

Jan Brueghel

a magnificent draughtsman

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Foreword

Thomas Leysen, *Chairman of the Board of Directors*, KBC Group
and Hildegard Van de Velde, *Curator of the Snijders&Rockox House*

We are exceptionally pleased to be able to present at the Snijders&Rockox House in Antwerp the first ever survey of Jan Brueghel's drawings. Those of his father, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, are well known, but it has taken until now for the first in-depth exhibition to be devoted to the drawings of the most talented scion of this illustrious dynasty.

Jan Brueghel barely knew his famous father: it was his grandmother, the watercolourist and miniaturist Mayken Verhulst, who nurtured his talent, convinced him of Pieter's originality, and steered him towards Antwerp. He developed there into one of the most important artists alongside Rubens.

Jan did not only paint, he drew too: and what a draughtsman he was! With his keen sense of observation and steady hand, he created a series of deftly executed gems. These are not preliminary studies, but stand-alone testimony to Jan's surroundings. His earliest drawings date from the time he spent in Italy between around 1588 and 1596. The city views he drew en route and in Rome are brilliant pieces of marketing – postcards avant la lettre. Getting to know Paul Bril and the work of his late brother, Matthijs, also made an indelible impression on him. Having returned to

Antwerp, Jan focused on river and village scenes. He excelled in deep panoramas, in which he referred to the landscapes of his father, Pieter. His work also offers a glimpse into the everyday life of rural people at the time.

An exhibition like this is the culmination of many people's work. We are grateful in the first place to the curators Dr Terez Gerszi and Dr Louisa Wood Ruby, for their scholarly insight into the work of Jan Brueghel, his precursors and his contemporaries. They have been assisted in this by Dr Andrea Cere and Bernadett Toth. We are also indebted to all the lenders, without whose confidence in our project no exhibition would have been possible. Our thanks are likewise due to the KBC teams at Communications and Facilities. BAI publishers in Kontich deserves special mention for publishing the book accompanying the exhibition in collaboration with the Snijders&Rockox House. And we would also like to express our appreciation, lastly, to Peter de Wilde, CEO of VisitFlanders, for integrating this exhibition with Bruegel Year 2019.

We wish all our visitors a real voyage of discovery.

Jan Brueghel in His Age, a Chronology

1568

On 20 August, Jan Brueghel, second-born son of Pieter Bruegel the Elder and grandson of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, is christened in the Kapellekerk in Brussels. A few weeks earlier, on 5 July, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba, governor of the Netherlands on behalf of King Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598) had two Netherlandish noblemen executed in the Grand Square in Brussels. Lamoral, Count of Egmont and Philip de Montmorency, Count of Horn, had been found guilty of treason for their part in the uprising against Spanish rule, led by William of Orange. This marked the start of the Dutch War of Independence, also known as the Eighty Years' War.

1569

Pieter Bruegel the Elder dies.
Together with his siblings, Jan, who is barely a year old at the time, is brought up by his mother, presumably aided by his grandmother, Mayken Verhulst.

1571

The united fleet of the Holy League defeats the fleet of the Ottoman Empire at the Battle of Lepanto.
Abraham Ortelius, a friend of Pieter Bruegel the Elder in Antwerp, publishes his cosmographic work *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, the first modern world atlas.

1572

On the night of 23–24 August, on the eve of Saint Bartholomew's Day, more than 2000 Huguenots are massacred in Paris.

1573

The Dutch rebels persuade Philip II to recall the Duke of Alba from the Netherlands.

1575

Rudolf II (1552–1612), a great admirer of Pieter Bruegel and a collector of his works, is crowned King of Bohemia and later Holy Roman Emperor. Rudolf relocates the centre of his empire to Prague in 1583.

1576

Unpaid Spanish soldiers sack Antwerp. Encouraged by William of Orange, the Protestant provinces of the Northern Netherlands and the Catholic provinces of the Southern Netherlands sign the Pacification of Ghent, aimed at driving all Spanish forces from the land.

1578

Jan Brueghel's mother dies when he is ten years old.
The Dutch War of Independence intensifies. The Calvinists occupy an increasing number of towns and seize Catholic churches and monasteries. William of Orange proposes freedom of religion in the Netherlands.

1579

Mayken Verhulst moves with Pieter, Jan and their sister, Maria to Antwerp, where they live on Hoogstraat. She most probably takes care of the artistic training of the boys, but the exact circumstances are unknown.
Led by the royalist Catholic nobility, the Southern Provinces form the Union of Arras. The Calvinist provinces in the North subsequently form the Union of Utrecht, led by William of Orange.

1580

Philip II appoints Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, to be governor of the Netherlands, charged with the mission of recapturing the cities occupied by the Calvinists and restoring Spanish authority.

1581

On 26 July, the seven provinces in the Union of Utrecht sign the Act of Abjuration, effectively declaring independence from Spain and from King Philip II.

1582

Mayken Verhulst moves with the children away from Antwerp

1584

William of Orange is murdered by a fanatical Catholic.

1585

Armed forces led by Alessandro Farnese enter Antwerp. The city subsequently loses roughly half its population due to emigration by Protestants.

