

Between the Histories of Art and Architecture: Critical Reception of Hans Vredeman de Vries

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Introduction

In 1997, the long-awaited catalogue of prints after Hans Vredeman de Vries appeared in the Hollstein *Dutch and Flemish* series, capping more than a century of complex and contradictory literature on *le Vitruve flamand*.¹ Considered by one reviewer to constitute “the basis of rethinking our entire appreciation” of Vredeman,² the two illustrated volumes provided an unsurpassed and much-overdue visual compendium of Vredeman’s graphic *oeuvre*. Yet their introduction, focused chiefly upon ornament, also demonstrated that a traditional and problematic cleave within modern historiography on Vredeman exists – a divorce between the study of his place in architectural history and that within the history of art. Like many Renaissance artist-architects, the different aspects of Vredeman’s output have been subject to increasingly specialized (and fruitful) scrutiny in the past century from scholars with widely different backgrounds and understandably diverse agendas. Yet a broader historiographical trend away from (nineteenth-century) impressionistic, descriptive accounts of Renaissance art and architecture towards more analytical, comparative approaches has at times isolated Vredeman’s wide-ranging undertakings from one another too severely. Thus while one recent historian can freely read the 1577 *Architectura* as a book about applied ornament and little else, another can claim (more accurately) that “the real value of the *Architectura* [is] as a *treatise*,” an aspect which has actually been “obscured” by Vredeman’s excessive ornament.³ Is a reconciliation of such seemingly divergent, and often nationalistically-based characterizations possible, or even necessary? A survey of 19th and 20th century historiography on Vredeman reveals a picture sometimes at odds with that from the 17th and 18th centuries, where writers and collectors appear less apt to draw sharp distinctions between Vredeman’s role as an architectural designer and artist.

Underlying much of the scholarly discord, clearly, has been an increasing difference in the way the *use* of Vredeman’s work is conceptualized by the different disciplines. On this issue the subject’s own intentions remain frustratingly unclear. Although the 1577 *Architectura*, for example, advertises itself as “*dienstlich*” for engineers, stonemasons, and carpenters, the massive folio format of the book has long indicated to scholars that the wealthier “*Liebhavernn der Architecturen*” mentioned in its title were probably the true audience.⁴ Such potential distinctions among audiences are particularly

relevant to Vredeman. For, it was precisely during his lifetime that separations between the practical and theoretical aspects of building became pronounced, as the idea of the architect (understood as maker of architectural designs) emerged, specifically in Antwerp.⁵ As pattern books, Vredeman’s series’ were by nature subject to widely varying uses and receptions, more so even than other types of prints bound to historical or propagandistic narratives. If anything, publishers like Hieronymous Cock, Philips Galle, and Gerard de Jode openly encouraged the works to appeal to as wide a financial market as possible.

For its part, art-historical scholarship of the past century has (justifiably) been focused chiefly on the exact delineation and cataloguing of Vredeman’s extensive output in print and paint, authors handling him as they would any Renaissance *peinture-graveur*. The towering exception is the 1967 dissertation of Hans Mielke, which indeed realized the uniqueness of Vredeman’s projects for the history of print.⁶ For historians of architectural theory and building practice, meanwhile, Vredeman’s self-taught recitations of Serlio have often cast him in a dim light, little more than a “popularizer” of the style of Cornelius Floris – but a figure whose influence in the Low Countries remains indelible. As an itinerant draughtsman, fortifications engineer, painter, and rhetorician, Hans Vredeman de Vries has never fit smoothly into many 19th and 20th century narratives that insist on anachronistically sharp distinctions between such roles and on the idea of “national schools”. The separation contemporary historians have often unwittingly placed between, say, Vredeman’s work as a painter and a designer of architecture is often at odds with his characterization in earlier sources, where the ostensible “impracticality” of his architectural designs, so troubling to many modern writers, was less of a problem. The divergent assessments and receptions of Vredeman in the years following his death thus reveal significant changes in the way architectural prints as a whole have been used and understood. It is the aim of the following bibliographic sketch to shed some light on those changes, within a context of sources related to biography, collecting, and historiography.

Before 1800

Carel van Mander’s 1604 *Schilder-Boek* (fig. 1) remains the most commonly-cited source for Vredeman’s biography. This

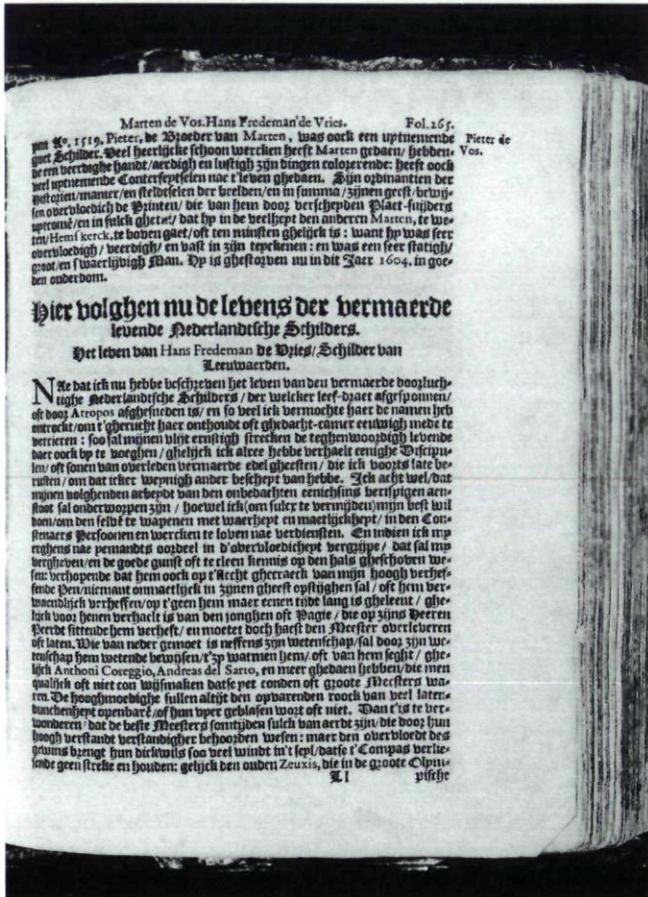


fig. 1. Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck*, Haarlem, 1604, fol. 265r. Photo Amsterdam Universiteitsbibliotheek.

is hardly surprising, in light of both the exceptionally scanty documents related to Vredeman's activities from his own day and the high detail of van Mander's account, which, it has been speculated, was drawn from direct personal contact.⁷ Aside from describing Vredeman's roamings throughout northern Europe and his work for various patrons in the Holy Roman Empire, van Mander is famously specific about the key textual influence of Vredeman's youth: Pieter Coecke van Aelst's editions of Vitruvius and Serlio, both published by in 1539.⁸ These books, which Vredeman apparently came across among the possessions of a Kollum joiner, were in essence craftsman's guides addressed to painters, sculptors, stonemasons, and from them Vredeman acquired his interest in perspective. The little octavo's (*Die inventie der columnen...*) importance for the history of the idea of the "architect" has been discussed elsewhere at length.⁹ In the specific context of van Mander, its mention is important, since the subsequent career of Vredeman reads almost like an exemplification of the "new" practitioner of architecture rediscovered in Vitruvius – a draughtsman and designer versed in theory, rather than simply a mason or a carpenter in the traditional sense. Vredeman's image as a courtly professional

of this type, not tied to any one trade, one patron or one place (despite his best attempts) is a characterization consciously reminiscent of Vasari. Hessel Miedema's recent commentary on van Mander,¹⁰ which conscientiously weighs documentary evidence, has demonstrated that many of Vredeman's biographical details are corroborated by the archives. Thus in the wider context of the *Schilderboeck*, Vredeman now stands out as an example of unprecedented specialization. In a broader sense, however, Van Mander's biography paints a somewhat melancholic portrait of a temperamental, often unfortunate figure whose career bore the cultural brunt of the Netherlands' scarring political and religious upheavals in the sixteenth century. We learn Vredeman was "often sick" (*veel tijt siec was*), mercurial in his religious convictions,¹¹ constantly under financial duress, and forever searching for secure employment even in old age. His fabled multifacedness comes across as a function of necessity rather than of any innate genius. The application Vredeman made near the end of his life for a post teaching "*perspective, ingenie, en de architecture*," at Leiden University in 1604 was, typically, unsuccessful.¹² And although unknown to van Mander, this undertaking was itself something a fitting coda to Vredeman's life: the job title indicates the perceived interdependence of those subjects in the seventeenth century, and its refusal remains illustrative of Vredeman's continued struggles for security.

Vredeman is actually referred to in several published sources before van Mander. He was among the hundreds of artists paid for decoration of the triumphal arches for the ceremonial entry of Charles V into Antwerp in 1549,¹³ and in Ludivico Guiccardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (1567) his name appears among the "buon maestri" in the city of Antwerp.¹⁴ Neither of these books mention specific aspects of Vredeman's work, but Book Six of Antonio Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'Arte de la Pittura* (1584) quite interestingly invokes the name of one "Giovanni di Frisia di Graminge" in a discussion of perspective theory, aside the achievements of Albrecht Dürer and Johannes Lencker.¹⁵ Actually, after the (possibly posthumous) publication of Vredeman's two-part *Perspective* in 1604-5, perspective is the subject which distinguishes Vredeman in compendia of artist's biographies, such as the Vasari-type projects of Baldinucci (1687),¹⁶ Orlandi (1704),¹⁷ or Descamps (1753).¹⁸ He is noticeably absent from Arnold Houbraken's book on Netherlandish artists (1718), victim of an increasing prejudice against non-Classical works in the 18th century. Generally the information in these accounts is borrowed whole from van Mander, with a noticeable downplaying of Vredeman's activity as an architect or engineer and emphasis upon his activity as a painter. John Evelyn, however, singled out prints after Vredeman for specific mention in his 1662 book on engraving techniques.¹⁹

