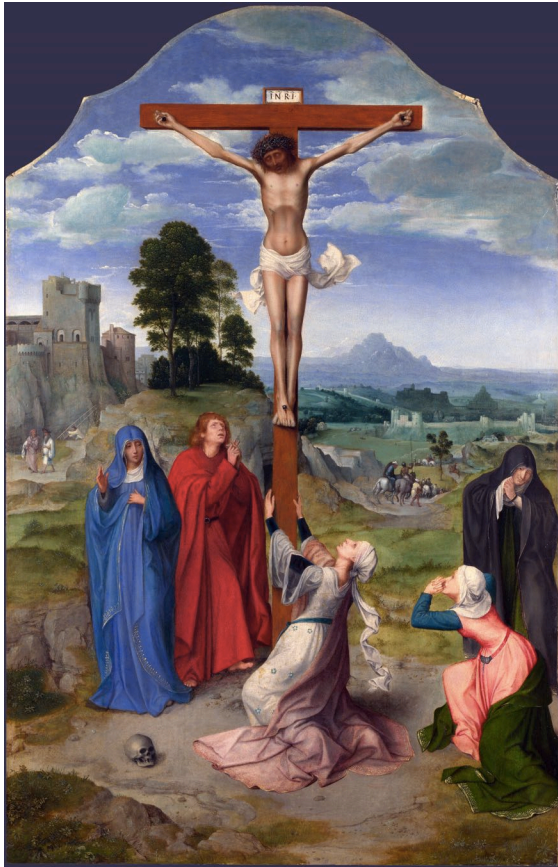


Figure 5.1 Quentin Massys, Crucifixion Scene, National Gallery, London, circa 1515

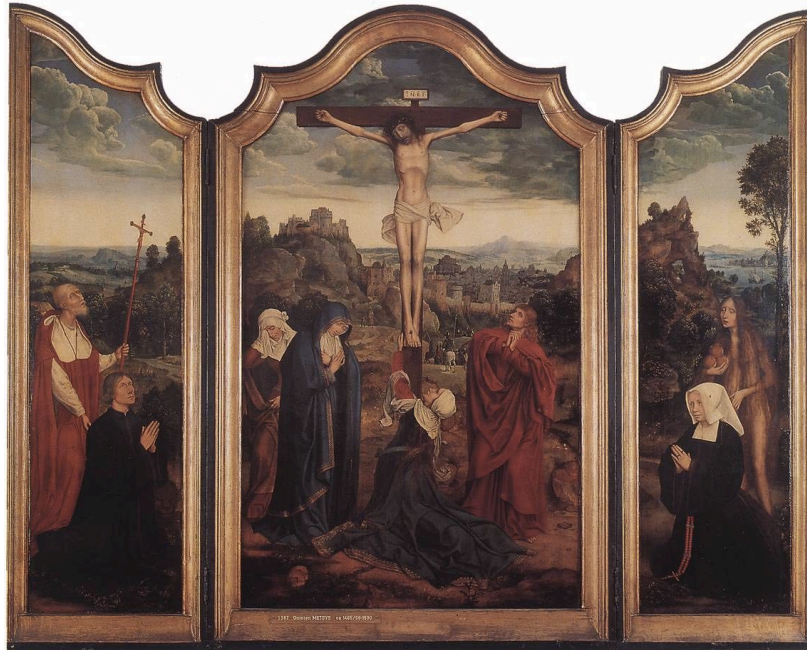


Figure 5.2 Quentin Massys, Crucifixion, circa 1520, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp



Figure 5.3 Quentin Massys, Crucifixion, circa 1520, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

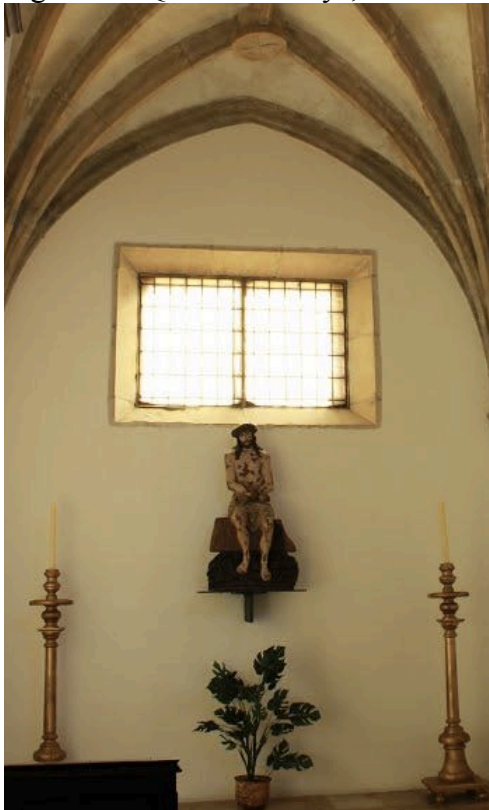


Figure 5.4 Anonymous Flemish Sculpture, Ecce Homo, Igreja de São Pedro, Alenquer, Portugal



