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Attributing the Berlin Sketchbook to the Amsterdam painter and printmaker Cornelis Anthonisz (ca. 1505-1558)

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Attributing the Berlin Sketchbook to Cornelis Anthonisz*

Daantje Meuwissen

Personal sketchbooks of early modern artists are extremely rare. They used them to copy works of art or motifs, record their travel impressions and experiment with original compositions. Although almost every artist would have had one or more of those small books, only a few from the early sixteenth-century Low Countries have survived. The most famous are Maarten van Heemskerck's two sketchbooks in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, which contain 172 drawings of statues, classical ruins, cityscapes and landscapes, most of them made in Rome.¹ The 66 drawings in the first album are from the sketchbook that he used there from 1532 to 1536. The second one contains a maximum of 18 drawings by Heemskerck, as well as sheets by various anonymous artists that date from the 1540s.²

Then there is the so-called Antwerp sketchbook, which

is also in Berlin, in which there are more than 100 drawings, mainly of landscapes, motifs like rocks, farmhouses and castles, and views of Antwerp and its surroundings.³ It was made by different artists between roughly 1535 and 1543, and has been placed by Holm Bevers in the workshop of Herri met de Bles.⁴ It is often mentioned in the same breath as the so-called Errera Sketchbook in Brussels,⁵ a nineteenth-century album containing 84 sheets with townscapes and harbor scenes, studies of trees, rocks, farmhouses and castles, as well as a number of figure studies. Many of them are based on existing motifs or compositions, and are by different artists active in an Antwerp workshop in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. However, the Antwerp and Errera books are not personal sketchbooks but so-called model books or *Musterbücher*: collections of models that were

* This article stems from research I carried out for the exhibition *Van Oostsanen: de eerste Hollandse meester* in the Amsterdam Museum and the Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar from 15 March to 29 June 2014 and the accompanying publication, D. Meuwissen *et al.*, exhib. cat. *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen ca. 1475–1533: de Renaissance in Amsterdam en Alkmaar*, Alkmaar (Stedelijk Museum), Amsterdam (Amsterdam Museum) & Zwolle 2014. The study was carried out partly under the aegis of my appointment at the Radboud University in Nijmegen and partly at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. I am grateful to the following people for their stimulating remarks and critical observations: Boudewijn Bakker, Holm Bevers, Albert Elen, Molly Faries, Jan Piet Filedt Kok, René Gerritsen, Marc Hameleers, Oliver Kik, Bram de Klerck, Huigen Leefflang, Andrea van Leerdam, Norbert Middelkoop, Maikel Niël, Paul Spies and Ilja Veldman. I owe a particular debt to Ilona van Tuinen, who conducted extensive research into the Berlin Sketchbook, for allowing me to read her forthcoming article (see note 10) and for our conversations about the sketchbook and its attribution. Yvonne Bleyerveld, who edited this article, was far more than just an editor. Her knowledge of sixteenth-century drawings and prints added an invaluable extra dimension to the study. My thanks, too, to Peter Hecht for inviting me to publish my findings in *Simiolus*. The article was translated from the Dutch by Michael Hoyle.

¹ Both albums are in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, inv. nrs. 79 D 2 and 79 D 2a; see C. Hülsen and H. Egger, *Die Römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck im Königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*, 2 vols., Berlin 1913–16 (reprint Soest 1975). For the most recent

commentary on the albums see I.M. Veldman, "The 'Roman Sketchbooks' in Berlin and Maarten van Heemskerck's travel sketchbook," in T. Bartsch and P. Seiler (eds.), *Rom zeichnen: Maarten van Heemskerck 1532–1536/37*, Berlin 2012, pp. 11–23.

² Veldman, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 11–16.

³ Inv. nr. 79 C 2.

⁴ H. Bevers, "The Antwerp sketchbook of the Bles workshop in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett," in N.E. Muller, B.J. Rosasco and J.H. Marrow (eds.), *Herri met de Bles: studies and explorations of the world landscape tradition*, Princeton & Turnhout 1998, pp. 39–50. For recent research into this sketchbook see D. van Heesch, *Het Antwerpse Schetsboek herbekeken: over Bosch-navolging, kopieerpraktijken en de verspreiding van vormtaal in Antwerpen rond het midden van de zestiende eeuw*, unpublished master's thesis, Catholic University Leuven, 2013. Much information in that paper can be consulted at <https://rkd.nl/explore/images/239260>.

⁵ Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, inv. nr. 4630. On both sketchbooks see, most recently, J. Niessen in the online catalogue Y. Bleyerveld, A.J. Elen and J. Niessen, *Nederlandse tekeningen uit de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw in Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen*, Rotterdam: kunstenaars geboren voor 1581, Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) 2012, consulted on 14 October 2015, under inv. nr. N 46: [http://collectie2008.boijmans.nl/nl/work/N%2046%20\(PK\)?research=1](http://collectie2008.boijmans.nl/nl/work/N%2046%20(PK)?research=1); S. Hautekeete, "Patinir's draughtsmanship reconsidered," in A. Vergara (ed.), exhib. cat. *Patinir: essays and critical catalogue*, Madrid (Museo Nacional del Prado) 2007, pp. 135–47, esp. pp. 138–41.

used in the workshop as examples for incorporation in new compositions.⁶ These model books, which originated in the middle ages, made way for more personal sketch or drawing books in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁷

The subject of this article is the earliest personal sketchbook from the northern Netherlands. Known as the Berlin Sketchbook, it has been in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin since 1927 and dates from around 1520–35.⁸ The original book measured only 14.4 × 10.2 cm, considerably smaller than the ones mentioned above,⁹ and contains a large number of drawings that differ markedly from each other in subject matter and treatment. No longer in its original form, it was probably dismembered in the nineteenth century and the sheets placed in a new album in a seemingly random order and given large passepartouts.¹⁰ It now consists of 51 folios with drawings on both sides, but research by Ilona van Tuinen has demonstrated that at least 13 sheets are missing.¹¹ One of them, with a sleeping dog and four male heads on the recto and two horse's heads on the verso (fig. 12b), is now

in the Fondation Custodia in Paris.¹²

The variety of subjects and differences in execution make it difficult to characterize the drawings as a whole or to attribute them to a single artist, although new evidence will be put forward in this article. In 1929 Kurt Steinbart attributed it to the Master of the Berlin Sketchbook, who according to him had worked as a journeyman in the shop of the Amsterdam painter Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen (c. 1460–1533) around 1523–26,¹³ and had then left for Germany.¹⁴ Steinbart interpreted most of the drawings as copies after existing works of art and accordingly regarded the artist as a so-called *Kleinmeister*. All subsequent authors have followed him in assuming that the book belonged to just one, anonymous artist, although there has been discussion about where he worked.¹⁵

Ilona van Tuinen recently carried out extensive technical and art-historical research into the original composition of the sketchbook, and presented her findings in a two-volume facsimile edition in which all the sketches are minutely described and analyzed.¹⁶ She confirmed

6 For definitions of model books and sketchbooks see A. Elen, *Italian late-medieval and Renaissance drawing-books from Giovannino de' Grassi to Palma Giovane: a codicological approach*, diss., Leiden 1995, pp. 16–23 and 133–38.