In subsequent publications Vredeman's specific interest in perspective seems to have ingratiated him to a European intellectual community where, during the seventeenth century, the notion of perspective as a mathematical and academic

pursuit was gaining favor.²⁰ Hendrick Hondius' 1622 book on perspective expanded upon Vredeman's theory but quoted directly from its same pages,²¹ and the famous treatises of Marolois (1614), Desargues (1636), and Bosse (1648) were in large part initiated by a need to correct the *Perspective's* mistakes.²² Well into the eighteenth century (particularly in England) Vredeman's technique was given due consideration in academic guidebooks to perspective.²³ Yet Vredeman's works were of course not a matter for painters and print-makers alone. The 1628 pamphlet by mathematician Isaac de Ville detailing a hypothetical conversation between a carpenter, a painter and a "Schilder-Architect" urged the adoption of architectural principles by painters, among them the rules of perspective. In his discussion, however, de Ville famously named Vredeman's *Perspective* as the exact kind of source painters should avoid, since in his view "...*Het blyckt wel aen het gene dat [Hans] de Vries daer van in printen heeft laten drucken/waer uyt het alzo ghemackelijck om leeren als als een Voghel inde lacht met de handt te grypen.*"²⁴ Probably less of a dig at Vredeman's specific pedagogy than at the whole idea of learning perspective via books (something Serlio, too, had constantly warned against), de Ville's comment implies how well-known the *Perspective* had become by the 1620s. And the *Architectura Moderna, ofte Bouwinge van onsen Tyt* (1631), the book which in many ways codified a new Classicist style emergent in the Dutch Republic, illustrated buildings by Hendrick de Keyser that were directly influenced by Vredeman's designs. Nonetheless, through the title of the book de Bray positioned his work as a deliberately modern departure from Vredeman's *Architectura Oder Bauung der Antiquen*.²⁵

Vredeman in Early Print and Book Collections

The market for and reception of Vredeman's architectural books and print series during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is characterized by exceptional diversity in terms of distribution and classification. Van Mander, typically attentive to the compensation paid to artists, is quite detailed in listing the amounts Vredeman earned for several paintings commissions, yet has less to say about the prints.²⁶ As Miedema has noted, van Mander seems most familiar with Vredeman's graphic work. In this respect the biographer appears little different from most contemporaries. During Vredeman's stays in Antwerp between 1561-1570 and 1575-1586 market demand for the new specialty of architectural prints appears to have remained relatively stable in the Netherlands, thanks largely to the initial popularity of imported "perspective" designs by Jean Cousin and Jacques Androuet du Cerceau. In the 1560s, well-connected Antwerp publishers like Hieronymous Cock and Gerard de Jode, working with dealers like Christoffel Plantin, appear to have found in Vredeman a designer who could supply them locally with drawings of "architectures." The firms doubtless saw Vredeman's early cityscapes as subjects which could capitalize on the continued demand for ornament and intarsia prints,

and at the same time appease a growing audience of connoisseurs. Many of these wealthy individuals were interested in the *Quatre Vents'* high-priced landscape and Roman ruins products.²⁷ Thus documents from 1568, for example, show Plantin purchasing from Cock "2 *petites livres de perspective*" by Hans Vredeman in the same shipment containing landscapes by Pieter Bruegel and "*perspectives*" by du Cerceau.²⁸ And between 1570 and 1588 Gerard de Jode frequently supplied Plantin with copies of the *Artis Perspectivae* which apparently sold at the Frankfurt book fairs.²⁹ Interestingly, when Vredeman's *Architectura* begins to appear in Plantin's account-book after its publication in 1577, it is listed as a "*fortificatie boeck*,"³⁰ indicating the close association between fortification engineering and building as a whole in the mind of even non-specialists. At least until the siege of Antwerp in 1584-5, this architectural treatise and Vredeman's early perspective series sold well, consistently fetching respectable prices, although the amounts earned were considerably lower than that for prints depicting religious subjects or contemporary history. Yet with collapse of the market after the 1585 Spanish reconquest demand dropped considerably, and disparities between the market for "secular" prints and biblical subjects in Antwerp became even more pronounced.³¹ In 1586 Vredeman had departed the city for good. Enterprising booksellers who turned to the Northern Netherlands, however, seem to have later found a new niche for his publications, even in a time when books on architectural theory as continued to be relatively expensive. Even at the outrageously high price of seven guilders per book, Vredeman's *Perspective* sold five copies at a single sale in Amsterdam in 1610.³²

So who, exactly, was buying these materials, and how did they regard them? Van Mander relates several anecdotes that testify to the allure of Vredeman's paintings as architectural *trompe l'oeil* at courts,³³ and many commissions were doubtless made possible thanks to the promotiveness of his print series. Print inventories from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suggest that the taste for Vredeman's different graphic subjects often coincided with that for his (much scarcer) architectural paintings (fig. 2), although the prints were, of course, much more accessible. Both formats eventually reached a geographically diffuse audience. As "*ein guter Perspectivus*" Vredeman appears on a list of painters deemed essential to an ideal princely collection in 1587,³⁴ and his prints are mentioned by name in the 1581 inventory of wealthy Basel publisher Basilius Amerbach.³⁵ In 1580 the Antwerp collector Gerard Gramaye owned a folio devoted almost entirely to Vredeman's architectural designs for Hieronymous Cock.³⁶ However in many larger collections Vredeman's architectural subjects, rather than his authorship, seem to have determined their acquisition and organization; most *Kunstammer*-type collections amassed before the seventeenth century tended to value and arrange prints primarily on the basis of perceived informational content.³⁷ In the intact collections of Archduke Ferdinand II (d. 1595) at Schloss



fig. 2. Hans Vredeman de Vries, *The Roman Triumvirate*, 1570, Tarbes, Musée Massey. Photo RMN.

Ambras or Philip II (d. 1598) at the Escorial for example, several Vredeman series appear to have been cut up and interspersed with the work of other artists before being pasted into albums. These appear in folios labeled with things like “a book of architecture,”³⁸ yet, interestingly, they are often placed under other seemingly unconnected rubrics as well. In Philips’ collection, for example, several plates from Vredeman’s *Wells* series appear in an album devoted to scenes from the Old Testament, while in another folio several small architectural views are pasted next to prints demonstrating ornament designs.³⁹ At Schloss Ambras one album includes pages where the *Small Architectural Views* (imaginary streetscapes) sit next to topographically accurate views of real German cities.⁴⁰ And in the Nuremberg collection of Paulus Praun (d. 1616), the same portefeuille which housed “*Diverses Architectures. Vries inventor Hieron. Cock excud. 1562*” also held prints showing specific buildings in the Low Countries and even processions from Antony Lafrery’s 1549 series on Rome.⁴¹ The lack of a consistent categorization or distinction between actual city views and ideal ones, between ornament designs and religious narratives, or between images of historical and contemporary architecture, is indicative of how particularly unfixed the meanings and associations of series’ like Vredeman’s may have appeared.

Although hardly conclusive, the inventories suggest the divergent associations they may have prompted among early connoisseurs. Particularly in the context of a princely cabinet which ostensibly would have seen limited use by artisans, the subjective interpretation of Vredeman’s engravings was probably further encouraged by their lack of accompanying text; they did not always conform to the categories of purely “architectural” or “perspective” subjects.⁴² Within a large collection, the function of Vredeman’s designs as rarities would have been based more on the subjects they depicted than on their origin from a singular master’s hand.

A similar value is attested to by the organization of Hans Vredeman de Vries’ publications in the inventories of many old European book collections and libraries. Here they are often listed as “*Kunstabücher*”, or bound with other works on geometry, optics, fortification, or ruins. In the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, for example, a series of Vredeman’s *Oval Architectural Views* [H 52-67] was bound with a strange series of fantastic ruins from the 1540s designed by Lambert Suavius.⁴³ This album, still in its original vellum binding, also bears a charming handwritten message by Duke Heinrich Julius to his son, to whom the book was given for his ninth birthday on 16 April 1574, indicating a possible use

as a kind of “picture book” or drawing exemplar suitable for a child. Perspective books by Vredeman, Dürer, Lencker, Stoer, and Jamnitzer, also appear in the scientific collections of Rudolf II of Prague⁴⁴ (d. 1612), and Augustus of Saxony (d. 1586), where they, along with “*astronomischen, astrologischen, geometrischen, arithmetischen Kunstbüchern*”⁴⁵ served as curiosities in their own right. In Portugal, the Augustinian Library in Coimbra received huge shipments of Vredeman’s ornament prints throughout the 1560s, thanks largely to Christoffel Plantin.⁴⁶ Along with grotesques by Floris these exerted a tremendous impact upon local building style. Books of Vredeman’s cartouches appear in the library of the Leiden scholar Joannes Thysius, assembled before 1653.⁴⁷ Abbé Michel de Marolles’ massive book and print collection, which was later purchased by Louis XIV and formed the bulk of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, included almost a complete set of Vredeman’s publications when it was inventoried in 1666; these were divided by artist as well as subject.⁴⁸ And in the specialized collection of maps and city views gathered by Stockholm connoisseur Gabriel de la Gardie, (d. 1686?), Vredeman’s rare print of the Antwerp city hall [H 181] was included on purely documentary grounds, as a visual record of that edifice to be filed with other topical representations of Netherlandish architecture.⁴⁹

Finally, in addition to their attraction as simple collector’s items Vredeman’s works’ naturally held an appeal for practicing artists and architects. Vincenzo Scamozzi owned an album which included plates from Vredeman’s *Den Eersten Boek* and *Das ander Beuch*, as well as a complete edition of *Architectura*. The place of the column books in the libraries of Christopher Wren, Nicolas Hawksmoor, Robert Adam and other English architects has also been noted,⁵⁰ and the (debatable) significant impact its illustrations had upon building in the Dutch Republic after 1600 suggests that its ownership among professionals was considerable. Artists, of course, took an interest in perspective and architectural prints throughout the seventeenth century as well, either as repositories of subject matter or as practical guidebooks (Rembrandt van Rijn, an admittedly atypical example, owned a volume of prints – a “*Kunstboeck*” – devoted to architecture.)⁵¹ Inventories of the estates of Amsterdam painters Claes Rauwert (d. 1597), Jan Jansz. (d. 1621), and Adriaen van Neulandt (d. 1627), indicate that they all possessed “*perspectief-boeken*” authored by Vredeman, specifically,⁵² and the Haarlem artist Vincent Laurensz. van de Venne owned a copy of *Architectura*, too.⁵³ Meanwhile, copies or variants of Vredeman’s designs appear well into the eighteenth century,⁵⁴ while borrowings from many architectural series’ peak in popularity in the seventeenth, thanks to frequent reissues until around 1650. Direct quotations from Vredeman’s *Scenographie, sive Perspectivae*, are to be found in French drawings from the 1630s,⁵⁵ and buildings from *Variae Architecturae Formae* appear in drawings by Pieter Stevens, who was in Prague with Vredeman in 1597-8.⁵⁶ And of course throughout the seventeenth century, designs from *Perspective*

provided the direct scaffolding for an entire generation of architectural painters, specifically Hendrick van Steenwyck, Peter Neffs, and above all Hans’ own son Pauwels.⁵⁷ Like the original prints the specialty of painted “perspectives” was, through the activity of painters like Dirck van Delen, to become particularly attuned to the increasingly Classical taste of Northern European courts.