Figure 5.5 Bosch, *Mocking of Christ*, oil on panel, 1510



Figure 5.6 Albrecht Dürer, *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, 1526, Engraving, National Gallery of Art, Washington



Figure 5.7 Copy of a charcoal sketch, perhaps originally by Dürer, perhaps representing *Damião de Góis*



Figure 5.8 a-I Simon Bening and António de Holanda, *Genealogy of the Portuguese Kings*, 1530–36, British Library, MS 12531



Figure 5.8 a



5.8 i



5.9 a-d Simon Bening, four Calendar pages from the Hennessy Hours, 1530, Royal Library of Belgium



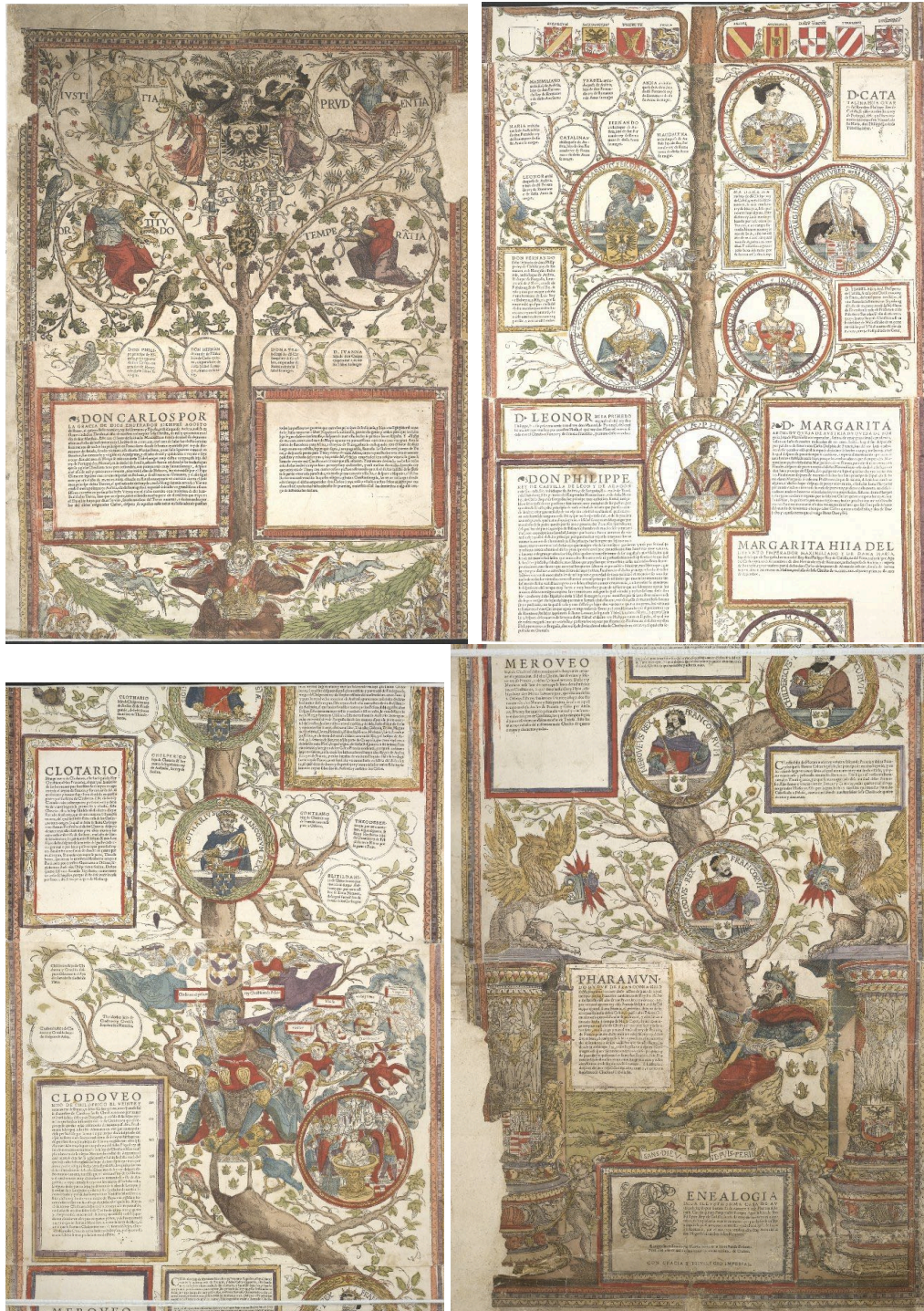
5.10 Northern Netherlandish Painter, *Tree of Jesse*
Oil on panel, Rijksmuseum