7 On this transition see U. Jenni, *Das Skizzenbuch der internationalen Gotik in den Uffizien: der Übergang vom Musterbuch zum Skizzenbuch*, Vienna 1976. The standard work for the study of model books is still R.W. Scheller, *Exemplum: model-book drawings and the practice of artistic transmission in the middle ages (ca. 900-ca. 1470)*, Amsterdam 1995. See also J. Meder, *Die Handzeichnung: ihre Technik und Entwicklung*, Vienna 1919, pp. 194–201; Elen, op. cit. (note 6), pp. 16–23 and 133–38. For a recent article with a brief account of this transition see C. Heuer, "On the peripatetics of the sixteenth-century sketchbook," in P. Lombaerde (ed.), *The notion of the painter-architect in Italy and the southern Low Countries*, Turnhout 2014, pp. 149–60.

8 Inv. nr. 79 C 2a. Its provenance is C.G. Boerner, Leipzig; acquired in 1927 with the support of the Max J. Friedländer Stiftungsfonds (nr. 287–1927). For the dating see I. van Tuinen, *Het vroegste Amsterdamse schetsboek uit het atelier van Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen*, 2 vols., Oostzaan 2014, with a contribution by the present author in vol. 2, p. 18.

9 The first Roman sketchbook measures approximately 13.5 × 21 cm, and the second one approximately 25.5 × 40.5 cm; see A. Dücker (ed.), *Das Berliner Kupferstichkabinett: ein Handbuch zur Sammlung*, Berlin 1994, pp. 179–80. The Antwerp sketchbook measures roughly 19 × 26 cm; see Bevers, op. cit. (note 4), p. 39, and the Errera Sketchbook approximately 13 × 21 cm (RKD database, The Hague).

10 I. van Tuinen, "Reconstructing the so-called Berlin Sketchbook: new insights resulting from material analysis," in M. Ainsworth (ed.) *Workshop practice in early Netherlandish painting: case studies from van Eyck through Gossaert*, Turnhout 2017 (forthcoming).

11 Van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, p. 15. There is confusion over the number of pages. Steinbart described 48 folios on the evidence of

the penciled pagination, but three of the sheets contain double compositions. In addition to the 51 original folios there are two that were added to the book with unrelated drawings, which are not included in art-historical publications on the sketchbook because of their stylistic dissimilarity. On this numbering and the octavo format see van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 10).

12 Van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, pp. 18 and 170–73; K.G. Boon, *The Netherlandish and German drawings of the xvth and xvith centuries of the Frits Lugt Collection*, 3 vols., Paris 1992, vol. 1, pp. 420–22, cat. nr. 244.

13 The precise date of Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen's birth is not known. It can plausibly be placed around 1460 instead of around 1475, as is often done in the literature, recently in D. Meuwissen, exhib. cat. *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen ca. 1475–1533: de Renaissance in Amsterdam en Alkmaar*, Alkmaar (Stedelijk Museum), Amsterdam (Amsterdam Museum) & Zwolle 2014. The arguments for the earlier date are in S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "Het onmogelijke geboortejaar ca. 1475 van de Amsterdamse schilder Jacob Cornelisz (ca. 1460–1533) met de imaginaire achternaam Van Oostsanen," *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 131 (2014), pp. 181–90, pp. 181–82.

14 K. Steinbart, "Nachlese im Werk des Jacob Cornelisz. von Amsterdam," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1929), pp. 213–61/1–48 (double pagination), esp. p. 41.

15 In her dissertation of 1987 Carroll gave the sketchbook to the anonymous Hand B, to whom she also attributed a small group of paintings; see J.L. Carroll, *The paintings of Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen (1472?–1533)*, diss. University of North Carolina, Ann Arbor 1987, pp. 327–33. See van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 10) for a detailed historiography of the attributions and the suggested places where the artist worked. Van Tuinen also refers to a number of drawings in the Rijksmuseum and the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin that are attributed to the same master. Those drawings are not discussed in this article.

16 Van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8).

Steinbart's suspicion that the sketchbook originated in Jacob Cornelisz's Amsterdam workshop. However, she concluded that the draftsman had not traveled around but had been trained by Jacob Cornelisz from an early age, or in any event had worked with him long enough to adopt much of his distinctive style of drawing. And the book can indeed be placed in the immediate orbit of Jacob Cornelisz on the evidence of its somewhat chaotic style. Both the hasty sketches and the more worked-up studies appear to have been done rapidly with short, swift and repetitive lines and outlines. In general there is more hatching than is strictly necessary — a feature that matches the dynamic drawing style of Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen.¹⁷

In my contribution to van Tuinen's facsimile edition I suggested that the sketchbook could have been made by the Amsterdam painter, printmaker and cartographer Cornelis Anthonisz (1500/05–58), Jacob Cornelisz's grandson.¹⁸ That hypothesis is developed further in this article, with attention being drawn to the striking parallels between the sheets and motifs in prints by Anthonisz. The artist used the book when making several of his prints. In addition, there are several unusual drawings of Amsterdam buildings seen from a great height, which Anthonisz probably made in preparation for his well-known *Bird's-eye view of Amsterdam* of 1538 (fig. 1). Finally, several of the drawings that are difficult to interpret initially can probably be regarded as geometrical

trials, possibly cartographic in nature, which was one of Anthonisz's specialties. The arguments for attributing the sketchbook to him will be explained in what follows. The folio numbers refer to the present sequence of the sheets, not to that of the original book.

CORNELIS ANTHONISZ: BIOGRAPHY AND OEUVRE Cornelis Anthonisz (c. 1505–53) was the son of Thonis Egbertsz (d. 1554) and his wife, the eldest daughter of Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen.¹⁹ Nothing is known about his training or earliest years as an artist, although it is assumed that he was taught by his grandfather.²⁰ It is known that he enrolled with the Artes faculty of Leuven University on 10 May 1518, where he studied theology.²¹ Theology was an excellent basis for various careers, and also offered an opportunity to attend lectures in other disciplines, which the young Cornelis probably did, as will be seen below.²² In May 1527 he was married to Geert Jans (1491/92–1559), and probably had been for some time. She was a daughter of the Roman Catholic priest of the Nieuwe Kerk and a former beguine, and in September of that year the couple were made the guardians of four minor children of her dead brother.²³ Cornelis and Geert never had children of their own. They lived in a house called the *De Schrijvende Handt* in Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal, just behind the Nieuwe Kerk, which later became 119 Spuistraat.²⁴ That address is mentioned on many of Anthonisz's prints, because that was where he

17 See, for instance, Meuwissen *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 13), cat. nrs. 17, 18, 19. On Jacob Cornelisz's drawing style in relation to underdrawings and woodcuts see D. Meuwissen, "A 'painter in black-and-white': the symbiotic relationship between the paintings and woodcuts of Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen," in M. Faries (ed.), *Making and marketing: studies of the painting process in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netherlandish workshops*, Turnhout 2006, pp. 55–81.

18 D. Meuwissen, "De tekenaar ontmaskerd? Het schetsboek en Cornelis Anthonisz," in van Tuinen, *op. cit.* (note 8), vol. 2, pp. 29–36.