It becomes clear that in the centuries immediately following Vredeman’s death distinctions between the value of his plates as practical handbooks and as *objets d’art* were blurred and often coexistent. As with any printed materials, the meaning and function of the images was determined largely on an individual level and remained subject to local conditions, contexts, and audiences; the prints appeal as pattern books for architects, for example, in no way vitiated its potential as a collector’s item, or, in the case of the Wolfenbüttel volume, a kind of toy. The empty stages his perspective plates imply virtually entreated viewers to supply their own *staffage*. Yet the idea of Vredeman’s undertakings as purely decorative, ornamental endeavors was to insure that his reputation and many of his books (except the *Perspective*) slid into relative obscurity during the later-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when an atmosphere of austere architectural classicism prevailed in many European courts. Interest in his books of the orders never really waned, yet in the early 1900s an emerging historical picture of the Renaissance as a time of unmitigated rationalism⁵⁸ often relegated Vredeman’s brand of eccentric designs (and of ornament in general) to a position, if not outside of, than auxiliary to a classical norm. Only after a re-evaluation of “mannerist” art and architecture had begun among Vienna art historians the late nineteenth century, and increased authority was granted to the idea of Dutch (and Belgian) national schools was Hans Vredeman de Vries’ work to again receive extensive consideration.

Nineteenth & Early Twentieth Century

Vredeman’s neglect, and subsequent rehabilitation after 1860 was marked by a heightened sensitivity to the specific properties of his various undertakings. There was an unprecedented desire among architectural- and art historians to read his works as manifesting the values of a particular style, nation, or epoch. This Hegelianism often had the awkward effect of attributing causality for Vredeman’s designs to his origins as a Netherlander (or in one instance, as a Frisian⁵⁹), but at the same time it alerted audiences to the implicit prejudices and relativism of their own historical viewpoint. In 1885, H. Hymans could observe “...il appartenait a notre temps, plus curieux sinon les autres en ce qui concerne les choses du passé, de voir en De Vries le maître distingue que le gout dominant au XVIIIe siècle, et davantage encore celui de la première moitié de XIXe, avaient en quelque sorte fait tomber dans l’oubli.”⁶⁰ Hymans, annotating his translation of van Mander, was aware of how changing contemporary tastes affected views of the 16th century, and said so in clearing up

earlier inaccuracies in Vredeman's biography. For in fact Vredeman hadn't tumbled into complete obscurity during "notre temps," even though the *Lives* remained the chief source for the information in lexicons; the projects of Immerzeel (1822), Kramm (1863), van der Aa (1876), and later, von Wurzbach (1910) and Visscher (1927) are examples.⁶¹ A short mention in J.F. Waagen's inventory of paintings in Vienna (1866) importantly tapped Vredeman as "*Schöpfer der Architekturmalerei*," an appellation that Jantzen (1910),⁶² and others would see as his particular contribution to the Dutch *zeitgeist* of the seventeenth century. For Waagen, as for virtually an entire generation of art historians, it was Vredeman's relevance to the history of the specifically "Netherlandish" specialty of architectural painting, rather than ornament, which lifted him out of the unesteemed ranks of sixteenth century contemporaries like Cornelius Floris.⁶³ Further, traces of late-nineteenth century nationalism were to color many modern accounts of Vredeman's role in the art and architectural past of Low Countries.

In 1869 photolithographic reproductions of several Vredeman volumes from the Brussels library of G.A. van Trignt were published.⁶⁴ These were soon followed by a monographic study by Auguste Schoy, then professor of architectural history at the Royal Academy in Antwerp and previously author of articles on furniture decoration at the court of Louis XIV. For Schoy, Vredeman provided a conveniently Flemish antecedent to the then-current Beaux-Arts architectural style, and a historical legitimization for the idea of ornament as a key category of building design. In his account Vredeman is aligned with a broader, "*Renaissance italo-flamande*," which is cosmopolitan in nature, but dominated by a kind of pure, indigenous Low Countries aesthetic, in which "*on peut trouver... des affinités espagnole, italiennes, voire même allemandes; mais avant le déplorable époque du style <<Rocaille>>, jamais nos arts ne subirent l'influence française.*"⁶⁵

As in the Northern Netherlands, the characterization in Belgium of French influence as a pollutant of local, perhaps rustic, artistic tradition was bound up with assertions of cultural patriotism. And while Schoy's account was certainly not as high-pitched in this respect as later ones, it was clearly committed to annexing Vredeman for Belgium, positing him as a home-grown patriot on par with the figures of a broader international community: "*Vredeman De Vries fut, sans contredit, l'un des maîtres les mieux doués de notre glorieuse Renaissance italo-flamande; comparable à tous ses rivaux italiens, espagnols, allemands, et français[...]. C'est bien la le type que l'on reverrait pour le grand artiste et le courageux citoyen qui ne recherché le gloire que pour la voir rejaillir sur la patrie...*" (p. 36). Schoy's bilious remarks were to some extent products of their age. Yet overall his study was significant for, like van Mander, it located Vredeman within a larger, cosmopolitan Renaissance tradition which, albeit grudgingly, acknowledged the importance of cross-cultural exchanges and influence.

A somewhat subdued Dutch translation of Schoy's study appeared in 1881.⁶⁶ Soon a new monographic treatment of Hans Vredeman de Vries was published in the pages of the *Bouwkundig Weekblad* during the summer of 1895 (fig. 3.) The author, architect C.H. Peters, drew heavily upon both Schoy and van Mander for biographical information, but made it clear that he saw Vredeman in a different nationalistic light. For Peters, Vredeman's involvement with a pan-European building tradition and his concentration on ornament actually compromised his value as a truly "Dutch" architect. In his view Vredeman's publications not only hindered the spread of a "*nieuwe, kern-gezond architectonisch leven*" to the Northern Netherlands, but actually served to stifle the development of a locally unique style: "*In die dagen toch had Nederland moeten hebben niet een ORNAMENTISTE de Vriese maar een BOUWMEESTER de Vriese... dan had onze Renaissance onder zijn leiding geheel iets anders worden, dan zij nu geworden is...*" Not surprisingly, Peters went on to see Vredeman's plates as diluting the workshop character of local crafts (something other contributions to the *Bouwkundig Weekblad* were hoping to revive): "*Door die plaatwerken toch, heeft [Vredeman] de Renaissance, of laat ik liever zeggen de ornamentiek van dien stijl, gebracht op de schaaftbank bij de meester-timmerman en bij den meesterschrijnwerker... zo kwam het, dat onze Renaissance... zo spoedig alle individueel karakter verloor...*"⁶⁷ Peters' insistence upon the idea of a specifically indigenous – and seemingly insular – cultural movement in the Northern Netherlands (onze Renaissance) put him the odd position of having to privilege Vredeman for being among the first individuals in Dutch architectural history and, at the same time, condemn him for the internationalism of his style. Ironically this latter facet had been precisely what commended Vredeman so highly to Schoy. However ahistorical, ill-grounded, and often xenophobic Peter's comments seemed at times, the sharp (and unprecedented) distinction they drew between Vredeman's efforts as an ornamentist and architect opened the door for a generation of specialized studies in the next century. Heidicke's work on decoration (1913),⁶⁸ and Jantzen's aforementioned study of architectural painting (1908) are two immediate examples. Subsequent treatments by Mielke (1967), Karstkarel (1979), and Irmscher (1985-6), among others, in a way were all extensions of a less-generalized approach.⁶⁹

Perhaps the most significant contribution of the two early studies by Peters and Schoy was the insistence upon Vredeman's place in the idea of an Netherlandish architectural Renaissance. From the 1880s on, the study of local and potentially divergent architectural accomplishments in the Low Countries took place through photolithographic surveys like Ewenbeck's *Die Renaissance in Belgien en Holland* (begun in 1884) or J.J. Ysendyck's *Documents classés de l'art dans les Pays Bas* (1880-1888).⁷⁰ These skillfully mingled representations Vredeman's art, architecture and design in single-plate collections (fig. 4.) In such works Vredeman's

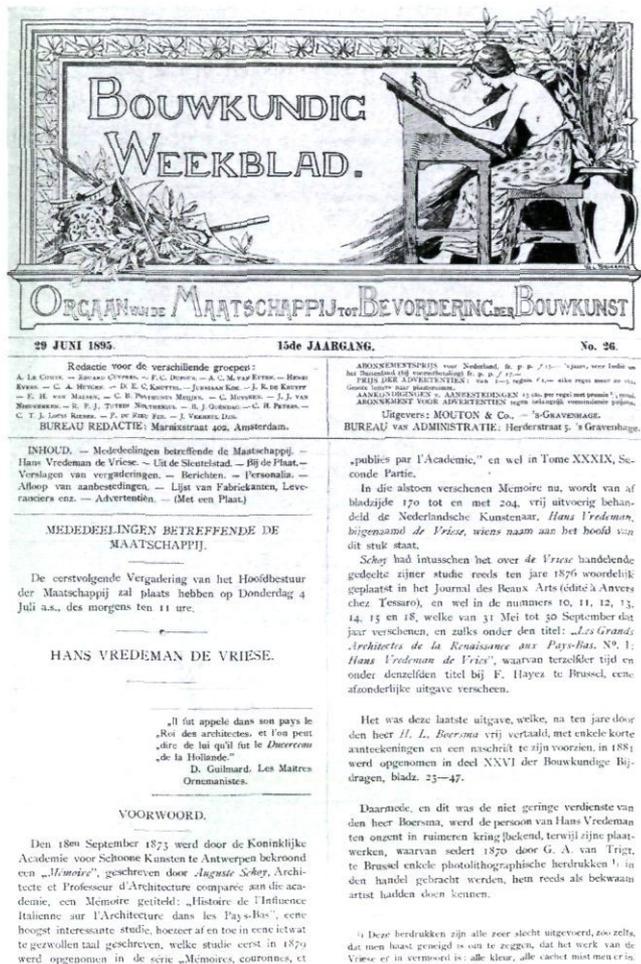


fig. 3. *Bouwkundig weekblad*, 28 June 1895, p. 102 containing the first installment of C.H. Peters' study of Hans Vredeman de Vries. Photo Amsterdam Universiteitsbibliotheek.

impact upon both décor and realized buildings was implied, if not explicitly discussed. Along the same lines, architectural survey texts by Gurlitt (1888), Haupt (1916), and Horst (1928) were soon affirming the idea of Vredeman as “*der Großmeister der niederländischen Architekturtheorie*” and notable for his impact upon extant German Renaissance architecture.⁷¹ As earlier, Vredeman continued to fall afoul of historians suspicious of an art not free from foreign influence. After 1900 authors would press him into the service of whatever nationally-pure style they happened to be discussing, whether or not it corresponded with the political reality of the 16th century. Parent’s *L’Architecture des Pays Bas Meridionaux* (1926), for example, saw Vredeman’s body of work as quintessentially *Anversoise*, under-appreciated by his Dutch homeland.⁷² Meanwhile Galland (1890), criticizing van Mander’s academicism, advocated a bizarre brand of anti-international “*eigenartige holländisch Architektur*” for the 16th century, in which Vredeman became cast as exemplar of a reactionary, anti-cosmopolitan Teutonicism.⁷³