1588

The Spanish Armada is defeated by the English fleet. Jan Brueghel, now aged twenty, sets off for Italy (cat. 2). The path he took there is uncertain, but his first destination, presumably following his father's example, was Naples.

1590

On 23 June, in Naples, Jan Brueghel receives a sum of money from abbot Don Francesco Caracciolo, for decorating the case of a clock.

1592

According to an inscription, "*Hans Brueghel in Roma 1592*, on the verso of a drawing by Lodovico Pozzoserrato (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. 1347–1868), Jan was already in Rome in this year.

1593

On the wall of the Catacombs of Domitilla, Jan Brueghel's signature can be read next to the year 1593.

Cardinal Federico Borromeo is chief patron of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. One of the professors at the academy is Paul Bril, a most eminent Flemish artist active in Rome at the time.

Borromeo, Bril and Brueghel form a lifelong friendship. Jan resides at Cardinal Borromeo's home, the Palazzo VerCELLI. In this year, he takes a number of trips to the environs of Rome: on 6 July he draws the Temple of Vesta in Tivoli, and on 12 December he records the landscape near the Appian Way, with an ancient ruin in the background (cats 6, 7)

1594

On 24 October, Jan copies the drawing by Matthijs Bril, Paul Bril's brother, of the churches Santa Maria in Cosmedin and Fortuna Virilis (Hind 1923, no. 12), and in the same year he also draws the triumphal

arch of Septimius Severus, also after Matthijs (cats. 4 a, 4 b). On 13 November he produces his vista of Rome with the Castel Sant'Angelo. (cat. 3).

1595

In Rome, Jan concentrates intensively on the theme of the wooded landscape (cat. 13) He begins collaborations with Hans Rottenhammer and Pieter de Jode, who are also both living in Rome at the time. (cat. 10 a; fig. 7/3.)

On 11 June, Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605) appoints Cardinal Borromeo Archbishop of Milan. Borromeo enters the city ceremonially on 27 August. Jan Brueghel accompanies the cardinal's entourage to Milan.

1596

Jan works in Milan until 29 May, when he sets off home to Antwerp, in possession of a letter of recommendation from Cardinal Borromeo to the Bishop of Antwerp.

1597

Jan is accepted into the Guild of Saint Luke in Antwerp.

1599

Jan is a member of the "Romanists", painters from Antwerp who had travelled in Italy, and the "De Violieren", a Catholic rhetorical society. On 23 January he marries Isabella de Jode in the Hoofdkerk in Antwerp.

The new governors of the Netherlands, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566–1633), daughter of King Philip II of Spain, and her husband, Albert VII, Archduke of Austria (1559–1621) make their ceremonial entry into Brussels.

1601

Jan Brueghel's first child, Jan the Younger, who will also grow up to be a painter, is born on 13 September. On 4 October Jan is granted citizenship, and also this year he is appointed deputy dean of the Guild of Saint Luke, beside the dean, David Remens.

1602

Jan is made dean of the Guild of Saint Luke in Antwerp. The Dutch East India Company is established.

1603

Jan's wife Isabella de Jode dies.

1604

Archduke Albert heads the Spanish forces in recapturing the port of Ostend from the Dutch.

Jan makes a drawing of the port and its lighthouse (Dresden 2011–12, pl. 32), but his original composition is lost.¹ In summer he travels to Prague, where he meets Aegidius II Sadeler. Jan produces compositions of ancient ruins in Southern Italy for Sadeler's series of engravings entitled *Vestigi* (cats 55 a, 55 b). Jan's sojourn in Prague is documented by autograph sheets of his drawings of a forest road near the city and of houses in Prague (cats 53, 54).

On 20 December, Jan purchases "de Meerminne" (Mermaid), a house on Lange Nieuwstraat, one of the more elegant streets in Antwerp.

1605

Jan marries Catharina van Marienberghe. They later have eight children together.

In Amsterdam, Jodocus Hondius publishes Gerardus Mercator's Ptolemaic atlas of the world. Jan takes an interest in cosmological issues, and in a letter of 8 July to Cardinal Borromeo, he makes his first mention of his series of paintings entitled the *Four Elements*, which the two friends would later discuss in vibrant correspondence (cats 33, 48).

1606

Jan experiments with a new subject, the floral still life. In spring he travels to Brussels, and in the court of the governors, he makes life drawings of a few rare species of flowers to include in his paintings. He receives increasing numbers of court commissions: in a document dated 18 March, a request is submitted to the governor for Jan to transport ten of his paintings unhindered to Holland.

c. 1607

Caravaggio in Rome completes his altarpiece, the *Madonna of the Rosary*, which is later acquired by the Antwerp Dominicans.

1608

In a letter of 26 September, Jan asks Ercole Bianchi, Cardinal Borromeo's secretary, to host his good friend, Frans Snyder, who is soon arriving in Milan on his way home from Rome. In Borromeo's collection, Snyder sees Caravaggio's famous *Basket of Fruit*, which has a lasting and fundamental effect on his own still lifes.