19 For the life and work of Cornelis Anthonisz see F.J. Dubiez, "Cornelis Anthoniszoon: de betekenis van de Amsterdamse schilder, houtsnijder en cartograaf Cornelis Anthoniszoon voor de culturele geschiedenis van onze stad," *Ons Amsterdam*, 11 (1959), pp. 354–66; idem, "Nogmaals Cornelis Anthoniszoon," *Ons Amsterdam*, 12 (1960), p. 143–45; idem, *Cornelis Anthoniszoon van Amsterdam: zijn leven en werken*, Amsterdam 1969; I.H. van Eeghen, "Jacob Cornelisz, Cornelis Anthonisz en hun familierelaties," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 37 (1986), pp. 95–132, esp. pp. 108–18; C.M. Armstrong, *The moralizing prints of Cornelis Anthonisz*, Princeton 1990, pp. 11–18, and most recently S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "De schilders Jacob Cornelisz alias Jacob War en Cornelis Buys uit Oostzaan," *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 128 (2011), pp. 49–79. It was van Eeghen who established the family relationship be-

tween Jacob Cornelisz en Cornelis Anthonisz. It has been suggested that Thonis Egbertsz worked in Jacob Cornelisz's shop and was therefore a painter too; see Dudok van Heel, this note, p. 72. For Anthonisz in the workshop of Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen see also M. Faries and D. Meuwissen, "Identifying two family members in Jacob Cornelisz's Amsterdam workshop: Cornelis Buys and Cornelis Anthonisz," congress proceedings of *Symposium XIX for the study of underdrawing and technology in painting*, 11–13 September 2014, in Bruges (forthcoming).

20 G. Luijten in J.P. Filedt Kok, W. Halsema-Kubes and W.T. Kloek (eds.), exhib. cat. *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: Noordnederlandse kunst 1525–1580*, 2 vols., Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) & The Hague 1986, vol. 2, p. 199.

21 I.H. van Eeghen, "Cornelis Anthonisz en zijn omgeving," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 79 (1987), pp. 12–34, esp. pp. 17–18. According to van Eeghen, studying to become a priest in minor orders was a common way of acquiring a broadly based education that made it quite easy to switch to another career outside the church.

22 Van Eeghen, *op. cit.* (note 21), pp. 16–17.

23 Van Eeghen, *op. cit.* (note 19), p. 111.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 112; W. Oldewelt, "Spuistraat 119: het woonhuis van Cornelis Anthoniszoon," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 39 (1942), pp. 8–11.



1 Cornelis Anthonisz, *Bird's-eye view of Amsterdam*, 1538. Oil on panel, 116 × 159 cm. Amsterdam Museum

sold his own prints and those by other artists.²⁵ He was a prosperous man, for in 1553 he was recorded as being the owner of four houses, all of which probably came from his wife's wealthy family.²⁶

Cornelis Anthonisz is first referred to as a painter when he bought a bed on 27 March 1533.²⁷ His earliest known work dates from that year, the group portrait of 17 crossbowmen of the St George or Crossbowmen's Guild, popularly known as *The banquet of the copper coin* (fig. 2).²⁸ In addition to the date, the painted piece of paper at top

left bears the monogram found on many of Anthonisz's woodcuts: the letters C and T, for Cornelis Thonisz, flanking a St Antony's bell. According to Houbraken, Anthonisz was himself a member of the guild in 1536,²⁹ and some authors believe that he is the man holding a pen in the top left corner.³⁰

Cornelis Anthonisz became better known for his *Bird's-eye view of Amsterdam* (fig. 1) painted on commission for the Amsterdam city authorities in 1538, for which he was paid 6 pounds.³¹ It is the earliest known street

²⁵ Van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 21), p. 24.

²⁶ Van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 112–13.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 113–14.

²⁸ Filedt Kok, Halsema-Kubes and Kloek (eds.) op. cit. (note 20), pp. 199–200, cat. nr. 75.

²⁹ A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschil- ders en schilderessen*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1718–21, vol. I, p. 23.

³⁰ G.J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche schilderkunst*, 5 vols., The Hague 1936–47, vol. 3, pp. 482–83; Filedt Kok, Halsema-Kubes and Kloek (eds.) op. cit. (note 20), p. 199. Van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 19), p. 113, believes that the pen is an allusion to the name of Anthonisz's house, *De Schrijvende Handt* (The Writing Hand).

³¹ The most recent article on this painting is T. Knevel, "Amsterdam in vogelvlucht: de stad van Jacob door zijn kleinzoon in beeld



2 Cornelis Anthonisz, *Banquet of seventeen members of the Crossbowmen's Civic Guard*, also known as *The banquet of the copper coin*, 1533. Oil on panel, 130 × 206.6 cm. Amsterdam Museum

plan of the city, which is seen from the north. It is known from the city's financial accounts that it was intended for Jean de Hennin, a confidant of Emperor Charles v, and that it was to be displayed as a sign of the authorities' loyalty to the imperial majesty.³² In the end, though, it was put on display in the town hall, where Charles could have seen it on his visit to Amsterdam in 1540. In 1544 a print was made of it from 12 woodblocks, resulting in a woodcut measuring some 100 × 100 centimetres (fig. 27). This giant woodcut proved extremely popular, and was still

being printed in the seventeenth century.³³ In addition to these two paintings there was a signed panel of 1551 by Anthonisz of the town of Weesp, which was destroyed by fire in 1968.³⁴ Apart from the mention of an "image of the Virgin with her child" in an inventory of 1624, no other paintings by Anthonisz are known.³⁵

He very probably worked primarily as a graphic artist and cartographer. A few of his etchings have a special status of being among the earliest known examples of that graphic technique in the northern Netherlands.³⁶

gebracht," in Meuwissen *et al.*, op. cit. (note 13), pp. 13–19, and idem, "Bird's-eye view of Amsterdam: the city of Cornelis Anthonisz," in L. van Hasselt and Y. Bleyerveld (eds.), *Bird's-eye view of Amsterdam: on the cusp of the Golden Age / Amsterdam in vogelvlucht: stad op de drempel van de Gouden Eeuw*, Zwolle 2015, pp. 9–15. See also M. Hameleers, *Kaarten van Amsterdam*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 2013, vol. 1, pp. 25–32. For a detailed article on the possible function or functions of the map see Y. Colijn, "Amsterdamse graanhandel, 'sincere' katholieken en keizer Karel v: over de politieke context van Cornelis Anthonisz' gezicht in vogelvlucht op Amsterdam," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 100 (2008), pp. 179–209, esp. p. 179.

32 Colijn, op. cit. (note 31), p. 202.

33 F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, 72 vols., Amsterdam, Roosendaal & Rotterdam 1949–2010, vol. 30, nr. 47.

34 Van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 19), p. 115. The map of Weesp was probably made for a court case about the laying out of new streets. Anthonisz's version showed how this could be done; see Armstrong, op. cit. (note 19), p. 12.