The later surveys by Vermeulen (1931), and later, Vriend (1938)⁷⁴, also couched discussions of Vredeman in nationalistic terms, often at an even higher pitch. But they also took Vredeman as the starting point for an indigenous architectural tradition. Vermeulen, recalling Peters, hinted at the idea of an insular Northern-Netherlandish Renaissance in architecture which could rival that long acknowledged in Dutch art history. Vredeman was a starting point, his style apparently determined by his changing places of work: “*Vlaamsch tenslotte is zijn zucht tot sieren, die in weeldrigheid en fantasie de besten der Zuid-Nederlandsche meesters evenaart, al werd hunne uitbundigheid hier door noordelijke reserve getemperd.*”⁷⁵ Vermeulen’s somewhat overwrought insistence upon the idea of normative artistic characteristics was certainly not uncommon in the 1930s, but in his case it coincided closely with overt fascist political leanings. Vredeman’s vaguely northern biography and seemingly “Germanisch” sphere of influence had made him attractive to cultural programmes of the extreme right. Two articles lauding his work appeared in the National Socialist weekly *De Schouw* after 1939, one actually written by Vermeulen himself.⁷⁶ These fatuous treatments tended to downplay Vredeman’s dependence upon “foreign” treatises influence and construct him as a key point of cultural connection between the Netherlands and, as Vermeulen put it, “*het land van Luther.*” Yet such political freighting was actually quite rare, as surveys like Wasmuth (1932) were to demonstrate.⁷⁷ The urban historian Lewis Mumford (1938) in fact considered the thing most deplorable of Vredeman’s *Architectura* that which adapted it so smoothly to fascist aesthetics: its “effort to geometrize life.”⁷⁸

Another persistent concern of Vredeman historiography since 1900 is mannerism. Ironically it was this notion, understood somewhat ambiguously as stylistic or periodic designation, which became the artist-architect’s key link to larger narratives of European culture. In formal terms, Vredeman’s works have come to be portrayed as quintessential demonstrations of mannerist design. While for painting, the idea of mannerism was first discussed by Max Dvorák in 1922, in architecture the category was invoked by Pevsner (1925) to designate an undervalued phase of cultural development following the Renaissance and predating the Baroque.⁷⁹ Predicated, in many accounts, upon an idea of decadence or uncertainty, mannerism was seen as an anti-Classical expression of the tumultuous sixteenth century, and soon came to denote the cultural manifestations of any age of crisis, the 1900s included.⁸⁰ For historians accustomed to privileging the neoplatonist values of the Quattrocento, mannerist art embodied decadence, chaos, and frivolity, and soon became the subject of virulent attacks.⁸¹ In the case of Hans Vredeman de Vries, mannerism became a blanket term for his ornamental style and his theoretical approach, both of which seemed to rely too heavily upon the vagaries of personal whim to be categorized as “Renaissance.” His visual language represented a break, temporally and formally, with

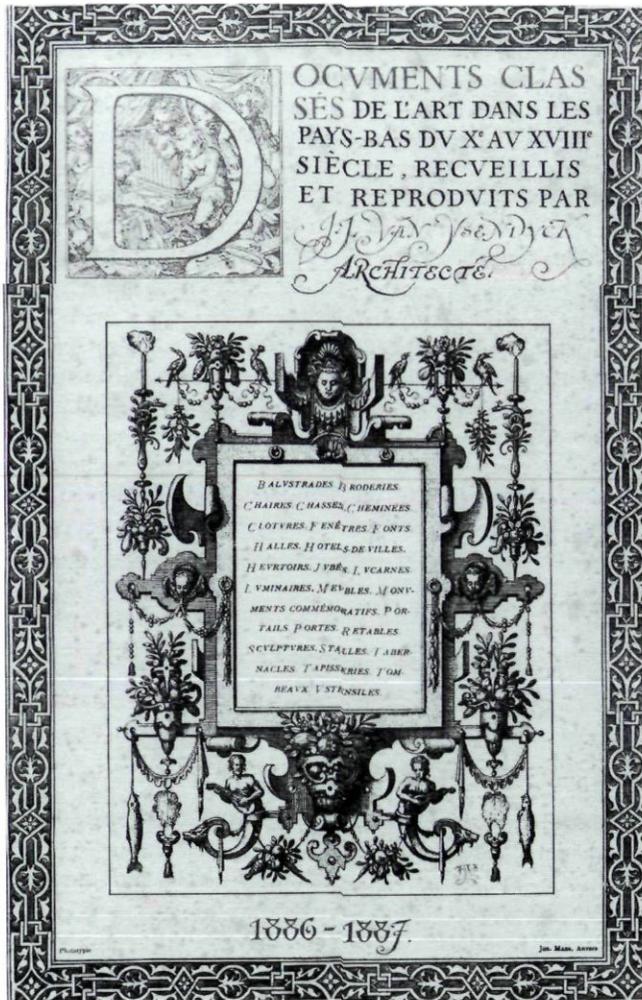


fig. 4. J.J. van Ysendyck, *Documents classes de l'art dans les Pays-Bas du Xe au XIXe siècle*, Brussels, 1886-7, title page. Photo Leiden Prentenkabinet.

the classical tradition as it was traditionally understood. The designation continues to be a problematic issue; while in architectural circles its usefulness was largely dismissed after the 1950, for art history mannerism continued to fuel controversy well into the 1990s.⁸²

In Erik Forssman's important study of Vredeman's patterns and column books (1956) however, Mannerist art was seen as a self-sufficient cultural phenomenon. Forssman used Vredeman as an argument against the idea of the style as one of decadence or decay; even more significantly, he shifted the assessment of Vredeman's prints away from criteria developed to explain the Italian Renaissance. For Forssman, the appearance of the structures in the 1577 *Architectura* was not due to a "Mißverständnis der Antike.." rather, "...es handelt sich um gewußte Umformung"⁸³ The personal inventiveness of individual books by Vredeman, like publications by Dietterlin and Blum, introduced a kind of architectural symbolism

different from what Wittkower, for example, had seen evident in Italy. For the northern column books, series and typologies (e.g. The Ages of Man, the Virtues and Vices) represented a self-conscious reaction to antiquity. Their overt departure from canonical sources posited the tension between *inventio* and *imitatio* as the main theme of architecture. This kind of cultural relativism with regard to a mannerism of Vredeman's stripe was later argued for by Zerner and daCosta Kaufmann,⁸⁴ and upheld by an Amsterdam exhibition of 1955.⁸⁵ Discernable in all such treatments is a reaction against nationalistically insular narratives of earlier histories, and an attempt to view invention as the basis through which to include Vredeman in a European-wide stylistic context.

As a speculative "style," however, Vredeman's mannerism has often been portrayed as synonymous with a certain impracticality in architecture. The "fantastic" nature of his designs is for some a necessary result of their status as anti-Classical creations.⁸⁶ In surveys of the Northern Netherlands, a supposed lack of practical application became grounds for positing Vredeman's projects as purely "Flemish," alien to the true character of buildings from the Dutch Republic. In 1966, E.H. ter Kuile, for example, curtly dismissed Vredeman's prints as "impossible daydreams," from the hand of "a scarcely creative architect".⁸⁷ This attitude is hardly rare. Accounts like ter Kuile's, which either due to lack of space or inclination must, like Ysendyck, concentrate upon the study of individual monuments or architects, often neglect more complex issues of stylistic dissimulation and diffusion within the Low Countries. Granting almost hegemonic status to the Classical style of seventeenth-century architecture, they persist in upholding a kind of architectural history that maintains the autonomy of two separate developments in the Northern and Southern Netherlands. Students (for ter Kuile's 1966 survey holds a wide audience in English-speaking courses) are thus left with little choice but to posit Vredeman's mannerism as something simply outside of a Classical paradigm. Rightly this approach is now coming under fire.⁸⁸ If nothing else, the biography of Hans Vredeman de Vries, and the wide circulation of his publications serve to demonstrate how the spread of architectural ideas in Holland and Belgium was anything but nationalistically circumscribed.

Conclusion: Since 1945

The specialized studies of Vredeman which have appeared since the Second World War constitutes the body of material most familiar, and most accessible, to most scholars, and specific works are too numerous to mention.⁸⁹ Along with the studies by Blockmans (1962), Mielke (1967) and Jantzen (republished in 1979),⁹⁰ works such as Riggs' study of Hieronymous Cock, the Berlin exhibitions *Pieter Bruegel d. Ä. als Zeichner* (1975), *Fünf Architekten aus Fünf Jahrhunderten* (1976) and daCosta Kaufmann's *The School of Prague* (1987),⁹¹ to name only four, have shed light on separate aspects of Vredeman's career. At the same time a flood of

translations and commentaries upon Renaissance architectural treatises has buoyed interest in Vredeman's theoretical writings as well, all within an increased environment of interdisciplinarity.⁹²

In this respect one notable development since the 1960s can be discerned – the renewal of interest Vredeman's *Perspective*. In the opening decades of the twentieth century, avant-garde art's questioning of traditional notions of space could not help but impact perceptive art historians. Under the effect of writers like Wölfflin and later, Panofsky, the idea of perspective became a central problem not just of architectural representation but of Dutch painting in general. Vredeman's reputation as an indigenously Netherlandish specialist in *perspectiven* thus placed him into many broader discussions, not just about art practice but about perception and optics. Since about 1965 this trend has been renewed. Less of note as an artifact or as an episode in the history of technique, the 1604-5 perspective treatise has become a frequent inclusion in discussions of the visual culture of early modern Europe, that is, in the thinking about how both the production of images and the act of their reception overlapped with economic, political, and technological conditions. For scholars interested in the experiences of individual viewers, perspective as a philosophical system thus comes to represent both the oppressor and the emancipator of early modern subjectivity. Schneede's underappreciated 1965 dissertation, for example, drew upon the 1964 reprint of Erwin Panofsky's *Perspective as Symbolic Form* to examine Vredeman's schema as "*die Objektivierung des subjektiven Erlebnisses*,"⁹³ that is, the objectification of subjective experience, i.e. the rationalization of observation. Not simply a scaffolding (as in Italian painting), in Schneede's view perspective was the entire subject of a picture; in essence the pure expression of a personal point of view: "*Für Lionardo dienen die Regeln der Perspektive nur zur Kontrolle...für Vredeman macht ihre Verwendung den eigentlichen Wert des Bildes aus*."⁹⁴ For better or for worse, here the influence of Greenbergian aesthetics of purity and objectivity is clear.⁹⁵ Meanwhile, in Alpers' controversial *Art of Describing* (1983), Vredeman's "multi-point" perspective became representative of a particularly "Northern" way of seeing during the seventeenth century. This was categorically contrasted with the "monocularism" of Albertian (read: Italian) images (fig. 5).⁹⁶ Although problematic, Alpers' evocative discussion has perhaps more than any other attended to the improvisational, trial-and-error character of Vredeman's method, seeing it more than simply a flawed technique.⁹⁷ Finally, Rotman's thought-provoking *Signifying Nothing* (1991) explores the semiotic function of Vredeman's perspective construction, seeing in it, as did Alpers, a symbol of how vanishing points in fact posit the presence of a beholding onlooker.⁹⁸ While at times criticised for overloading Vredeman's illustrations with anachronistic content, these studies all share an interest in the significance of the *Perspective* as a mass-produced item. They assume that the works' medium, as well as its designs, played a role

in its generation of meaning to particular audiences. In this the scholarship represents a break with older historiography of Hans Vredeman de Vries: the focus now falls less upon the questions of attribution, authorship, and influence than upon the processes of *intersection* between artist, architect, and audience.