1609

On 9 April, the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1612) is signed in The Hague. Under the terms of the ceasefire, the Spanish crown recognises the independence of Holland. Trade is revived and Antwerp reoccupies its position as an important centre of the international financial market. The production of grain resumes and the population of the city is soon back to the level it was in 1585. In a letter of 4 July, Jan mentions the ceasefire, and many of his compositions from this period feature the motif of the windmill and the milling of grain (cats. 22, 42 a, 42 b). In this year Jan is appointed dean of the Guild of Romanists, and

in this position he accepts Peter Paul Rubens as a new member, who has just returned from Italy. Jan's second-born daughter, Anna, dies.

1610

On 10 March, Jan petitions the ruling couple to become their court painter. In a letter of 12 March, he states that he spends very much of his time in Brussels: he is making eleven paintings for the archduke and archduchess, mostly multi-figural compositions and landscapes. On 13 March, the court verifies to the Magistrate of Antwerp that Jan is in the service of the court, and asks the committee to provide the painter with the requested benefits. On 17 April, the Magistrate replies that he is not in a position to fulfil the request. On 28 August, Jan is paid 3625 guilders for his paintings. A letter dated 7 October is the first one from Jan, written by Rubens, who is taking over the task of writing letters in Latin and Italian. Later Jan refers to his friend as "*il mio segretario, Rubens*".

1611

In a letter of 22 April, Jan describes in detail the method he uses for painting flowers.² (cat. 39)

According to an entry in the files of the Guild of Saint Luke for that year, Daniel Seghers, later a specialist in painting flowers, is Jan's pupil, and lives in his master's house. On 10 June, Jan complains that he is too busy with commissions from the archduke and archduchess and other nobles. He has too little time for his friends, and no free time at all for the past year. As he is now past 43 years of age, he would like to spend more time with his children.

1612

Jan finally has a chance to rest, spending the summer in Spa, a resort town 160 km south-east of Antwerp (cats 56–61).

Using pumps powered by windmills, the Beemster Lake in Holland is drained to create a polder, reclaiming land from the sea. The landscape drawings and paintings Jan produces in the 1610s often feature windmills (cats 42 a, 42 b).

1613

Jan visits Holland with his friends, Rubens and Hendrick van Balen. The exact purpose of their visit is unknown, but Rubens was presumably on a diplomatic mission. During their trip they meet Hendrik Goltzius. In November, Cardinal Borromeo's secretary, Ercole Bianchi, arrives in Antwerp, where he stays until April 1614. Bianchi visits Jan, Rubens and their friends, Hendrick van Balen, Joos de Momper and others.

1614

In February, during his tour of the Netherlands, Johann Ernst, Duke of Saxe-Weimar (1594–1626), visits the workshops of Rubens and Jan Brueghel.

1615

On 27 August, to mark their visit to Antwerp, the archducal couple are presented with a farewell gift from the Magistrate of four specially commissioned paintings by Jan Brueghel.

1617

In Milan, Cardinal Federico Borromeo formally establishes the *Accademia Ambrosiana*, intended as a training institute for young artists specialising mainly in ecclesiastical art. The cardinal donates his collection of paintings to the academy, including works by Jan Brueghel.

1618

The ruling couple visit Antwerp again. This time they receive a gift from the Magistrate of a series of allegorical paintings depicting the five senses. The best painters in the city (Peter Paul Rubens, Hendrick van Balen, Joos de Momper, Frans Snyders and others) are commissioned to produce the works, with Jan Brueghel placed in charge of the project. In this period Jan participates in the royal hunt, where he draws some figure studies (cats 36 a, 36 b.)

1619

On 9 March, Jan buys a house named *Den Bock* (Billy Goat), on what is today Arenbergstraat in Antwerp. The secretary of Archduke Albert records in a document that King Sigismund III of Poland (ruled 1587–1632) bought some paintings by Jan Brueghel. In a letter dated 6 December, Jan refers to a special commission he has been entrusted with, to paint 38 miniatures for the governors.

1621

In a letter of 23 July, Jan asks Ercole Bianchi to draw Cardinal Borromeo's attention to his son, Jan Brueghel the Younger, whom he wishes to send on a study trip to Italy the following year.

In Milan, the *Accademia Ambrosiana* formally opens. In a letter of 21 October, Jan writes that he is thinking about a new composition depicting the main branches of art: *Pittura*, *Scultura*, *Architettura*. The idea was undoubtedly inspired by Borromeo's new academy, but no such composition by Jan Brueghel is known.

On 11 December, Jan makes three portraits for the King of Poland, receiving 300 guilders in payment.

Archduke Albert dies. The Twelve Years' Truce comes to an end. Armed clashes erupt once more along the border between the Northern and the Southern Provinces.

1622

Jan struggles with financial difficulties, having lost 9000 guilders when the paintings he sent to Cardinal Borromeo in Milan went missing en route in Germany, casualties of the Thirty Years' War. On 11 February he writes to Borromeo asking for financial assistance, but the cardinal

does not send any money. Jan is forced to sell *Meerminne* and move into a smaller house.