35 Van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 19), p. 114.

36 Hollstein, op. cit. (note 33), vol. 30, nrs. 1–3; Armstrong, op. cit. (note 19), p. 15.



3 Cornelis Anthonisz, *The siege of Algiers*, 1542. Woodcut, 374 × 583 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

The bulk of his output, though, consisted of woodcuts. Many of them are allegorical prints or print series with a moralistic slant which, often accompanied by didactic texts in Dutch and directed at a well-educated public, draw attention to the dangers of wealth, vanity, avarice, drunkenness and youthful impetuosity.³⁷ Anthonisz may have consulted now unknown scholars and rhetoricians in the city on the subjects of those prints.³⁸ As will be seen below, some of their motifs are based directly or indirectly on drawings from the sketchbook. Like the printed bird's-eye view, many of the prints were huge

woodcuts or series consisting of several sheets pasted together and hung on a wall.³⁹ Many of those giant woodcuts were cut and published by the Amsterdam publisher, bookseller and "figure cutter" Jan Ewoutsz (c. 1535–64), who lived in a house called Den Vergulde Passer in Kerckstraat (present-day Warmoesstraat).⁴⁰ Cornelis Anthonisz would have got the idea of making such monumental series of prints from the work of his grandfather, Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, who had started producing them back in 1507.⁴¹ In addition to these didactic prints, Anthonisz made a large number of

³⁷ For a detailed analysis of these prints and print series see B. Haeger, "The prodigal son in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Netherlandish art: depictions of the parable and the evolution of a Catholic image," *Simiolus* 16 (1986), pp. 128–38; idem, "Cornelis Anthonisz's representation of the parable of the prodigal son: a Protestant interpretation of the biblical text," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 37 (1986), pp. 133–50; and Armstrong, op. cit. (note 19).

³⁸ Armstrong, op. cit., (note 19), pp. 7–10. Armstrong did not know van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 21), and was therefore unaware that Anthonisz had studied theology in Leuven. On Anthonisz and rhetoricians of Amsterdam see the two articles by Haeger in note 37.

³⁹ On giant woodcuts see H. Appuhn and C. von Heusinger, *Riesenholschnitte und Papiertapeten der Renaissance*, Unterschneidheim 1976.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 17–18. For Ewoutsz see J.P. Filedt Kok, *The new Hollstein Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts 1450–1700. The Muller Dynasty*, ed. G. Luijten, 3 vols., Rotterdam 1999, vol. 1, pp. xi–xii and 5–6.

⁴¹ On this see H. Leeftang, "Het Amsterdamse prentbedrijf van Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen," in Meuwissen *et al.*, op. cit. (note 13), pp. 123–35.

portraits, equestrian and otherwise, of European rulers, both male and female, as well as a six-print suite of the *Counts and countesses of Holland* (c. 1549–50) and of the *Lords of Brederode* (c. 1550–51), a five-print series.⁴²

The cartographic sheets are a category apart. The prestigious commission for the 1538 painting suggests that Anthonisz had been working as a cartographer for some considerable time before then. There is not a mention of that in the archives, but the drawings in the sketchbook do support that view. In 1541 the Amsterdam authorities commissioned him to make a map of the channels through which the North Sea discharged into the Zuyder Zee, which was intended for presentation to Regentess Mary of Hungary as evidence in a long-running dispute over export tolls.⁴³ In 1543 he published his chart of the Baltic, again on commission from the Amsterdam authorities, which was printed from nine woodblocks and depicted the North Sea, the Baltic and the sea-routes to the latter in great detail.⁴⁴ It was accompanied by a 42-page rutter with written descriptions of the navigable waters embellished with woodcuts of coastal profiles. This was not the first chart of the area, but Anthonisz's inclusion of illustrated coastlines was new, and was barely modified or improved upon until the eighteenth century.⁴⁵ In 1544, 1547 and 1551 the Amsterdam authorities commissioned maps of the Lastage port region to the east of the city center for use in a court case.⁴⁶ They have not survived. Anthonisz also made a woodcut of the 1541 *Siege of Algiers* in 1542 (figs. 3, 23a) and *The Siege of Thérouanne* in 1553.⁴⁷

In 1554 he published a two-volume book that he wrote

⁴² *The counts and countesses of Holland*, Hollstein, op. cit. (note 33), vol. 30, nr. 55; *The lords of Brederode*, ibid., nr. 50, and Filedt Kok, op. cit. (note 40), vol. 1, nr. 24.

⁴³ P. Scheltema, *Aemstel's oudheid of gedenkwaardigheden van Amsterdam*, 7 vols., Amsterdam 1855–85, vol. 3, pp. 247–59, esp. pp. 247–48. On this dispute see Colijn, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 194–96.

⁴⁴ Hollstein, op. cit. (note 33), vol. 30, nr. 48. On this see also J. Keuning, "Cornelis Anthonisz: zijn caerte van Oostlant, zijn Onderwijsinghe vander zee en zijn Caerte van die Oosterse See," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 67 (1950), nr. 6, pp. 687–714; Dubiez, *Cornelis Anthoniszoon*, cit. (note 19), pp. 20–21; A.W. Lang, *Die "Caerte van Oostlant" des Cornelis Anthonisz 1543: die älteste gedruckte Seekarte Nordewopas und ihre Segelamweisung*, Hamburg 1986.

⁴⁵ G. Schilder and M. van Egmond, "Maritime cartography in the Low Countries during the Renaissance," in D. Woodward (ed.), *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, Chicago 2007, pp. 1384–432, esp. pp. 1384–389.

⁴⁶ Van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 19), p. 115. In the same period Anthonisz also painted a copy after a map of "the drowned land of Putten,"

and illustrated himself called *Onderwijsinghe der See* (Instructions for mariners). It is the earliest known book in Dutch about navigation and navigational instruments. The first volume deals with seamanship, while the second describes the navigation of the various routes to the Baltic. The book is illustrated with a number of woodcuts, four of them signed by Anthonisz. The unsigned ones are attributed to Jan Ewoutsz, who also printed the book. It is known that three editions were published, but the only surviving copy is from the last edition of 1558.⁴⁸ It is not known how Anthonisz came by his nautical knowledge, but a number of the sketchbook drawings bear witness to an obvious interest in seamanship (fig. 9).⁴⁹

On at least one occasion Anthonisz made a three-dimensional design. In 1549 he and the artist Herman Posthumus designed a large triumphal arch for Philip II's joyous entry into Amsterdam.⁵⁰ In short, Cornelis Anthonisz was a typical Renaissance artist who combined artistic skills with technical know-how in his multifaceted work, which ranged from painting and moralistic prints to surveying and urban and marine cartography.

THE CONTENT AND FUNCTION OF THE SKETCHBOOK

The sketchbook, which was very probably filled by Cornelis Anthonisz, contains 51 folios drawn on both sides, making a total of more than 100, while at least 13 sheets have perished or are lost. That brings the number of pages to 64 or more. The dates on three of the folios give a rough idea of when the book was used. Fol. 23v is one of the four (or possibly five) sheets with sketches after Jacob Cornelisz's *All Saints altarpiece* of 1523 in the

see Dubiez, *Cornelis Anthoniszoon*, cit. (note 19), p. 15.

⁴⁷ Hollstein, op. cit. (note 33), vol. 30, nrs. 43–44.