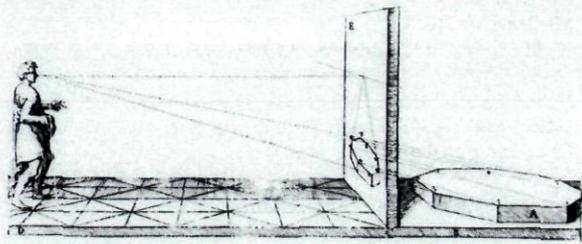
It seems, in closing, that both before and after Auguste Schoy's monograph, literature on Vredeman has been marked by a resistance to totalizing interpretation, a resistance that in many ways mirrors the historiography of local Renaissance architecture and prints as a whole. The manner in which Hans Vredeman de Vries has been examined, interpreted, and collected bears witness not just to alterations to the idea of how a single historical personality is constructed, but also to broader reconfigurations in the writing of art and architectural history. Now that the Hollstein volumes have provided a true visual overview of Vredeman's printed work, the time seems ripe for greater dialogue between those increasingly insular disciplines to occur.⁹⁹

Excursus: Recent Work on Hans Vredeman de Vries

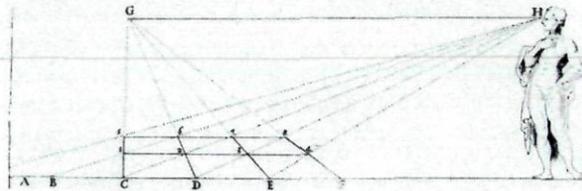
Hans Vredeman de Vries continues to appear in studies of Antwerp humanism in the 16th century. N. Büttner's *Die Erfindung der Landschaft* (2000) and, to a lesser extent, J. van der Stock's *Printing Images in Antwerp* (1998) have both shed light on the demand for specialized subject matter (landscape, architecture) among connoisseurs before 1600.¹⁰⁰ Büttner, especially, has looked into the way Vredeman's work as an engineer on the Antwerp citadel (and, broadly, on the transformation of the city's physical fabric) may have impacted his subsequent designs for "ideal" townscapes. In this he has revisited the question, first sketched by Miedema, of draughtsmanship's specific place in the *bouwmeester* profession.¹⁰¹ Related to this, Vredeman's 1577 *Architectura* has also figured in studies architectural theory in the Dutch Republic after 1600, many in recent volumes of the *Bulletin KNOB*. C. van den Heuvel, for one, has looked at the treatise in light of contemporary published and unpublished writings on Netherlandish building practice as well as architectural theory. Between the poles of practice and theory he has detected a rather hazy distinction in the course of the seventeenth century.¹⁰² Nuytten's unpublished 1994 dissertation,¹⁰³ around the same time, analyzed the organization of the *Architectura* in relation to contemporary published treatises. Nuytten detected an interesting distinction between commentary accompanying plates of the five Orders and that annotating the designs for bridges and fortification designs. Nuytten also looked at the way in which the *Architectura's* illustrations (in particular, ground plans) drew upon local building practices in the Low Countries. However attentive to the specific nature of the plates, Nuytten's work, unlike that by van den Heuvel, tended to over-emphasize the separations between different branches of architectural practice in the treatise. Meanwhile, Petra Zimmerman's research,¹⁰⁴ to be published

Chapter Two

"Ut pictura, ita visio"



27. The first "regola" or the "costruzione legittima," in GIACOMO BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA. *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica* (Rome, 1683), p. 55. University of Chicago Library.

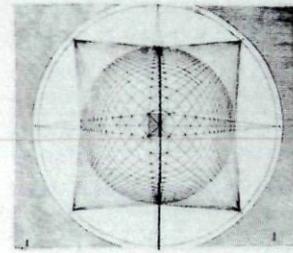


28. The second "regola" or the distance-point method, in GIACOMO BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA. *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica* (Rome, 1683), p. 100. University of Chicago Library.

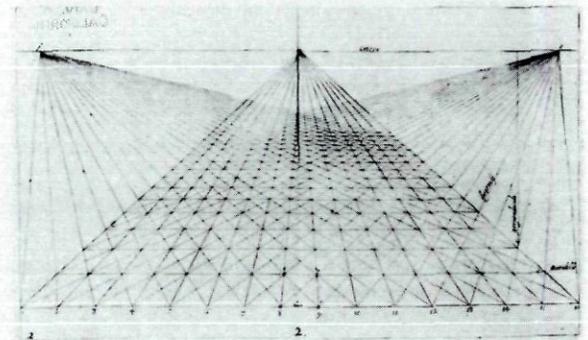
picture in the distance point construction, for there is no framed window pane to look through. Viator's picture is not separate from and related to an external viewer. It is itself identified with pieces of the world seen. The representation of figures in proportion to the pictorial architecture is put in terms of *their* view: "ainsi qu'il sera vu par les figures." Although the model of the eye is not Kepler's, Viator's impulse to identify the picture with the eye, rather than with the world seen by a man situated before it at a certain place, is like Kepler's. Viator's praise of works that employ his mode of perspective not surprisingly echoes the Keplerian picture we have been defining: "[the artists] representent les choses dépassées et lointaines comme immédiates et présentes et connoissables au premier coup d'oeil."¹⁰² It remained for followers to articulate this in pictures.

The distant point method *can* be manipulated to produce the unified central perspective favored by Alberti. Vignola, who in 1583 introduced this method to the Italians, did just that with it since he was no more able than most

modern commentators to imagine away the viewer and the picture plane. But the distance point method does not favor this choice. It easily produces oblique and multiple views. While Viator did produce a number of illustrations that mimic the centralized view, successors in the north emphasized its more native peculiarities. Vredeman de Vries, the Flemish artist-engraver and designer of architecture on paper, reiterated Viator's identification of the eye, perspective, and picture surface when he subtitled his *Perspective* 1604-5 "that is the most famous art of eye-sight which looks upon or through objects painted on a wall, panel or canvas."¹⁰³ The first two plates (figs. 29, 30) beautifully illustrate the basic terms of Viator's visual geometry. The first plate shows the circular arc transcribed by the turning eye, and the second the section of this which, when laid out flat, is the horizon line crossing the



29. JAN VREDEMAN DE VRIES. *Perspective* (Leiden, 1604-5), plate 1. Courtesy, the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.



30. JAN VREDEMAN DE VRIES. *Perspective* (Leiden, 1604-5), plate 2. Courtesy, the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

fig. 5. Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, Chicago, 1983, pp. 56-7. Photo Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag.

in 2001, explores the structure of Vredeman's treatise in the context of a larger, Serlian tradition in Germany. Also expected in Summer of 2001 is an article by B.J.J. Krieger, summarizing a recent scriptie on ornament design in the *Architectura*.¹⁰⁵

Several recent conferences also have offered papers on Vredeman topics: the Second Jülicher Pasqualini-Symposium from 1998 *Italiansische Renaissancebaukunst an Schelde, Maas, und Niederrhein*¹⁰⁶ included contributions by Lombaerde and Zimmerman on the impact of Vredeman's designs on realized architecture, while at the Leuven conference *Eenheid & Tweespalt: Architectonische Relaties tussen de Zuidelijke en Noordelijke Nederlanden* (November 23-25, 2000) C. van den Heuvel examined the role of Vredeman's work as a civil engineer in the characterization of a 'northern' and 'southern' architectural theory in the Netherlands.

Finally, there has been a renewed interest in Vredeman's significance for the history of early modern town planning. A

number of authors have delved further into the archival drawings and records of Antwerp fortification designs first published by Blockmans¹⁰⁷, and Vredeman's exact role in other civic projects around the Schelde has been clarified somewhat.¹⁰⁸ Two relatively new articles by B.M. Vermet in *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* have examined commissions in Danzig from the 1590s.¹⁰⁹ Vredeman's work at Wolfenbüttel has also been revisited by German scholars, following F. Thöne's important series of articles in the *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* between 1952 and 1960.¹¹⁰ In these, T. Scheliga has looked at Vredeman's garden designs from this city as a species of utopian literature. Also, the potential realization of the designs at Habsburg courts has been a subject of broader studies of elite culture around 1600.¹¹¹ Lastly, Vredeman's so-called "imaginary" city views are being questioned as to their potential impact upon the viewing of urban environments in the Netherlands.¹¹² A new study by L. Stapel explores the importance of these city views for strategies of painting and drawing townscapes

in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century.¹¹³ Stapel's book, unlike earlier literature, is interested in the street scenes for their representations of specific aspects of contemporary urban life rather than of isolated buildings *per se*. This comes at a time when the importance of Vredeman's perspective for Dutch painting genres other than architecture is remains an issue.¹¹⁴ To be sure, Vredeman's reputation as a disjunctive and problematically singular artist has enamored him, as it did a century ago, to the jaded aesthetic of the *fin de siècle*. And indeed, the kind of "surrogate chauvinism"¹¹⁵ implicit in many German and American writers' attempts at defining the "Dutchness" or "non-Dutchness" of Vredeman's work demonstrates that an era of nationalistically-slanted history is far from over.

Notes

The bibliography in Fuhring 1997 (see note 1), pp. 15-28, provides an extensive (although not definitive) listing of literature on Hans and Paul Vredeman de Vries' work as painters and designers of ornament. A complete bibliography of Vredeman's historiography in architectural contexts is still lacking. For a fuller account of older (nineteenth-century) references to Hans, again chiefly as artist, see Irmgard Koska's entry in U. Thieme and F. Becker's *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künster* vol. XXXIV, Leipzig, 1940, pp. 575-578.