On 7 May Jan writes to Ercole Bianchi, telling him that his son and Philips Momper are on their way to Italy.

The boys arrive in Milan in mid-June. On 19 August, Jan writes to express his gratitude that his son has been welcomed into the "famiglia" of the Archbishop's Palace in Milan.

1623

Cardinal Federico Borromeo and Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia stand as godparents to Jan's daughter, Clara Eugenia. From October this year until June 1625, Jan collaborates with Jan van de Venne on court commissions, although payment for these works is not received until after Jan's death.

1624

On 23 February, Jan's daughter, Paschasia, marries the painter Hieronymus van Kessel.

1625

On 13 January, at the age of 57, Jan Brueghel dies of cholera. Later that same month, three of his children die, Pieter, Elisabeth and Maria. Jan the Younger, in Palermo, is informed of his father's death, and he returns immediately to Antwerp to take over the workshop. On 5 April, Infanta Isabella instructs the Magistrate of Antwerp to ensure that Jan's widow, Catharina van Marienberghe, continues to enjoy the privileges bestowed upon her late husband.

Literature: Bastiaensen 2016, Bedoni 1983, Op de Beeck 2003, Op de Beeck 2005, Van den Branden 1883, Crivelli 1868, Denucé 1934, Duvivier 1860, Ertz 1979, Ertz 2008–10, I–IV., Hendriks 2003, Hoogewerff 1961, Jones 1997, Koslow 1995, De Maeyer 1955, Van Mander 1604, Miedema 1994, Miedema 1996 (Commentary), Rombouts–Van Lerius 1872, Vaes 1926, Winner 1971, Winner 1972, Wood Ruby 1999

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- 1 Attributed by Matthias Winner and Thomas Ketelsen as a work by Jan I Brueghel, but the authorship of this drawing is doubted by the curators of the present catalogue.
 - 2 See Introduction, Study sheets, [to indicate page] and under cat. 35, footnote 3.

Jan Brueghel the Elder a Magnificent Master

Louisa Wood Ruby

The creative genius of Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625) was recognized during his lifetime by many fellow artists as well as by important patrons of the day, including Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564–1631) in Milan, Cardinal Ascania Colonna (1560–1608) in Rome, and the Archduke and Duchess Albert (1559–1621) and Isabella (1566–1633) in Brussels. Unlike his brother Pieter Brueghel the Younger (1564/5–1637/8), whose *oeuvre* consisted mostly of painted copies after works by their father Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1526/30–1569), Jan took the foundations of entirely new artistic forms laid by the elder Bruegel, such as landscape and genre scenes, and turned them into his own, more personal creations that were then influential themselves on the generations of artists in both the Southern and Northern Netherlands of the seventeenth century. An innovative and inventive thinker in his own right, Jan Brueghel the Elder was instrumental in the creation of many completely new types of subject matter, including flower and garland painting, intimate forest views, village and canal scenes, gallery paintings and paradise landscapes.

Recent Scholarship

Although in the past sixty years there has been intensive study of the painted and drawn *oeuvre* of Jan Brueghel the Elder, including several catalogues raisonnés of his paintings and a number of important exhibitions, to date there has been no full study or attempt at a *catalogue raisonné* nor any exhibition devoted solely to the artist's drawings. The earliest systematic attempts at putting together his *oeuvre* were two seminal articles on Jan as a draughtsman by Matthias Winner, dating from 1961 and 1972.¹ Winner consolidated and broadened this work in a groundbreaking exhibition of Pieter Bruegel's draughtsmanship that took place in 1975 in Berlin.² Included in this exhibition

were 33 of Jan's drawings displayed alongside a stunning collection of drawings by numerous Flemish artists from throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The opportunity to see major drawings by so many draughtsmen next to each other was immensely valuable for scholars in the field. In 1979, Klaus Ertz published the first *catalogue raisonné* of Jan's paintings, a book invaluable in establishing baseline knowledge of the artist's *oeuvre*.³ In a 1980 exhibition in Brussels on the Bruegel dynasty, Winner consolidated his discoveries and ideas about Jan's drawings in an essay on Jan's draughtsmanship and in his catalogue entries for the twenty drawings that were displayed there alongside paintings and drawings by other members of the Bruegel family dynasty.⁴ The next big exhibition to include a significant number of works by Jan was held in 1997–1998 in three different venues, Essen, Vienna, and Antwerp, although the latter focused on paintings. In the first two venues of this exhibition, which compared the *oeuvre* of Jan and his brother Pieter, 30 drawings and 76 paintings by Jan were included. The catalogue entries on Jan's drawings were written by Teréz Gerszi, who also contributed a masterful essay in which she presented her long held views of Jan as a draughtsman.⁵

The next decade saw the publication of Klaus Ertz's expanded catalogue of Jan's paintings, written with the help of his companion, Christa Nitze-Ertz.⁶ In 2013, Mirjam Neumeister's exhibition highlighting the large collection of paintings by Jan owned by the Alte Pinakothek in Munich contained essays by various authors on the twelve drawings in the show, as well as an essay on Jan's draughtsmanship in Italy by Louisa Wood Ruby.⁷ Since 2011 Elizabeth Honig has been working on an online database of Jan's paintings, which includes a catalogue of drawings in public collections attributed to the artist.⁸

I.