5.11 Pseudo Bles, *Tree of Jesse*,
grisaille drawing, 1510-20.



5.12 Heinrich Douverman, *Tree of Jesse*, St. Nicolai Kalkar



5.14 Robert Peril, Genealogical tree of the House of Habsburg, hand-colored woodcut, 1540



5.15 a Bernard van Orley, Hercules holding a celestial globe, Spheres Tapestries



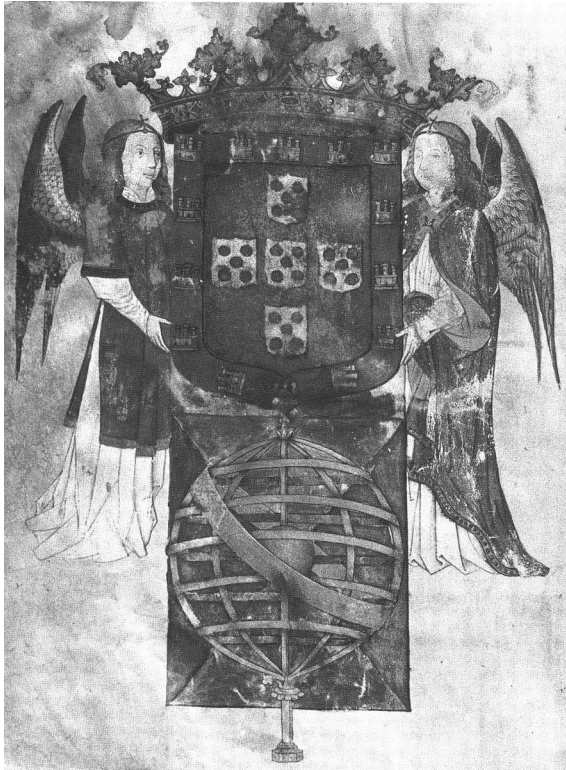
5.15 b Bernard van Orley, Atlas and the Armillary Sphere, Spheres Tapestries



5.15 c Bernard van Orley, João III and Catherine appearing alongside a terrestrial globe, Spheres Tapestries



Details of 5.15c & Behaim's Globe



5.16 Manueline Miniature from the *Livro Carmesin*, Portuguese 16th century, Arms of House of Aviz,



5.17 Sapi Portuguese Salt Cellar, 1520, lions hold Coat of Arms of Aviz



5.18 Antwerp Christ Child as Savior



5.19 Goanese ivory, Young Christ as the Mariner on the Ship of Salvation, British Museum



5.20 Kongolese Bronze
Saint Anthony



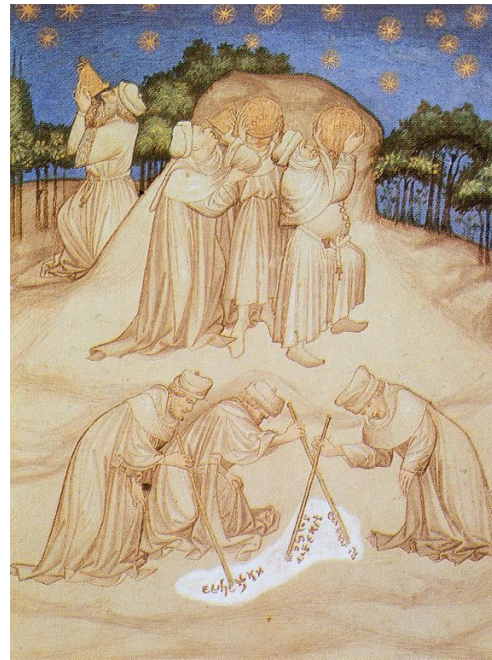
5.21 Antwerp Jezusbeeldje



5.22 Goa, Jesus as Good Shepherd



5.23 Antwerp Mannerist, possibly the Master of 1518, Adoration of the Magi, oil/wood, circa 1520.



5.24 Anonymous, "The Magi on Mount Athos," from the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, late 15th-century