1. P. Fuhring *Hans and Paul Vredeman de Vries* (Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts 1450-1700, vols. XLVI-XLVII) Rotterdam, 1997. The appellation "le Vitruve Flamand" was first applied by A. Schoy, *Histoire de l'influence italienne sur l'architecture dans les Pays-Bas (Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers publiées par l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres, et des beaux-arts de Belgique XXXIX:2*, Brussels, 1879, p. 170.
2. L. Silver, review of P. Fuhring and G. Luijten (see note 1), in *Historians of Netherlandish Art Newsletter* 16:1 (April 1999), p. 41.
3. K. de Jonge, "Vitruvius, Alberti, and Serlio: Architectural Treatises in the Low Countries, 1530-1620", in V. Hart and P. Hicks (eds.), *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, New Haven, 1998, pp. 281-296.
4. Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Architectura, Oder Bauung der Antiquen aufs dem Vitruvius, welches sein funff Columnen Orden, dar aufs mann alle Landts gebrauch vonn Bauuen zu accomodierte, dienstlich fur alle Baumaystren, Maurer, Stainmetzlen, Schreineren, Bildtschneideren, und alle Liebhabern der Architectureen...* Antwerp, 1577.
5. H. Miedema, "Over de waardering van architect en beeldende kunstenaar in de zestiende eeuw", *Oud Holland* 94 (1980), pp. 72-75.
6. H. Mielke, *Hans Vredeman de Vries: Verzeichnis der Stichwerke und Beschreibung seines Stils sowie Beiträge zum Werk Gerard Groenings*, Ph.D. diss, Freien Universität Berlin, 1967.
7. Hans Vredeman de Vries is first living artist to receive a chapter in van Mander's account, and it is possible that the two men knew each other after 1600 in Amsterdam. See H.E. Greve, *De bronnen van Carel van Mander voor "Het leven derf doorluchtighe Nederlandsche en Hoogduytsche schilders (Quellenstudien zur holländischen Kunstgeschichte II)* The Hague, 1903, p. 161.
8. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Die Inventie der columnen met harne coronementen ende maten...* Antwerp, 1539 (octavo); and *idem.*, *Generale regelen der architecturen op de vyve manieren van edificien...* Antwerp, 1539 (folio).
9. Particularly in R. Rolf, *Pieter Coecke van Aelst en zijn architectuur-uitgaves van 1539; met reprint van zijn 'Die inventie der columnen' en 'Generale reglen der architecturen'* Amsterdam, 1978; and H. Miedema, *o.c.* [n. 5.]
10. H. Miedema (ed.), *Karel van Mander: The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters. Volume V: Commentary on Lives / fol. 262r01-291r47*, Trans. D. Cook-Radmore, Doornspijk, 1998, pp. 48-64. See also this edition's volume IV (1999), p. XXXIII for addenda on the earlier commentary.
11. See J. van Roey, "De Antwerpse schilders in 1584-1585: Poging tot sociaal-religieuze onderzoek", *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten te Antwerpen* 1966, esp. p. 119.
12. Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, Resoluties van Curatoren, 9 February 1604: "Op te verzoek van Hans Vredeman de Vriese...om te mogen worden gebruyct int doceren van de perspective, ingenie, en de architecture...de staat van de Univ. niet suffisant is om te veel nyewe professoren aen te nemen." See P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de Gescheidenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, The Hague, 1913, p. 156.
13. C. Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijke/schoone/Triumphelijcke Inkomst...*, Antwerp, 1550 fol. Oiiiir.
14. L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i paesi bassi, altramenti detti Germania inferiore...* Antwerp, 1567, p. 100. Vredeman also presented an original poem at a *rederijker* competition in Brussels in 1562; see E. van Autenboer, *Volksfeesten en Rederijkers te Mechelen (1400-1600)* Gent, 1962, p. 200, item 322.
15. *Trattato dell'Arte de la Pittura di Gio Paolo Lomazzo Milanese Pittore...*Milan, 1584, p. 320: "Oltra di questo in altri modi si possono crescere dalle piante I corpi humani, come per forza di numero co'l velo di Leon, Battista, Alberto, co l telaro, & la graticola, di Alberto Durerro, & di Giovanni di Frisia di Graminge, iguali istromenti lo ho veduti insieme con molte altre figure disegnate da molti con la prospettiva di Gio. Lenclairer."
16. F. Baldinucci, *Notize de Professori...* Florence, 1687, part II, pp. 72-74.
17. Fra Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi, *Abecedario pitturico...* Bologna, 1704, p. 309.
18. J.B. Descamps, *La Vie des Peintres Flamands, Allemands, et Hollandois*, Paris, 1753, vol. I, pp. 135-137.
19. J. Evelyn, *Sculptura, or, the History and Art of Chalography, AND engraving in copper...*London, 1662, p. 65: "...JEROME COCK, a Fleming, cut for VRISSE, a painter, the Perspectives, which pass under his name, with twenty leaves of several Buildings..."
20. Most famously in France. See S. McTigue, "Abraham Bosse and the language of artisans: genre and perspective in the Académie royale de peinture et sculpture, 1658-1670", *Oxford Art Journal* 21:1 (1998), pp. 3-26.
21. See for example, plates no. 14, 22, 29 of Hendrick Hondius, *Institutio artis perspectivae*, The Hague, 1622.
22. M. Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in western art from Brunelleschi to Seurat*, New Haven, 1990, pp. 119-131.
23. Among the many: B. Taylor, *Linear Perspective or a New Method of Portraying justly all manner of objects...*, London, 1715; J.J. Kirby, *Dr. Brook's Taylor's Method of Perspective made easy both in Theory and in Practice*. Ipswich, 1754; T. Malton, *A Complete Treatise on Perspective in Theory and Practice...*London, 1779. J.M.W. Turner's notes for a series of lectures given in 1811 as the first "Professor of Perspective" at the Royal Academy contained illustrations demonstrating the work of "Vredeman Friese 1619." These drawings and notes are now in the British Museum, London. See J. Ziff, "Backgrounds, Introduction to Architecture and Landscape", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXVI (1963), pp. 124-147.
24. *T'samen-spreekinghe betreffende de Architecture ende Schilderkonst*, Gouda, 1628 [The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, sig. 1295 E 91], p. 16

25. S. de Bray and Cornelius Dankerts, *Architectura moderna ofte Bouwinge van onsen Tyt* Amsterdam, 1631 (reprint Soest, 1971) On the authorship of separate sections of this work see J.J. Terwen and K.A. Ottenheim, *Pieter Post (1608-1669): Architect*. Zutphen, 1993, pp. 216-220, and H.W. Krufft, *A History of Architectural Theory*, Princeton, 1994, pp. 176-77.
26. e.g. at *Schilder-boek*, fol. 266r, on the decorations for the entry of Anne of Austria into Antwerp, 1580 for which "gaf hem de [German] Natie 60. Rijcxdaelders."
27. Particularly after 1555. See T. Riggs, *Hieronymous Cock (1510-1570): Printmaker and Publisher in Antwerp at the Sign of the Four Winds*. Ph.D. diss, Yale, 1971, pp. 165-171; 180-185.
28. A.J.J. van Delen, "Christoffel Plantin als Prenthandelaar", *De Gulden Passer* 10 (1932), p. 5.
29. See Katalog der Fastenmesse/Herbstmesse Frankfurt, 1571-1573 (facs.) *Die Messenkataloge Georg Willers*, New York, 1972.
30. A.J.J. van Delen, *Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, v. II, Paris, 1934, pp. 162-163.
31. In 1588 Plantin paid 1 guilder for a copy of *Architectura* while on the same invoice paid 24 guilders for two collections of "sacred histories." See van Delen, *o.c.* [n. 30], p. 163.
32. At the same sale Dutch translations of Vitruvius appear to have gone for 3 to 4 guilders. See H. Meeus, "Jan Moretus en de Noordnederlandse Boekhandel 1590-1610" *Ex Plantiana: Studien over het Drukkersgeslacht Moretus*, Antwerp, 1996, p. 361.
33. See, for example, the account of the wagering at van Mander fol. 266v.
34. The entry "Johann Fridman Freiß," appears in a list of "Living famous painters from the Netherlands" that princely collectors should seek to acquire. See B. Gutfleisch and J. Menzhausen, "How a Kunstkammer should be formed: Gabriel Kaltmarkt's advice to Christian I of Saxony on the formation of an art collection", *Journal of the History of Collections* 1:2 (1989), p. 26.
35. E. Landolt, et. al. *Das Amerbach-Kabinett: Beiträge zu Basilius Amerbach* Basel, 1991, esp. pp. 136-7. Amerbach (d. 1596), jurist and founder of the Basel publishing dynasty, divided his print collection into *Schaublader* ("presentation drawers") which appear to have been organized by subject matter. Inventory B lists a "Schaublade XIII" which apparently housed sheets by Frans Hogenberg, Gillis Coignet, Corneilius Cort, Philip Galle, and a "Joh. Vridman Friese."
36. J. Denuce, *De Antwerpse 'Konstkamers'* Amsterdam, 1932, p. 112.
37. Although notable exceptions exist, particularly where prints by "old masters" like Dürer are concerned. See, for example, the 16th century collection of the Behaim family from Nuremberg; J.E. Wesseley, "Das Manuscript van Paul Behaims Kupferstich-katalog im Berliner Museen", *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 6 (1883), pp. 54-63, and also P.W. Parshall, "The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 78 (1982), 139-144.
38. At Schloss Ambras pages from Vredeman's *Scenographie* are pasted in to an album marked "Ain beuch, von arhitectura". See W. Boeham (ed.), "Inventar des Nachlasses Erzherzog Ferdinand II in Ruhe-stadt Innsbruck end Ambras, von 30 Mai 1596", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7, part 2 (1888), p. CCXC, as well as discussion in Parshall (n. 37).
39. Album no. 28-II-14. See J. A. DeLasarte and A. Casanovas, "Catalogo de la Coleccion de Grabados de la Biblioteca de la Escorial", *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona* XVI-XVII (1963-1966), and the J. Gonazles de Zarate (ed.), *Real Coleccion de Estampas de San Lorenzo de El Escorial*, Vittoria/Gasteiz, 1992-1996, 11 vols. Parshall (as in note 37) has rightfully decried the lack of attention paid to the organization of the print albums by these kind of artist-based inventories. Fortunately, a helpful overview of the bound albums has recently appeared. See M. MacDonald, "The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial", *Print Quarterly* XV (1998), pp. 15-35.
40. Parshall, *op. cit.* [n. 37], p. 146ff.
41. C. T. de Murr, *Collection of Monsieur P. de Praun a Nuremberg*, Nuremberg, 1797, pp. 171-187, nos. 205-228. Portefeuille D contains Hieronymous Cock's *Operum antiquarium Romanum* (a series of Roman ruins) as well as views of contemporary Rome and elsewhere, e.g. "Le Palais Farnesian" (no. 202), "Byrsa Amsterodamensis" (no. 231). In all these cases the authorship of the prints is noted less often than the scene and locale depicted, and prints depicting processions rather than architecture *per se* are included in the same grouping as well, e.g. no. 243: "Disegno della Beneditione del Pontefice nela Piazza de Santo Pietro." On the basis of an annotated copy of Murr from the auction of Praun's collection (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet sig. 318 C 16) it appears that those prints from the same *Portefeuille* as Vredeman's which depicted architecture fetched considerably lower prices than those showing portraits or representations of antique sculpture, when they were sold at all.
42. On this see P. Parshall, "Art and the Theatre of Knowledge", *Harvard Art Museums Bulletin* (Spring 1994), esp. pp. 32-35.
43. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek sig. N 37 Helmst. 2°.
44. "Das Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II, 1607-1611", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen Wien* 72 (1976), p. 136.
45. J. Menzhausen, "Electo Augustus' Kunstkammer: An Anlysis of the Inventory of 1587", in Impey & MacGregor (eds.) *The Origin of Museums* Cambridge, 1985, pp. 69-71.
46. Along with local decorative designer Francois-Xavier Habermann, Vredeman is the best-represented artist in the Coimbra print collection, today preserved in the Bibliothéque Municipal de Porto. See M. Mandroux-Franca, "La Circulation de la Gravure D'ornament en Portugal du XVIe au XVIIIe siecle", in H. Zerner (ed.) *Le Stampe e la Diffusione delle immagini e degli stili*, Bologna, 1979, pp. 85-108.
47. *Catalogus der Bibliothek van Joannes Thysius*, Leiden, 1879, p. 316.
48. See M. de Marolles, *Catalogue de livres, estampes, et de figures en taille douce*, Paris, 1666, e.g., pp. 47, 99, 110, 125, 127, 129, 131.
49. See I. Collijn, *Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie's Samlung af Äldre Stadsvyer och Historika Planscher*, Uppsala, 1915.
50. For more on British provenances see Fuhring, *o.c.* [n. 1] p. 12-13, and A. Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobern England: The influence of Continental Prints, 1558-1625*, New Haven, 1997, pp. 43-93.
51. The 1656 Inventory of Rembrandt's possessions in Amsterdam, item 253 lists a "boeckien" (little book) "...vol printen vande Architecture". See W. Strauss and M. van der Meulen (ed.) *The Rembrandt Documents*, New York, 1979, pp. 367-379.
52. A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventaire* The Hague, 1915; vol I, p. 175 "Een d. van de Vries"; vol II, p. 1494: "1 perspectief boek van de Vries"; and vol II, p. 1747; "1 boek met prenten van Hans de Vries."
53. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventaire*, III, The Hague, 1915, p. 2212.
54. See, for example the plates listed under Hollstein nos. 73-84 used in B. Langley, *The Young Builder's Rudiments*, London, 1730.
55. See the anonymous sheet in the Houthakker collection, illustrated in P. Fuhring, *Design into Art: Drawings for Architecture and Ornament*, The Hague, 1989, vol II, no. 957.
56. e.g. *A southern harbor with column* (Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett inv. C 1970-7), and *Boats in a southern harbor* (formerly Amsterdam, collection P. de Boer) which both follow *Variae Architecturae Formae* no. 29.
57. J.P.C.M. Ballegeer, "Enkle voorbeelden van de invloed van Hans en Paulus Vredeman de Vries op de architectuurschilders in de Nederlanden gedurende de XVIe en de XVIIe eeuw", *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en oudheidkunde* XX (1967), pp. 55-70.
58. See, most famously, J. Burckhardt, *Der Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, Basel, 1860.
59. See W. Eeckhoff, *De Stedelijke Kunstverzameling van Leeuwarden*, Leeuwarden, 1875, p. 282-3.
60. H. Hymans (trans.), *Le Livre des Peintres de Carel van Mander, Vie*