Italian Sojourn

Like many Northern artists before him, Jan Brueghel made an early trip to Italy that exposed him to a broad range of artistic influences. Rather than take an interest in the antique sculptors like many of his forbears, however, Jan chooses to concentrate on his preferred genre, landscape including antique ruins. His time in Rome was quite productive. While there, Jan worked with the landscapist Paul Bril, developed the wooded landscapes of his father, and found one of his most significant patrons, Cardinal Federico Borromeo. During this time, Jan developed into a skilled draughtsman with new ideas, created a portfolio of new motifs, and produced new types of landscape that would influence the future course of painting in the North.

From a drawing of *Heidelberg* datable to 1588-89 (cat. 2), we know that Jan left Antwerp before 1590. According to an inscription in his hand on a drawing in Stockholm, he was in Rome by 1592. The first securely dated Roman drawing by Jan is the hauntingly beautiful *Temple of Vesta in Tivoli* in the Lugt Collection in Paris (cat. 7), dated July 6, 1593. The setting of the temple, perched over the waterfalls at Tivoli, inspired many monumental depictions of waterfalls, particularly the wonderful sheet from Leiden in the exhibition (cat. 8a). Later in 1593, Jan produced the *View of the Colosseum from Inside* (cat. 5) in Berlin, which displays a rich linear vocabulary, a light, delicate touch, and a painterly play of light and shadow. A drawing of the same view from slightly behind Jan and to the left by Paul Bril in the Vatican is dated September 13, 1593

(fig. 7/1), indicating that the two artists had met by that date. By the end of 1593, dated drawings indicate that Brueghel had gone to Bril's studio and like many Northern artists, was impressed by to Bril's trove of ruin drawings by his successful brother Matthijs (1550-1582?). Of the eight extant drawings by Jan that copy or were inspired directly by Matthijs, two are exhibited here (cats. 3 and 4b).¹

It is clear from many extant sheets that Jan had brought to Rome a collection of drawings of wooded landscapes by his father Pieter Bruegel the Elder. The *Flooded Stream Valley with Tall Trees* in Rotterdam, the *Landscape with Temptation of Christ*, and the *Wooded Landscape with a Family of Bears, Deer, and Other Wild Animals* from the Lugt Collection (cats. 11a, 12a, 13) are all "free variations" on the five known woodscape compositions known by Pieter with this theme, one from Prague shown here (cat. 11b).² Along with Bril, Jan developed these into a new type of wooded landscape painting that their mutual patron, Cardinal Federico Borromeo, eagerly collected. These paintings and prints after them had an enormous impact on the development of such themes in the landscape art of the Netherlands, ultimately being reflected in the magnificent wooded scenes by seventeenth-century Dutch artists such as Jacob van Ruisdael.

Louisa Wood Ruby

1 For a complete list of these drawings, see note 1 under catalogue no. 4 a., *View of the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome*, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection, inv. no. 845.

2 Mielke 1996, 16–17.





1a.

Sailboats in a Harbour, c. 1590

Pen and brown ink, 150 x 265 mm.

Red and brown stains around the middle and in lower right corner.

Repair at centre right.

Watermark: not visible, backed.

Provenance: Saint-Morys collection; confiscated during the French Revolution.

Département des Arts Graphiques du Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 19.731.

Literature: Lugt 1949, I, 34–35, no. 473, pl. 36; Winner 1961, 202–203, note 31; Berlin 1975, no. 108, fig. 214. (M. Winner); Ertz 1979, 94, fig. 87; Gerszi 1982, 153–154, fig. 8; Bedoni 1983, 91, 152, note 10; Essen–Vienna 1997–98, no. 147 (T. Gerszi); Gerszi 1997–98, 32, 33, 35; Antwerp 1998, 99–102, under no. 26, fig. 26c (K. Ertz); Cremona 1998, 129, fig. 5, under no. 34 (K. Ertz); Ertz 2008–10, I, 231, 233, fig. 1, note 2 under no. 100; Wood Ruby 2013, 35, 40, fig. 22.

Compared with other landscape themes, maritime and coastal depictions played a relatively smaller role in the career of Jan Brueghel, but in the 1590s, especially during his sojourn in Italy, he took a keen interest in this subject matter. *Sailboats in a Harbour*, now in Paris, appears to be the earliest of his known coastal compositions. It is probably connected with Jan's Italian tour, but in the absence of any reliable clues, it is not possible to identify the location from the buildings in the port: the tall, domed tower, the two-storey

buildings and the imposing church steeples, which definitely imply a town of considerable size. The date of the drawing cannot be established with precision either. Matthias Winner put forward the possibility of it being an early work, before the artist's visit to Italy.¹ Its compositional structure and some of its motifs bear affinities with Jan Brueghel's painting *Rocky Seashore with Warship*, dated to around 1592 and now in a private collection (fig. 1/1).²

¹ Winner 1961, 203.