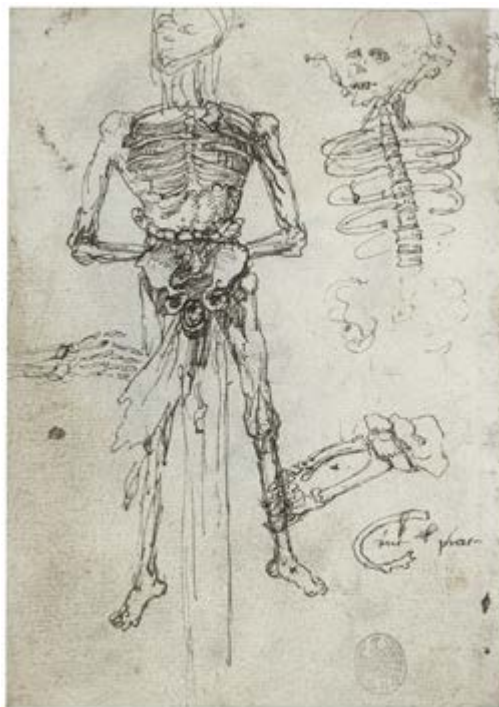
⁴⁸ Ibid., nrs. 63–73. *De Onderwijsinghe vander zee om stuurmanschap te leeren* (vol. 1), and the *Caerte van die Oosterse see* (vol. 2), third impression, were published together posthumously in Amsterdam in 1558 by Jan Ewoutsz. There is a copy in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, and the Scheepvaartmuseum in Amsterdam has a photocopy, inv. nr. A.3182 (nrs. 0001 and 0002). On this book see further Dubiez, *Cornelis Anthoniszoon*, cit. (note 19), pp. 22–26; O. Steppes, "Cornelis Anthonisz 'Die Onderwijsinghe van der zee' (1558)," *Die Bake: Verlag für Küstenforschung Nordseebad Juist* 9 (1966), pp. 7–42, esp. p. 33; Schilder and van Egmond, op. cit. (note 45), p. 1388.

⁴⁹ Those drawings are on fols. 3r, 7r (figs. 9, 23c) and 45v; see van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, pp. 45, 58 and 159.

⁵⁰ Van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 25–26. Architects and cabinetmakers from Utrecht were the first to be approached for this and other decorations, but they were evidently too expensive, and the authorities then turned to Herman Posthumus and Anthonisz of Amsterdam. It is clear from the invoices that the design was three-dimensional.



4 *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. iv, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



5 *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 5v, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

Gemäldegalerie in Kassel, and like the painting is dated 1523.⁵¹ That is also the date on a capital drawn on fol. 13v (fig. 21).⁵² Fol. 47r, with a rapidly sketched portrait of a scholar, is dated 1524 in the top right corner.⁵³ Finally, fol. 28v has a sketchy chimney breast with the date 1534 on the left-hand candelabrum.⁵⁴ Van Tuinen accordingly deduced that the book must have originated around 1520–35.⁵⁵ That also seems plausible in the light of the attribution proposed here, even if Anthonisz did also use it in the mid-1540s, as will become clear below, and it is not inconceivable that he was already doing so during his student days in Leuven.

The vast majority of the sketches are in pen and dark brown ink in a spidery hand. Two are in black chalk (fol. 27r and the recto of the sheet in the Fondation Custodia),

51 There are sketches of the *All Saints altarpiece* on fols. 19r, 23r, 23v and 36v. The small drawings on fol. 18r are probably after that altarpiece as well. See van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, pp. 86, 89, 97–99, 135. For the *All Saints altarpiece* see Carroll, op. cit. (note 15), pp. 223–28, cat. nr. 24.

52 Van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, p. 76.

and on two of the sheets there are motifs in red chalk (fols. 15v and 23v). That there were more drawings in red chalk is clear from fol. 2v, which bears a faint offset of a full-page figure in that material that came from a lost folio.⁵⁶

There is a wide variety of subjects in the Berlin Sketchbook: portraits, painstaking sketches after paintings, drapery and ornament studies (fig. 4), and calligraphic exercises (figs. 24b, 24c). Some of the drawings were clearly *ricordi*, such as the sketches after the *All Saints altarpiece* by Jacob Cornelisz. Others were done from life, like the sketches of decomposing corpses, which Anthonisz probably drew in the gallows field in Volewijck, just outside Amsterdam (fol. 5v, fig. 5).⁵⁷ In them he displayed an interest in anatomy, for on that sheet he recorded details of a hand, a foot, and a rib seen from above. The latter

53 Ibid., p. 162.

54 Ibid., p. 111.

55 Ibid., p. 18.

56 Ibid., p. 44.

57 In addition to fig. 5 see fols. 9v and 29v. See van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, pp. 54, 64 and 114.

is accompanied by the legend “int plat” (flat), to remind himself that it was a view looking down.⁵⁸ Other subjects that he drew from life were rapid sketches of ships, and of animals like fish, a pig and a bat.⁵⁹

There are many studies of architecture, ornaments and perspective. In addition to the three drawings of the Chapel of the Heilige Stede, the Haarlemmerpoort and the Schreierstoren (figs. 26a, 26b, 30a) discussed below, there are several folios with perspective trials, and numerous sheets with Renaissance ornaments and architecture (figs. 4, 20a, 20b).⁶⁰ The latter group shows Anthonisz’s fascination with this new formal vocabulary. As far as is known, Amsterdam had barely any buildings in or decorated in the Renaissance style before the 1540s, and even then it was only a mixture of Gothic and Renaissance at best, not the pure Renaissance forms seen in the sketchbook.⁶¹ It is possible that there were ornament prints in his grandfather’s workshop that he could use as models.⁶² Another possibility is that some of those sketches of Renaissance decorations were made during his student days in the southern Netherlands, and in Leuven in particular, but this will require further investigation.

It emerges from Van Tuinen’s reconstruction of the original sketchbook that the artist did not always stick to the sequence of the sheets in the book. He sometimes made drawings simply where there was space.⁶³ This means that most of the drawings were not grouped together by subject or function, or both, and that mature and juvenile work is generally mixed up together, as it is in the present composition of the book.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SKETCHBOOK AND WOODCUTS BY CORNELIS ANTHONISZ One important argument for attributing the Berlin Sketchbook to Cornelis Anthonisz is that there are direct and indirect rela-

tionships between the drawings and motifs that he used in many of his woodcuts, showing that he must have consulted his sketchbook regularly for ideas.