5.25 Abraham Cresques, Catalan Atlas, Detail of the Magi as exemplary travelers, 1375

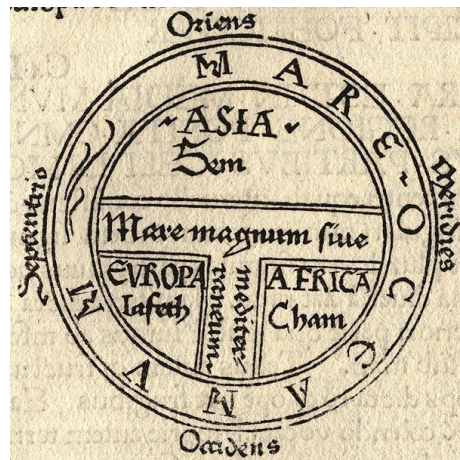


Figure 5.26 T-O Mappae-Mundi, 15th century woodcut, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*

Figures—Coda



Figure 6.1 Franz Hogenberg, *Beeldenstorm at Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Kerk*, Serie 5: *Nederlandse Gebeurtenissen*, 1566-1570, engraving, 1606–1608.

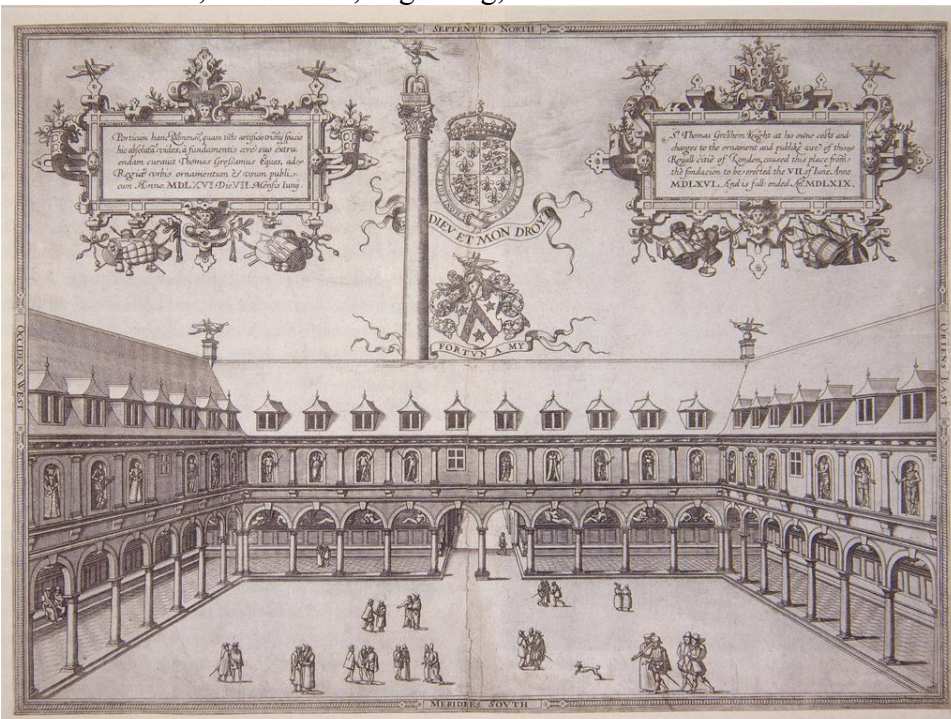


Figure 6.2 Frans Hogenberg, *Interior View of the Royal Exchange*, engraving, 1574