² Ertz 2008–10, no. 100.



1b.

Frans Huys (Antwerp 1522–1562 Antwerp) after Pieter Bruegel
Warships with Furled Sails, c. 1561–62

Engraving and etching, 229 x 289 mm.

Inscribed in cartouche at lower right: “*FH. bruegel*”; in right portion of lower margin: “*Cum privileg*”.

Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Prentenkabinet, Brussels, inv. SI 7582.

Literature: Van Bastelaer 1908, 41, no. 104; Hollstein III, 264, no. 104; Smekens–Voet 1959, pl. 7.; Smekens 1961, 19; Riggs 1971 (1977), 88–89; Silver 1997, 128; Rotterdam–New York 2001, 212, 214–5, no. 92 (M. Sellink); The New Hollstein: Bruegel 2006 (Orenstein and Sellink) no. 68; Sellink 2007, no. 108; Wood Ruby 2013, 35, fig. 23; Sellink 2015, 66, no. 30.

There is no doubt, however, that the Paris drawing of the harbour, shown in a rather close-up view, without coulisses, and in a simple composition with a low horizon, is a surprisingly modern work, unlike the more old-fashioned painting, in which the urban detail is replaced by a huge diagonal cliff face.³ It can be generally observed that paintings with similar compositions tend to be more restrained when following the innovative features expressed in the drawing.

The meticulously depicted ships in the bay and the style in which they were drawn rightly led both Frits Lugt and Matthias Winner to suggest that Jan was in this case heavily influenced by the works of his father, Pieter Bruegel.⁴ The series of prints *Sailing Vessels* made after Pieter Bruegel by Frans Huys, their *Naval Battle in the Strait of Messina*, and the (now lost) study drawings made for these works would have sufficed as models for Jan.⁵ The engravings not only feature ships surging ahead at full sail, but also a few warships armed with cannons standing in the harbour. Large, oceangoing vessels were important pillars of the Netherlandish economy.⁶ The series of ten prints by Huys seems to have been conceived as a kind of practical compendium of different types of ship, drawn large in scale and shown from different angles.

In Jan’s drawing, however, the ships perform a different function, serving to record an actual experience. Here, the enormous seafaring vessels are surrounded by an assortment of smaller boats and watercraft, and the emphasis is not on the individual ships, but on the sea and on the harbour as a whole. There is plenty of action both on the

water and on dry land, with the feeling of everyday life conveyed through figures waiting to climb aboard, workers carrying packages, and groups of people walking to and fro. The realistic manner in which Jan’s drawing recreates the spectacle and atmosphere of a harbour in those days is surprisingly innovative. In this drawing the artist seems to foreshadow the essence of the rest of his oeuvre, following the new paths opened up by his father towards realistic depiction.

T G



Jan Brueghel, *Rocky Seashore with Warship*, Private Collection, Germany

³ The rock motif demonstrates the influence of works by Patinir and his followers from around 1500, when interest in exotic geological formations was quite widespread. Gibson 1989, 7.

⁴ Lugt 1949, I, 34; Winner in Berlin 1975, no. 108.

⁵ The New Hollstein, Bruegel (Orenstein 2006), 115–118, no. 48 and 140–155, nos. 62–71.

⁶ Smekens 1961; Silver 1996 (1997), 126–130; Sellink in Rotterdam–New York 2001, 216–218; Sellink 2015, 56.



2.

View of Heidelberg across the Neckar River from the North-West, c. 1588–89

Pen and brown ink, blue and brown washes, heightened with white. Framing lines in pen and brown ink, 200 x 305 mm.

Inscribed by a later hand on the verso at lower left in graphite: “*P. Bruegel*”

Watermark: lion with a shield, similar to Briquet 10569 (Brussels, 1588.)

Provenance: Otto Brenner, 1911; R. W. P. de Vries, Amsterdam, December 14, 1911; Baron Robert von Hirsch, Basle (1883–1977); Sotheby’s London, June 20, 1978, lot 87; Kate Ganz Ltd, New York.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, inv. 1995.15 (acquired in 1995).

Literature: Münz 1961, 235, A35, pl. 186; Winner 1961, 204, 214, fig. 14, note 55; Bergsträsser 1965, 262–3; Zwollo 1982, 96; Karlsruhe 1986, I, 363, under E 59, as “close to Brueghel” (H. Geissler); Boon 1992, I, 433, under no. 247, note 6; Recent Acquisitions 1995, 34 (A.-M. Logan); Hubach 1996, 11, 13, fig. 1, notes 22–23; Gerszi 1997–98, 32, 39; Essen–Vienna 1997–98, no. 146 (T. Gerszi); Ertz 2008–10, I, 12, fig. 1, III, 1039–40, fig. 491/1, under no. 491; Wood Ruby 2013, 35, fig. 24, note 2.