The most striking example of this is the pig on fol. 17r (fig. 6a), which is found in mirror image in the print *Winged pig on the imperial globe* (fig. 6b), an undated but signed woodcut declaring that foolish and coarse men (swine) all too often acquire power and leading positions in society.⁶⁴ The pig on fol. 17r was probably drawn from life, judging by the swift penstrokes and the ink blotches, and that is supported by the fact that the artist ran out of room for the animal’s hindquarters at the top of the sheet and had to put them at bottom left. The pig was copied faithfully in the print, right down to its slightly tip-tilted snout.⁶⁵ Measurement of both animals shows that when the front and back of the one in the sketch are joined up it is almost as large as the one in the print (fig. 7). What Anthonisz did here, in other words, was transfer a motif directly from his sketchbook, probably with the aid of a piece of thin paper, and that is borne out by the fact that the snout was indented on the verso of the sheet for copying and reuse (fol. 17v, fig. 32b). The snout was then gone over very lightly with the pen. The pig on fol. 17r also features in two other prints, once again reversed left for right but in a slightly modified form. It is an attribute of Gluttony in the fourth print of the series *Misuse of prosperity* of 1546 (fig. 8), and reappears on the fourth print in the *Allegory of the Prodigal Son* series, where the Prodigal is eating out of the trough with the pigs.⁶⁶ The drawing of a ship on fol. 3r (fig. 9) shows that this was not the only time that the artist borrowed literally from his sketchbook. In this case outlines were pricked so that the drawing could be transferred full-size to another support.⁶⁷

Anthonisz used other drawings from the book when designing his *Flighty youth* print series (fig. 10). This un-

in the Tribunal of the old town hall in Amsterdam, which was destroyed in the fire of 1652.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 54.

⁵⁹ Steinbart believed that barely any of these drawings were done from life and that most of them were after other models; see Steinbart, op. cit. (note 14), p. 41.

⁶⁰ On this group of drawings in the sketchbook see O. Kik, “From lodge to studio: transmissions of architectural knowledge in the Low Countries 1480–1530,” in Lombaerde, op. cit. (note 7), pp. 73–87.

⁶¹ For more on this see R. Vos and F. Leeman, *Het nieuwe ornament: gids voor de renaissance-architectuur en decoratie in Nederland in de zestiende eeuw*, The Hague 1986, pp. 50–54.

⁶² Van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, pp. 27 and 111. Van Tuinen suggests on p. 27 that the Renaissance chimney breast must have been drawn after a three-dimensional object. The presence of the personification of Justice suggests that this could have been the chimney breast

in the Tribunal of the old town hall in Amsterdam, which was destroyed in the fire of 1652.

⁶³ Van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 10).

⁶⁴ Hollstein, op. cit. (note 33), vol. 30, nr. 41. For the interpretation of the scene see Armstrong, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 51–53.

⁶⁵ Meuwissen in van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, p. 31.

⁶⁶ *The misuse of prosperity*, Hollstein, op. cit. (note 33), vol. 30, nrs. 19–25; Armstrong, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 60–69, figs. 25a–g; Filedt Kok, op. cit. (note 40), vol. 1, nrs. 2–8. *Allegory of the Prodigal Son*, Hollstein, op. cit. (note 33), vol. 30, nrs. 5–10; Armstrong, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 88–104, figs. 97a–f.

⁶⁷ Van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, p. 45. I have been unable to find the ship on fol. 3r in Anthonisz’s prints.



6a *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 17r, 144 × 102 mm.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Kupferstichkabinett



7 Fig. 6a traced on transparent paper and superimposed on fig. 6b



6b Cornelis Anthonisz, *Winged pig on the imperial globe*.
Woodcut, 270 × 235 mm, signed, not dated. Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum



8 Fig. 6a traced on transparent paper and superimposed on
Gluttony from the *Misuse of prosperity* series



9 *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 3r, *Moored ship and a longboat*, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

dated, signed suite was printed by Jan Ewoutsz and consists of four prints that together form a frieze 115 cm long highlighting the dangers of wealth acquired at too early an age.⁶⁸ It centers around well-dressed, prosperous young men who are cast into poverty by their impetuous behavior. A scholar in the last sheet of the series sums up the message with the words “This flighty young man would rather have wings, so it is right that he perish in poverty.” Anthonisz clearly used the male head on fol. 5r of the sketchbook (fig. 11a) for the eye-catching features of the cripple in the third print (fig. 11b). It is one of the most striking heads that Anthonisz drew. The man has a lump on his head, a wart by his nose, a scar on his cheek and is missing a few teeth. Such specific characteristics suggest that the drawing was done from life, although that type of head was also used in Jacob Cornelisz’s workshop.⁶⁹ This figure is an excellent representative of a person reduced to poverty and squalor in the context of Anthonisz’s print series.

68 Hollstein, *op. cit.* (note 33), nr. 27; Armstrong, *op. cit.* (note 19), pp. 34–35, figs. 24a-b; Filedt Kok, *op. cit.* (note 40), vol. 1, nr. 10.

69 Steinbart associated this drawing with the woodcut of the apostle Matthew that Jacob Cornelisz made around 1523; see Steinbart, *op. cit.* (note 14), p. 253, and K. Steinbart, *Das Holzschnittwerk des Jacob Cornelisz. van Amsterdam*, Burg bei Magdeburg 1937, p. 120, nr. 138. See also van Tuinen, *op. cit.* (note 8), vol. 2, p. 52. Although there is some similarity to the print, it is not as close as it is to this man in the print series. On p. 63 van Tuinen points out that the head of the man on fol. 5r bears a resemblance to that of the executioner on the left in the Passion scene on fol. 9r. In her analysis she demonstrates that fol. 5 originally followed 9r.



10 Cornelis Anthonisz, *Flighty youth series*. Woodcut, 326 × 1137 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



11a *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 5r, *Head of a man*, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



11b Detail of fig. 10



12a Detail of fig. 10



12b *Horses' heads*, loose sheet from the Berlin Sketchbook cut down to 133 × 79 mm. Paris, Fondation Custodia, Frits Lugt Collection

The head of the rearing horse in the second print (fig. 12a) is a repetition of the drawing of the snorting horse with its mouth half open on the sheet in Paris (fig. 12b). Anthonisz may have based his drawing on a replica or print of the famous equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius.⁷⁰ There are more examples of this type of horse in Anthonisz's work, one being in the first print of the *Sorgheloos* series of 1541.⁷¹ Anthonisz may have based the scholar who rounds off the *Flighty youth* suite (fig. 13a) on the drawing of the man wearing a *tabbaard* on fol. 1r of the sketchbook (fig. 13b).⁷² Both men are making a rhetorical gesture with their right hand while inserting their left hand in a fold of their fur-trimmed cloak and placing their left leg forward.

A motif was also taken from the sketchbook for the woodcut *Allegory of transitoriness* of 1537. That signed woodcut was printed from two blocks by Jan Ewoutsz (fig.

⁷⁰ Van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, p. 172.

⁷¹ *Sorgheloos*, Hollstein, op. cit. (note 33), vol. 30, nrs. 29–34; Armstrong, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 19–34, figs. 37a–f; Filedt Kok, op. cit. (note 40), vol. 1, nrs. 12–17.

⁷² Van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, p. 39.



14a Cornelis Anthonisz, *Allegory of transitoriness*, 1537. Woodcut, 440 × 328 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



13a Detail of fig. 10



13b *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 1r, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



14b *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 5v, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



15a Detail of fig. 14a

15b Detail of fig. 14b (reversed)

14a).⁷³ The print shows a bearded old man with a child on his lap that is resting its hand on an hourglass labeled “Des tijts corthey” (The brevity of time). The man is being embraced by a skeleton that is drawing his attention to the legend “NASCENDO MORIMUR” (In being born, we die).⁷⁴ Anthonisz based the skeleton loosely on fol. 5v in the sketchbook, in which there are two drawings of a badly decomposed body, with locks of hair still on the skull in the right-hand sketch (fig. 14b). As noted above, Anthonisz probably made this drawing on the gallows field in Volewijck.⁷⁵ He omitted the bits of flesh in the print but accentuated the sparse, slightly wavy locks of hair on the back of the skull, undoubtedly in order to stress the human nature of the skeleton (figs. 15a, 15b). He evidently depicted the torso and pointing hand from his imagination, given the oddly twisted chest area.