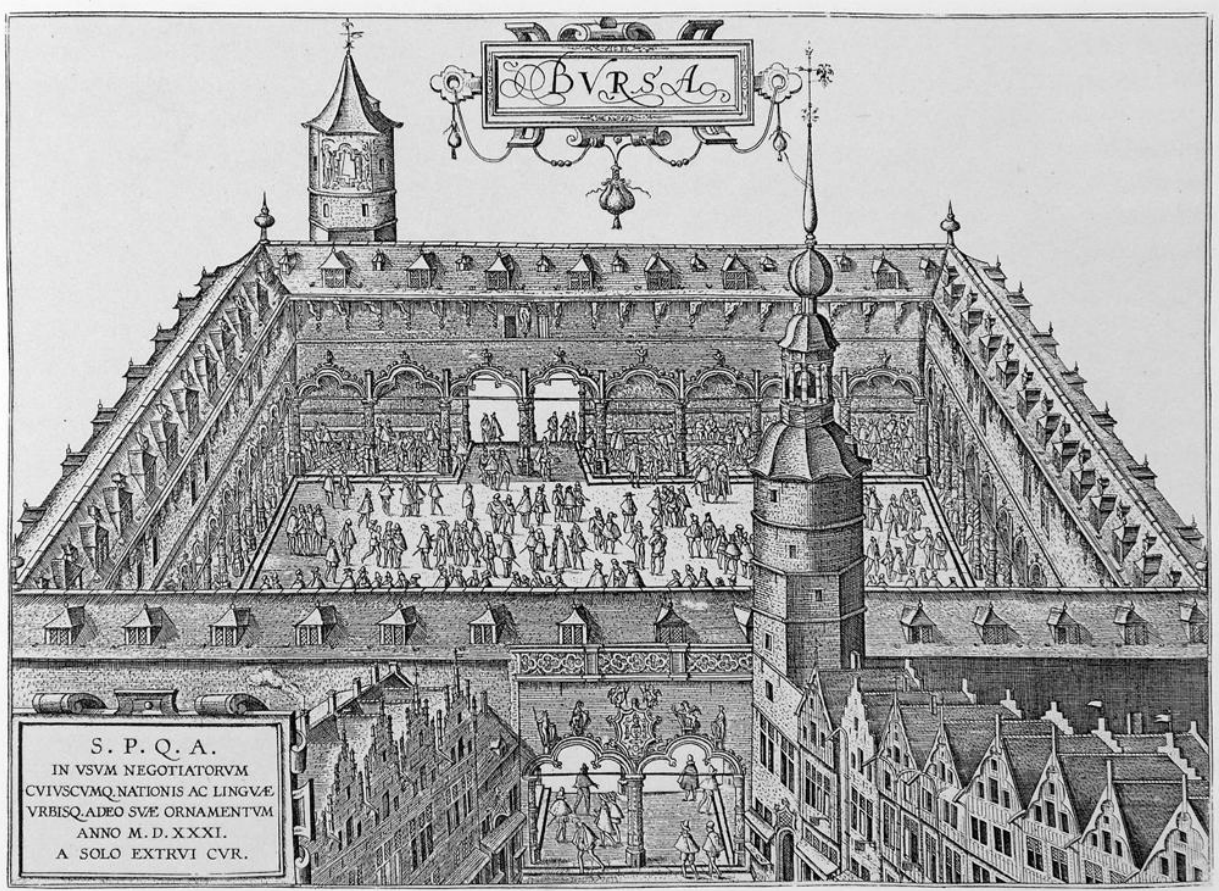


Figure 6.3 Pieter van der Borcht, Antwerp Exchange, engraving 1581.