- des Peintres flamands, hollandaise et allemands*, Paris, 1885, vol II, p. 107.
61. J. Immerzeel, Jr. *Catalogus van Hollandsche en Fransche Boeken...* Rotterdam, 1822; C. Kramm, *De Levens en Werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Kunstschilders, Beeldhouwers, Graveurs, en Bouwmeesters*, Amsterdam, 1863, pp. 1804-5; A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, Haarlem, 1876; pp. 438-9; A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländischen Künstler-Lexicon*, Vienna and Leipzig, 1910, vol 2, pp. 830-831; J. R. Visscher, *Nieuwe-Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, Leiden, 1927, vol VII, cols. 1292-1294.
62. H. Jantzen, *Das Niederländische Architekturbild* (Leipzig, 1910), 2nd. ed Braunschweig, 1979, p. 138. Originally a dissertation, Halle-Wittenberg, 1908. An important examination of this book's methodological context is in J. Boomgaard, "Bronnenstudie en stilistiek: Van de Kunst der werkelijkheid tot de werkelijkheid der kunst", in F. Grijzenhout and H. van Veen (eds.) *De Gouden Eeuw in Perspectief*, Heerlen, 1992, pp. 269-271.
63. J.F. Waagen, *Die vornehmsten Denkmäler in Wien*, Vienna, 1866, p. 200. Waagen's views on the Antwerp school in the 16th century were more fully expressed in his "Über den Maler Petrus Paulus Rubens", *Historisches Taschenbuch*, Leipzig, 1833, pp. 137-282.
64. The first reprint appears to have been Vredeman's *Recueil de Caryatides*. The plates were unaccompanied by explanatory text.
65. A. Schoy, *Hans Vredeman de Vries (le Grands Architectes de la Renaissance Aux Pays-Bas)*, Brussels, 1876, p. 31.
66. The translation actually contained some additional commentary. See H.L. Boersma, "Hans Vredeman de Vries en diens naamsgenooten, naar het Fransch van S. [sic] Schoy", *Bouwkundige Bijdragen* 26 (1881), pp. 23-52.
67. C.H. Peters, "Hans Vredeman de Vriese", *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 15:39 (28 September 1895), p. 251. The emphasis repeatedly placed upon the idea of "onze" Renaissance is Peters' own.
68. R. Hedicke, *Cornelius Floris und die Florisdekoration: Studien zur niederlaendischen und deutschen Kunst im XVI. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1913.
69. Mielke, *op. cit.* [n. 6]; P. Karstkarel, introduction to *Perspective*, Mijdrecht, 1979; G. Irmscher, "Hans Vredeman de Vries als Zeichner (I)", *Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch Graz* 21 (1985), pp. 123-42 and *idem* "Hans Vredeman de Vries als Zeichner (II)", *Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch Graz* 22 (1986), pp. 79-117.
70. F. Ewenbeck, *Die Renaissance in Belgien und Holland*, 4 parts. Leipzig, 1884-1889; J.J. van Ysendyck, *Documents classes de l'art dans les Pays-Bas du Xe au XIXe siècle*, Brussels, 1880-8.
71. See, for example C. Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles, des Rococo und des Klassicismus in Belgien, Holland, Frankreich, England*. Stuttgart, 1888, p. 7; A. Haupt, *Baukunst der Renaissance in Frankenreich und Deutschland*, Berlin, 1916, p. 170 ["durch (Vredeman's) Blätter wurde der flandrischen Auffassung und Einzelbildung in Norddeutschland daurend Vorshub geleistet"]; C. Horst, *Die Architektur der Deutschen Renaissance*, Berlin, 1928, p. 15.
72. P. Parent, *L'Architecture des Pays Bas Meridionaux*, Paris, 1926, p. 197-198.
73. G. Galland, *Geschichte der Holländischen Baukunst und Bildnerie im Zeitalter der Renaissance, der nationalen Blüte und des Klassicismus*, Frankfurt a. Main, 1890, p. 190, pp. 109-115.
74. See especially J.J. Vriend, *De Bouwkunst van ons Land*, Amsterdam, 1938, Vol. II, pp. 91ff.
75. F.A.J. Vermeulen, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse Bouwkunst*, The Hague, 1931, vol. II, p. 235.
76. F.A.J. Vermeulen, "Nederlandse Baukunst in Rembrandt's Tijd", *De Schouw*, June 1942, p. 343-351; and F. Simpson, "Nederlandse Kultur in Dantzig", *De Schouw* August 1942, p. 231-233. On Vermeulen's active support of Nazism (he was imprisoned after 1945 as a collaborator) see L. Bosman, "De geschiedenis van de nederlandse architectuurgeschiedenis; middeleeuwse bouwkunst", in P. Hecht (ed.), *Kunstgeschiedenis in nederland*, Amsterdam, 1998, pp. 73-76; and E. de Jongh, "De Nederlandse zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst door politieke brillen", in Grijzenhout and van Veen (eds.) *op. cit.* [n. 62], 230-232.
77. G. Wasmuth (ed.) *Lexikon der Baukunst*, Berlin, 1932.
78. L. Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, London, 1938, p. 131, "Further: 'the publication by de Vriese in 1557 [sic] was a prelude to a movement that was to dominate architecture in the 18th century and issue forth into crazy copybook simulacra in the nineteenth. Under this precedent, measurement and imitation take the place of intelligible design.'"
79. See N. Pevser, "Gegenreformation und Manierismus", *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 46 (1925): p. 259-285.
80. A. Hauser, *Der Manierismus: die Krise der Renaissance und der Ursprung der modernen Kunst*, Munich, 1964.
81. e. g. in H. Sedlmayr, *Verlust der Mitte*, Salzburg, published 1965 (but based upon writing from the late 1930s).
82. See E. Cropper's pithy summary of 20th century debates in C. H. Smith, *Mannerism and Maniera*, Vienna, 1992, pp. 12-21.
83. E. Forsman, *Säule und Ornament: Studie zum Problem der Manierismus in den nordischen Säulenbücher und Vorgeblättern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Stockholm, 1956.
84. See H. Zerner's remarks in F.W. Robinson and S.G. Nichols, eds, *The Meaning of Mannerism*, Hannover NH (USA), 1972; T. DaCosta Kaufmann, "Perspective on Prague: Rudolfiner Stylistics Reviewed", in C. Fučíkova (ed.) *Rudolf II and Prague: The Court and the City*, London, 1997, pp. 130-145.
85. *De Triomphe van het Manierisme: De European Stijl van Michelangelo tot El Greco*. Exh. cat. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1955.
86. See H. Gerson, *Art and Architecture in Belgium 1600-1800*, Harmondsworth, 1960, pp. 68ff.
87. J. Rosenberg, S. Slive, and E.H. Ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture 1600-1800*, Harmondsworth, 1966, p. 225. A Belgian counterpart to this work, which correspondingly lionizes the qualities of Vredeman's work that ter Kuile dislikes, is R. Tijs, *Renaissance en Barok- Architectuur in België*, Tiel, 1999.
88. By, among others, K. Ottenheim, who raised the issue in his introductory paper at the conference *Eenheid & Tweespalt: Architectonische Relaties tussen de Zuidelijke en Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Leuven, 23 November 2000.
89. For a listing of most of these studies the reader is referred to P. Fuhring, *o.c.* [n. 1] and to the excursus here, pp. 35-37, n. 100-115.
90. See F. Blockmans, "Een krijgstekening, een muurschildering, en een schilderij van Hans Vredeman de Vries in Antwerpen (1577-1586)" in: *Antwerpen: Tijdschrift der Stad Antwerpen* 8 (April 1962), pp. 20-42; Mielke *o.c.* [n. 6]; Jantzen *o.c.* [n. 62].
91. See Riggs *o.c.* [n. 27]; Berlin, *Kupferstichkabinett, Pieter Bruegel d.Ä. als Zeichner*, exh. cat, 1975, cats. no. 289-292; *Kunstabibliothek Berlin, Fünf Architekten aus Fünf Jahrhunderten*, exh. cat, 1976, pp. 3-25; T. da Costa Kaufmann, *The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II*, Chicago, 1988.
92. An early example of this trend: M. van den Winckel, "Hans Vredeman de Vries", in J. Guillaume (ed.) *Les Traités d'Architecture de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1988, pp. 453-455.
93. U.E. Schneede, *Das repräsentative Gesellschaftsbild in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts und seine Grundlage bei Hans Vredeman de Vries*, Ph.D. diss, Kiel, 1965, p. 108. The extracts which later appeared in the *Nederlandse Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 18 (1967), pp. 125-168 belie the sociological focus and character of Schneede's overall thesis, which is actually much more involved with issues of perception and politics than with cataloguing.
94. Schneede, *o.c.* [n. 93], p. 122
95. A strong argument against the practice of reading contemporary aesthetics into architectural paintings of the 17th century is found in W.