There are even more connections between the sketchbook and Anthonisz’s prints. Aaron’s head in the undated *Moses and Aaron* woodcut appears to be based on the old man on fol. 28r, for there is a remarkable similarity in the hooked nose, drooping eyelids and the corners of the

⁷³ Hollstein, op. cit. (note 33), vol. 30, nrs. 26; Filedt Kok, op. cit. (note 40), vol. 1, nr. 9.

⁷⁴ For the content of this print see Filedt Kok, Halsema-Kubes and Kloek (eds.), op. cit. (note 20), pp. 270–71, cat. nr. 150, and Armstrong, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 79–81.

⁷⁵ Van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, p. 54. Anthonisz drew the same body from further off on fol. 9v, which originally followed immediately after fol. 5v; see *ibid.*, p. 64.

16a *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 28r, 144 × 102 mm.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

16b Cornelis Anthonisz, *Moses and Aaron*, detail. Woodcut, 263 × 365 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



17a Cornelis Anthonisz, *The meal*, the second print in the *Sorgheloos* series. Woodcut, 379 × 290 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

mouth (figs. 16a, 16b).⁷⁶ It is true that there are no literal repetitions in print of the little dogs on fol. 10r, but the same kind of dog is found in the second print of the *Sorgheloos* suite (figs. 17a, 17b, 17c) and in the woodcut *Rich man and poor Lazarus* (fig. 19a).⁷⁷ The woman serving a pie in the second *Sorgheloos* print (fig. 18a) is of the same type as two women on fols. 14r and 21r (figs. 18b, 18c), while the framework of Renaissance ornaments around this series recall the drawn ornament on fol. 13v (fig. 21). The archi-

tectural details in *The rich man and poor Lazarus* of 1541 (fig. 19a) may have been based on studies like the sketches on fols. 30v and 46v (figs. 20a, 20b), and it is notable that the tiled floor in the print was taken almost literally from the pattern on fol. 3v (fig. 19b). Even the vanishing point and the associated distortion appear to have been copied from the sketchbook. Anthonisz could have based the woman in the woodcut of *The wise man and the wise woman* on the woman on fol. 6r, which van Tuinen has identified as the

⁷⁶ Hollstein, op. cit. (note 33), vol. 30, nr. 4.

⁷⁷ Ibid., vol. 30, nrs. 30 and 11 respectively.



17b Detail of fig. 17a



17c *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 10r, 144 × 102 mm.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Kupferstichkabinett



18a Detail of fig. 17a



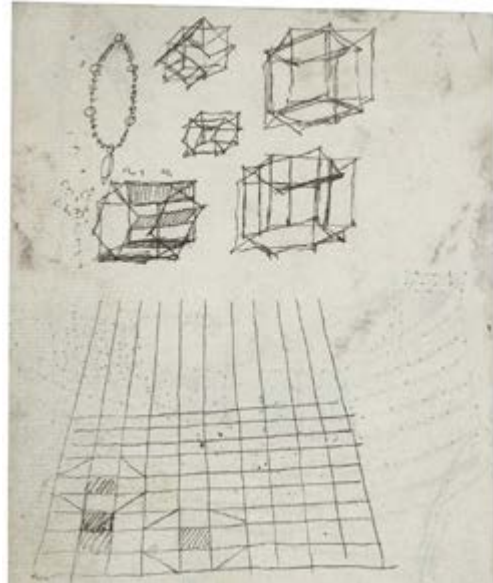
18b *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 14r (top), 144 × 102 mm.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Kupferstichkabinett



18c *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 21r (bottom), 144 × 102 mm.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Kupferstichkabinett



19a Cornelis Anthonisz, *The rich man and poor Lazarus*.
Woodcut, 273 × 262 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



19b *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 3v, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche
Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



20a *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 30v, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche
Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



20b *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 46v, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche
Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



21 *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 13v, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



22a Cornelis Anthonisz, *The wise man and the wise woman*. Woodcut, 280 × 400 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



← 22b *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 6r, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

↑ 22c *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 34r (detail), 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



23a Cornelis Anthonisz, *The siege of Algiers*, 1542. Woodcut, 374 × 583 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

personification of Vanity (figs. 22a, 22b),⁷⁸ and he could have taken her bulbous headdress from that of the woman on fol. 34r (fig. 22c).

Anthonisz also used sketches in his book for totally different subjects in his prints. The woodcut with *The siege of Algiers* that he made in 1542 is a depiction of Charles v's attempt to capture the north African city in 1541 (fig. 23a). The expedition was a disastrous failure, but the print shows a sizable fleet pouring cannon fire into Algiers.⁷⁹ The cartouche at bottom right informs the viewer, among other things, that the print was "portrayed from life."⁸⁰ Partly because it is known from the archives that someone called Cornelis Thonisz made his will in

1539 because he was about to go on a journey in the emperor's service, it was thought for a long time that Anthonisz had taken part in the expedition.⁸¹ It turned out, though, that the man was a contemporary namesake of Anthonisz.⁸² However, according to the maritime historian Richard Unger, the ships in the print look very realistic,⁸³ so Anthonisz may have been given an eyewitness account and drawings by a member of the expedition.⁸⁴ In any event, he used a ship in the sketchbook that he had probably made years before in the Amsterdam harbor for the one on the far left in the woodcut. It is a carrack, with a distinctive sloping poop deck, and was taken almost literally, but in mirror image, from fol. 7r (figs. 23b, 23c).⁸⁵

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 30, nr. 38; Filedt Kok, *op. cit.* (note 40), vol. 1, nr. 19. For the content of this print see Armstrong, *op. cit.* (note 19), pp. 72–78, and van Tuinen, *op. cit.* (note 8), vol. 2, p. 55.

⁷⁹ Hollstein, *op. cit.* (note 33), vol. 30, nr. 43; Filedt Kok, *op. cit.* (note 40), vol. 1, nr. 23; Armstrong, *op. cit.* (note 19), p. 13.

⁸⁰ The Dutch word 'conterfeiten', here translated as 'portrayed', not only means to paint but also to reproduce or imitate; see *Woorden-*

boek der Nederlandsche Taal, 43 vols., The Hague & Leiden 1863–1998, vol. 7, cols. 5312–314.

⁸¹ Armstrong, *op. cit.* (note 19), p. 13.

⁸² Van Eeghen, *op. cit.* (note 21), p. 17.

⁸³ R. Unger, *Ships on maps: pictures of power in Renaissance Europe*, Basingstoke 2010, pp. 83–84.

⁸⁴ Armstrong, *op. cit.* (note 19), p. 13.