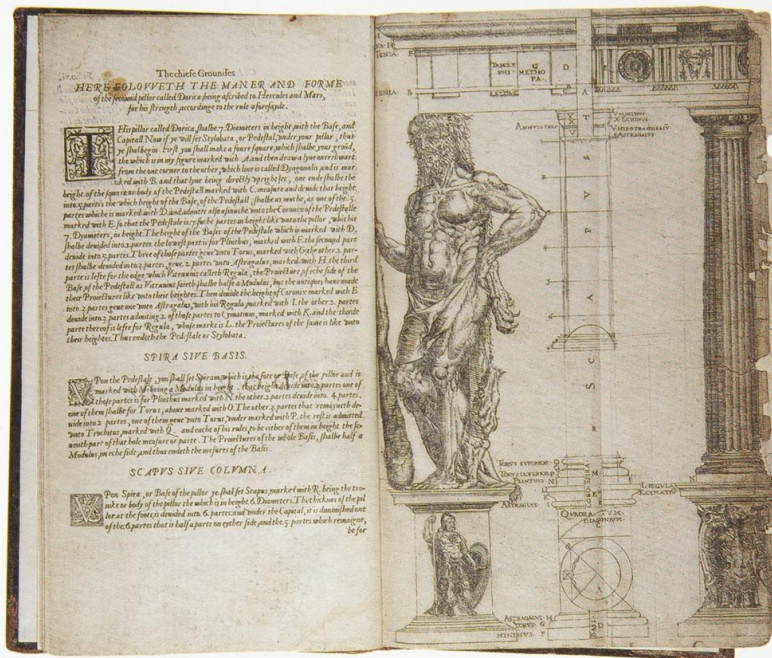


Figure 6.4 John Shute, The First and Chief Grounde of Architecture, London, 1563

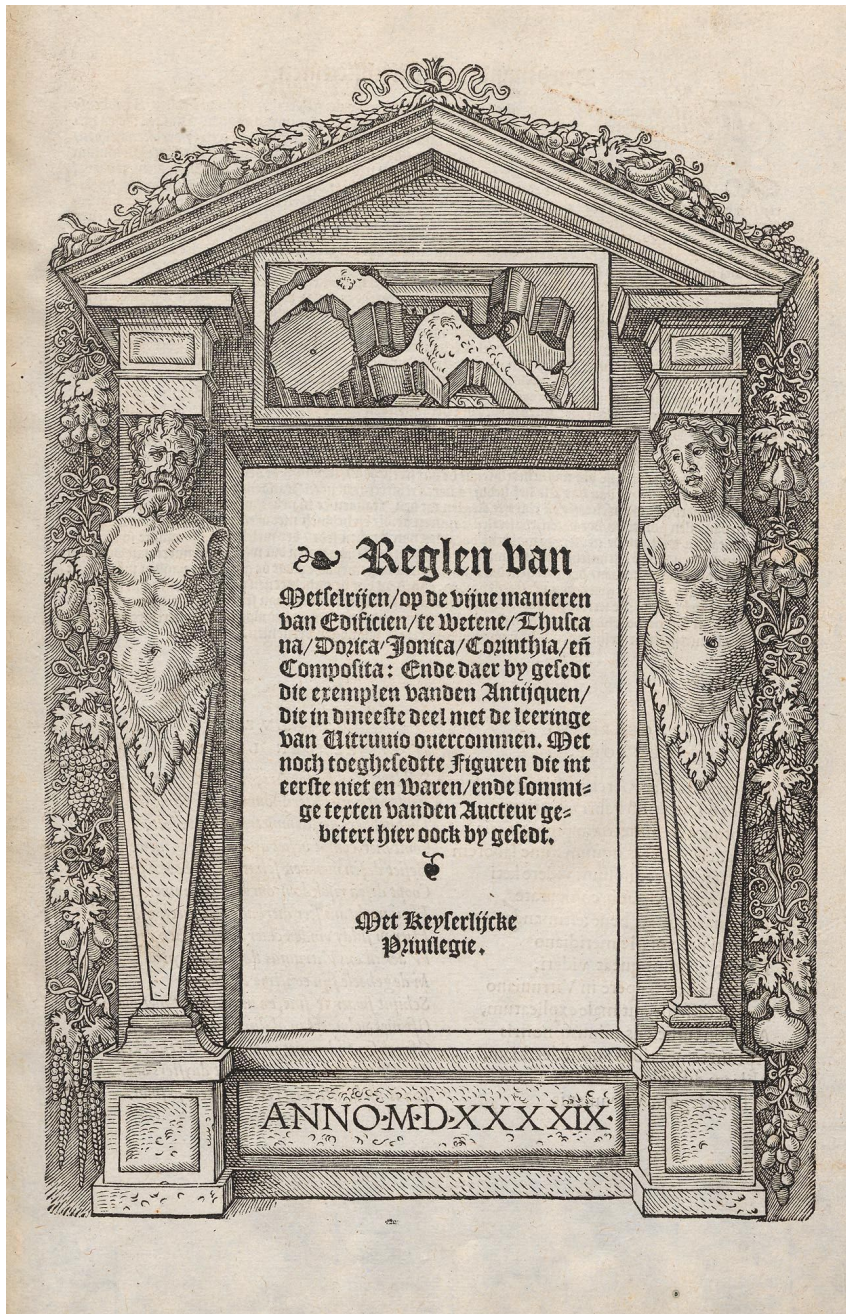


Figure 6.5 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Generale reglen der architectvren*, Antwerp, 1539



Figure 6.8 Cesare Ripa, Liberalitas, woodcut from the *Iconologia*



Figure 6.9 Cesare Ripa, Felicitas Publica, woodcut from the *Iconologia*