Netherlandish artist after Jan Brueghel, *View of the Castle of Heidelberg*, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart



Jan Brueghel in collaboration with Hendrick van Balen, *Allegory of Earth*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon

This drawing is rightly considered the earliest known sheet by Jan Brueghel. It depicts Heidelberg, Germany with its castle on the hill and the old bridge across the Neckar river from the northwest (Neuenheim side). Both the castle and the bridge (now known as the Carl Theodor Old Bridge) are still standing. The sheet can be dated to 1588–89 on the basis of the state of the castle, which was remodeled starting in 1590.¹ Jan must have passed through Heidelberg on his way to Italy, perhaps after a stop in nearby Frankenthal, where his older compatriot Gillis van Coninxloo (1544–1607) was living. Clearly he found the city a picturesque topic; besides the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum, three other views of the city and castle by Jan are known from either copies or photos. A view from a bank above the river is known from a copy formerly in the collection of Ian Woodner.² A view of the bridge and castle from the northeast, now unlocated, was sold by the Vienna dealer V.A. Heck in 1936, and a view of the castle alone is known from a copy now in Stuttgart (fig. 2/1).³ The latter was used in two of Jan's paintings with figures by Hendrick van Balen, both *Allegories of Earth*, one now in Lyon (fig. 2/2) and one now in a private collection in Paris.⁴ The drawings are executed in translucent washes, a technique Jan had learned from his grand-

mother, the watercolorist Mayken Verhulst (1518–1599). The two autograph views of the city are of similar size, as are the known copies. All of the drawings are remarkable for their topographical accuracy – Jan must have spent several days in the city, walking around and sketching as he came upon views that interested him.

A similar technique and topographical interest is evident in Jan's drawings as he continued his journey to Italy. By 1590, the artist had arrived in Naples. While we have no extant autograph drawings by Jan of that city, there are two copies in the Boijmans Museum in Rotterdam of lost drawings by Jan of the bay of Naples.⁵ These copies are executed with the same dry brush and blue wash technique of the Heidelberg drawings and in fact were traditionally attributed to Brueghel for that reason. In addition, the motifs they depict appear repeatedly in Jan's later *oeuvre*. However, both lack power, their lines are hesitant, the washes are sloppily applied and the *repoussoirs* are crudely executed. They display none of the accomplished delicacy and lightness of touch seen in the drawing in the Metropolitan.

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1 Hubach 1996, 11.

2 Pen and brown ink and brown wash, 191 x 292 mm. (illus. Hubach 1996, pl. 35.)

3 View of Heidelberg from the Northeast, pen and brown ink and brown wash, 190 x 300 mm. (illustrated in Vienna 1936: *Sixty Drawings by Old Masters*. V.A. Heck, Vienna, 1936, no. 9.)

4 *Allegory of Earth*, oil on copper, 21 x 31.5 cm., Ertz 2008–10, no. 494.

5 Drawings in the Museum Boijmans in Rotterdam of the Harbor in Naples, dated 1591 on the verso, pen and brown ink and brown and blue washes, 127 x 178 mm., and its companion of the Castel dell'Ovo near Naples, pen and brown ink, brown and blue washes, 130 x 175 mm. (inv. nos. MB 308 (PK) and MB 307 (PK)).



3.

View of Rome with the Castle and Bridge of Sant'Angelo, 1594

Pen and brown ink, brown and blue washes. Later framing in brown ink, 179 x 269 mm.

Inscribed by the artist at lower left in pen and brown ink: "Roma 13 november 1594".

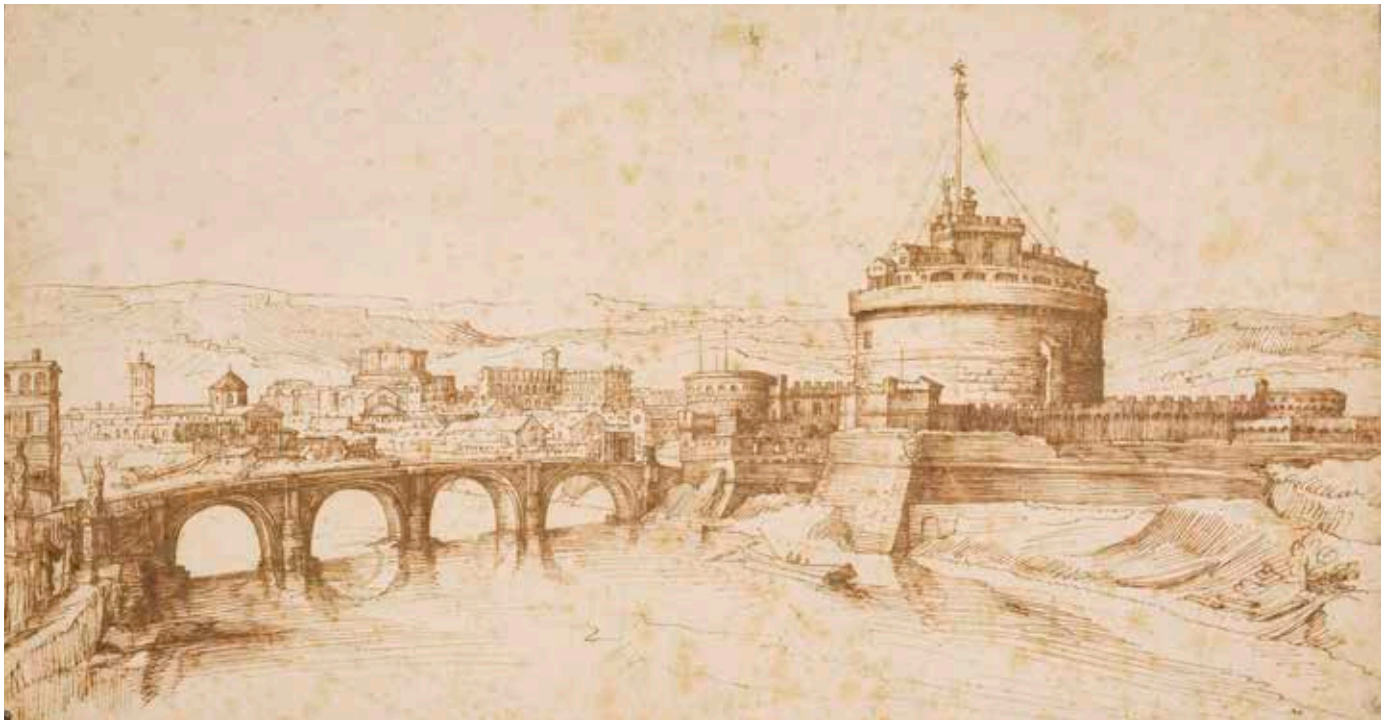
Later inscription in pencil: "Bril". Numbered in upper right corner: "10."