- Liedtke, "Saenredam's Space", *Oud Holland* 86 (1971), pp. 116-141.
96. S. Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, Chicago, 1983.
97. As many scholars continue to do, among them L. Wright, *Perspective in Perspective*, London, 1983, p. 130.
98. B. Rotman, *Signifying Nothing: The Semiotics of Zero*, New York, 1987, esp. pp. 14-46.
99. On the idea of a separation between art and architectural history since 1900 see the rich article by A.A. Payne, "Architectural History and the History of Art", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58:3 (1999), pp. 292-299.
100. N. Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft: Kosmographie und Landschaftskunst im Zeitalter Bruegels*, Göttingen, 2000; J. van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp*, Rotterdam, 1998.
101. Miedema, o.c. [n. 5]
102. See, for example, the following articles by C. van den Heuvel, "De Architectura (1599) van Charles de Beste. Een onbekend architectuurtraat van een Brugs bouwmeester", *Handelingen van het genootschap voor geschiedenis* 131 (1994), pp. 65-93; "Stevens 'Huysbou' en het onvoltooide Nederlandse architectuurtractaat: De praktijk van het bouwen als wetenschap", *Bulletin KNOB* XCIII (1994), pp. 1-18; "De 'Architectura' van Charles De Beste: Het vitruvianisme in de Nederlanden in de zestiende eeuw", *Bulletin KNOB* XCIV (1995), pp. 11-23.
103. D. Nuytten, "Hans Vredeman de Vries' 'ARCHITECTURA Oder Bauung der Antiquen aufs dem Vitruvius...': Analyse en evaluatie van een architecturaal voorbeeldboek van de 16e eeuw" Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1994.
104. P. Zimmerman, "Die 'Architectura' von Hans Vredeman de Vries als Beitrag zur Entwicklung und Ausbreitung der Renaissance in Deutschland" (forthcoming)
105. B.J.J. Krieger, "HIERARCHIE DER ORNAMENT?: De ontmoeting van het classicisme en de rolwerkartouche in de Architectura [1577] van Hans Vredeman de Vries: 'voorsichtich Architect deser nederlandenen(de) cloeck Ingenieur, geen vromer vorhanden'" unpublished scriptie, Vrij Universiteit Amsterdam, December 2000, 2 vols. Proceedings published Jülich, 1999.
106. See, for example P. Lombaerde, "Antwerpen, drie eeuwen experimenten met een modelvesting", *Vesting Antwerpen: De Brialmontforten*, Snoeck, 1997, pp. 10-19
107. A. Meskens, *Wiskunde Tussen Renaissance en Barok: Aspecten van de wiskunde-beoefening te Antwerpen 1550-1620*, Amsterdam, 1994, pp. 180-181.
108. B.M. Vermet, "Hendrick Aerts", *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en Oudheidkunde* XXX (1995), pp. 107-108; *idem*, "Architectuurschilders in Dantzig: Hendrick Aerts en Hans en Paul Vredeman de Vries", *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en Oudheidkunde* XXXI (1996), pp. 27-57.
109. The most important: F. Thöne, "Hans Vredeman de Vries in Wolfenbüttel", *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 41 (1960), pp. 47-68; see also the useful review of this piece by J. J. F. W. van Agt in *Bulletin KNOB* 14 (1961), col. 93-96. Then, E. Brües, "Hans Vredeman de Vries: Idealarchitektur", in *Architekt und Ingenieur: Baumeister in Krieg und Frieden* (exhibition catalogue, Herzog-August Bibliothek) Wolfenbüttel, 1984, pp. 263-267; W. Kelsch, "Wolfenbüttel – eine geplante Idealstadt der Renaissance? Kritische Bemerkungen zu zwei Aufsätzen von Kryztof Biskop", *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 71 (1990), 139-146; B. Uppenkamp, "Idealstadt Wolfenbüttel", in H. Hipp (ed.) *Architektur als politisch Kultur: Philosophica Practica* (Berlin, 1996), pp. 116-119.
110. See U. M. Mehrtens, "Die 'Hortorum Formae' von Johann Vredeman de Vries", in M. Mosser (ed.) *Die Gartenkunst des Abendlandes: Von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart*, Stuttgart, 1993, pp. 99-101; B. Uppenkamp, "Die Scenographie und Gartenentwürfe des Hans Vredeman de Vries und seine Tätigkeit in Wolfenbüttel im Lichte neuer Quellen", in *Rudolf II, Prague, and the World*, Prague, 1998, pp. 111-119; and two articles by T. Scheliga: "Renaissancegärten der Herzöge von Braunschweig-Lüneburg in Wolfenbüttel", in V. Lüpkes and H. Borggreve (eds.) '...zur zierde und schmuck angeegt...': *Beiträge zur frühneuzeitlichen Garten- und angelegt Schloßbaukunst*, Marburg, 1996, pp. 9-52; and "A Renaissance Garden in Wolfenbüttel, North Germany", *Garden History* XXV:1 (1997), pp. 1-22.
111. A doctoral study of Vredeman's role in the development of "perspectival" views and profiles of cities in the sixteenth-century is being prepared by C. Heuer, University of California, Berkeley.
112. L. Stapel, *Perspectieven van de stad: over bronnen, populariteit en functie van het zeventiende eeuw stadsgesicht (Zeven Provinciën Reeks XVIII)* Hilversum, 2000, esp. pp. 12-42. Appendix B of this little book also provides a complete listing of 17th c. Dutch artists' inventories in which Vredeman's books appear.
113. See for example Jørgen Wadum's essay in K. Barkel, ed., *The Scholarly World of Vermeer*, Zwolle, 1996.
114. On this see also de Jongh, o.c. [n. 76].

PUBLICATIES

Kolen & T. Lemaire [reds.], **Landschap in meervoud. Perspectieven op het Nederlandse landschap in de 20ste/21ste eeuw**, Utrecht, uitgeverij Jan van Arkel, 1999, 476pp. ISBN 9062244211. Prijs f49,95.

Een eerste bladersessie door het boek is een genoegen vanwege de aantrekkelijke, sobere vormgeving. Het bestaat uit een kloekke band iets groter dan een roman. De bladzijden hebben een prettige bladspiegel met bescheiden aantallen noten in denkbeeldige kolommen aan de rechterkant van de linkerpagina en de linkerkant van de rechterpagina. De tekst wordt verhelderd met afbeeldingen van kaarten, plattegronden en modellen, en verlichtigd door prenten en foto's van landschappen, waaronder een aantal zeer fraaie in kleur. Na het bladeren dient er echter gelezen te worden. Maar het boek is angst-aanjagend dik. Gelukkig staan er behalve bovengenoemde plaatjes veel korte bijdragen in. Bovendien zijn die bijdragen ingedeeld in vijf verschillende secties, te weten 'Landschap en moderne tijd', 'Natuur en landschap', 'De transformatie van het Nederlandse landschap', 'Het landschap en de historische ervaring' en 'Het landschap in de kunst / het landschap als kunstwerk'. Die secties zijn voorzien van korte, heldere introducties en het geheel van een voorwoord, waarin de lezer een leidraad vindt voor het vaststellen van welke bijdragen hem het lezen waard lijken.

Doel van het boek is volgens het voorwoord het bieden van een spiegel van het Nederlandse landschap, van hoe het was, hoe het is, hoe het wordt onderzocht en geduid, en hoe het zou kunnen of moeten zijn. Uitgangspunt vormt het idee dat het Nederlandse landschap waarschijnlijk nooit zo snel en grondig is veranderd als in de twintigste eeuw en het vermoeden dat dit proces in de ééentwintigste eeuw zal doorgaan. Daarbij wordt verondersteld dat alles wat in een land gebeurt zich vroeg of laat in het landschap uitdrukt en vastzet, waardoor 'landschap' een sleutelbegrip is in het nadenken over de huidige toestand van Nederland en de toekomst van onze samenleving. Bovendien wordt er nadruk gelegd op de vele manieren waarop het begrip kan worden geduid, vandaar dat *Landschap 'in meervoud'*. Het leek de redacteuren Kolen (archeoloog) en Lemaire (cultuurfilosoof) tijd voor bezinning op de vele dimensies van onze verhouding tot het landschap, voor terugkijken op de twintigste eeuw en vooruitblikken naar de ééentwintigste eeuw. Om hieraan recht te doen, bestaat het boek uit drieëntwintig hoofdstukken door auteurs van