Watermark: elongated coat of arms with letter M and star above, similar to Briquet 8390 and 8391 (Florence, 1529 and Lucca, 1578-79.)

Provenance: Herzog Emmerich Joseph von Dalberg (1773–1833); Großherzog Ludwig I. von Hessen, 1912.

Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, inv. AE 397.

Literature: Darmstadt 1964, no. 11; Bergsträsser 1965, 260–264, pl. 18; Paris 1971, no. 51 (G. Bergsträsser); Winner 1972, 122, 124, fig. 2, note 6; Berlin 1975, no. 110, fig. 215 (M. Winner); Bergsträsser 1979, 38–39, no. 26; Winner 1980, 211; Brussels 1980, no. 150 (M. Winner); Zwollo 1982, 104–105, fig. 12, note 25; Bedoni 1983, 33, 81, note 26, pl. 9; Winner 1985, 88–89, fig. 11, note 14; Brussels–Rome 1995, 92–93, under no. 23, as attributed to Jan I Brueghel, (L. Pijl); Cologne–Antwerp–Vienna 1992–93, 506–507, no. 125.1 (H. Bevers); Gerszi 1997–98, 33, fig. 2; Märker–Bergsträsser 1998, 66, no. 23 (P. Märker); Ertz 2008–10, II, 668, 670, fig. 325/1, under no. 325; Wood Ruby 2013, 41; Munich 2013, no. 18 (M. Haas).



Matthijs Bril, *Castel and Bridge of Sant'Angelo*, Collections des Arts Graphiques du Musée du Louvre, Paris

This drawing of the Castle of Sant'Angelo was once attributed to Paul Bril, until Gisela Bergstässer identified it as a work by Jan Brueghel, based on its connection with the master's painting, the *Burning of Troy* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich).¹ The date inscribed on the drawing, 1594, was proved correct by Stefania Bedoni's keen eye for detail, recognising the lantern at the top of St Peter's, which was erected on the dome of the basilica in 1593.²

Together with a number of other works made in Italy, this drawing is evidence of Jan's maturity and autonomy as an artist. Although, during these years, he also produced extremely precise copies of drawings by Matthijs Bril depicting the sights of Rome, in this instance, neither the composition nor the technical execution of the work shares any connection with Matthijs's drawing of the *Castle and Bridge of San Angelo* (1580, Louvre, Paris, fig. 3/1). Compared with Matthijs's evenly worked, symmetrical veduta, executed almost with the descriptive objectivity of an engineer, Jan's creation is a true masterwork, with a perfectly conceived and well balanced composition. The two monumental edifices on the

right bank of the river radiate an expressive sense of grandeur and dignity behind the animated, irregular floral forms. The wide, immensely calm surface of the Tiber generates spatial depth and breadth, which acts as a counterpoint to the quasi-baroque vibrancy and painterly qualities of the right bank. Besides the differing penstrokes, the multiple shades of blue and brown wash, applied with sweeping brushwork, also play a major role in establishing the serene and airy atmosphere. The diagonal of the right bank is counterbalanced with the horizontals of the bridge, the buildings behind it, and the boat in the foreground. The entire spatial structure is dynamic and varied, just like the magnificent buildings themselves. Clearly recognisable are the remains of the old basilica in front of St Peter's, the cross-topped obelisk, which once adorned the Circus of Nero, the Palazzo Altoviti on the left, and, in the background, the tower of Santo Spirito in Sassia and the octagonal cupola of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito.

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1 Bergstässer 1965, 260–264.

2 Bedoni 1983, 33.