23b Detail of fig. 23a

For that matter, Anthonisz's *Banquet of the copper coin* of 1533 (figs. 2, 24a) contains a motif that recalls the sketchbook. In addition to a view of a town on the verso, which will be discussed below, fols. 48r and v have various calligraphic shapes, as if the artist was trying out his pen. The ones at the top of 48r and bottom of 48v are clearly similar to the calligraphic letter on the tablecloth in the civic guard banquet, which has been interpreted as a D, G or H (figs. 24b, 24c).⁸⁶ The draftsman evidently tried out the letter several times before adding it to the panel.⁸⁷ Anthonisz could also have picked up decorative letters and shapes from his grandfather, who added Latin inscriptions with ornate lettering and flourishes to his *Holy knights with the archangel Michael* print series of 1510.⁸⁸

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SKETCHBOOK AND THE BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF AMSTERDAM In addition to the above direct and indirect quotations from the sketchbook in Cornelis Anthonisz's oeuvre, there is another im-

⁸⁵ I am grateful for this discovery to Joyce van Geelen, master's student of art history at Radboud Universiteit, who researched the drawings on this sheet in 2014 as part of a thematic lecture series.

⁸⁶ Filedt Kok, Halsema-Kubes and Kloek (eds.) op. cit. (note 20), pp. 199–200, cat. nr. 75.

⁸⁷ Meuwissen in van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, pp. 30–31.

⁸⁸ Van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, p. 168. For the *Holy knights with the archangel Michael* see Steinbart, op. cit. (note 69), pp. 24–28,



23c *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 7r, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

portant argument for attributing the Berlin Sketchbook to him. The three drawings of the Heilige Stede Chapel, the Haarlemmerpoort and the Schreierstoren (figs. 26a, 26b, 30a) seen from unusual viewpoints can be directly associated with Anthonisz's painted street plan of 1538, which was later published as a huge woodcut in 1544 (fig. 27). In order to illustrate this we will have to take a brief look at the phenomenon of maps in bird's-eye view.

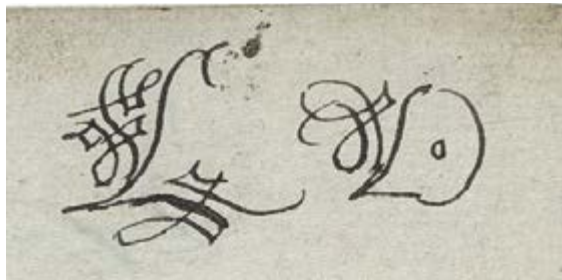
Although Anthonisz clearly drew inspiration for his map from the famous bird's-eye view of Venice that Jacopo de' Barbari (c. 1450–1511) made in 1500 (fig. 25), he could also have been influenced by other maps of that kind, such as the 1521 one of Augsburg by Hans Weiditz.⁸⁹ They are more than just topographical prints. They are huge, detailed woodcuts combining a traditional ground plan with perspectival distortion to display a city from an imaginary high viewpoint. Some were made to express political aspirations or loyalties, or for use as evidence

nrs. 8–12, and Meuwissen *et al.*, op. cit. (note 13), cat. nrs. 9.1–5.

⁸⁹ Armstrong, op. cit. (note 19), p. 12. For de' Barbari's bird's-eye view see D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance print 1470–1550*, New Haven & London 1994, pp. 43–46. On painted or printed bird's-eye views of cities see Appuhn and von Heusinger op. cit. (note 39), pp. 39–51. Colijn, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 179, 189–93, describes painted street plans of northern and southern Netherlandish towns, many of which are bird's-eye views, and their function.



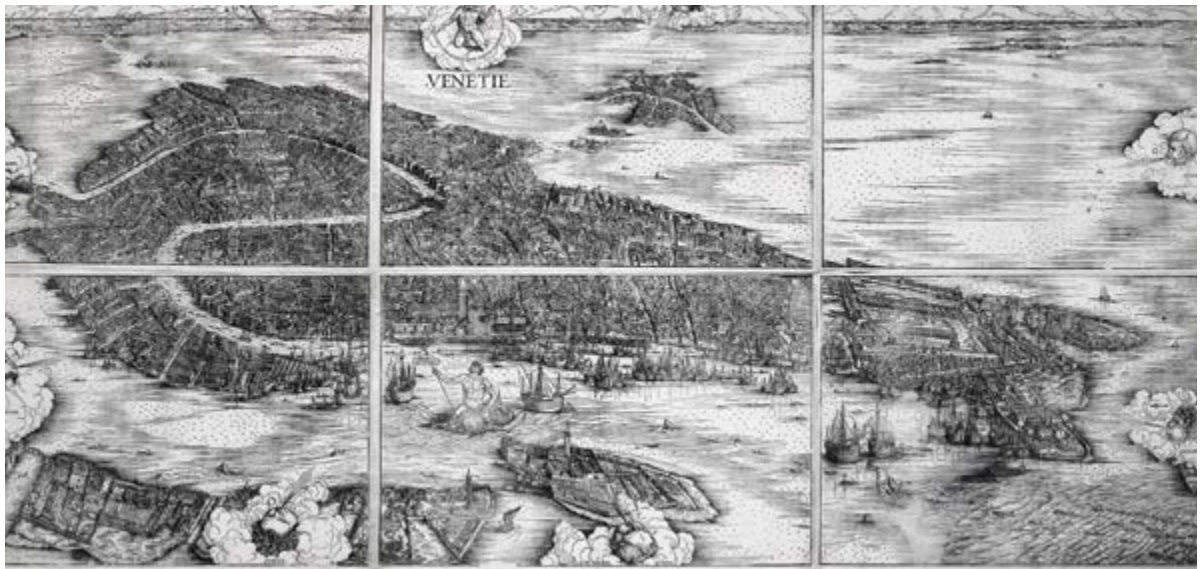
24a Detail of the monogram in fig. 2



24b *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 48r, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



24c *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 48v, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



25 Jacopo de' Barbari (c. 1450–1511), *Bird's-eye view of Venice*, 1500. Woodcut, 1630 × 2830 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

in court, as was the case with Anthonisz's maps of the Lastage port area mentioned above.⁹⁰

Bird's-eye maps were not made by surveyors in the early sixteenth century but by artists who used technical aids or other measuring instruments, and/or triangulation. Visual observation was always the point of

departure or was used as the final check.⁹¹ That is why it is generally assumed that de' Barbari did not make his map on the basis of calculations alone but that it was assembled like a mosaic on the drawing board with the aid of different small drawings of the city seen from high viewpoints. His map was therefore a workshop prod-

⁹⁰ Colijn, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 189–96.

⁹¹ For a detailed analysis see L. Nuti, "The perspective plan in the sixteenth century: the invention of a representational language," *The Art Bulletin* 76 (1994), pp. 105–28, and Colijn, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 187–89.

⁹² Schulz suggests that there must have been an overall design in the form of a *modello* that gave a general idea of how the city looked; see J. Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Venice: map making, city views and moralized geography before the year 1500," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), pp. 425–74, esp. pp. 431–41. Schulz's hypothesis is now largely accepted, with refinements, on which see Nuti, op. cit. (note 91), pp. 105–28, esp. p. 125, note 64. See also Y. Colijn, "Gezicht op Venetië: een internationaal humanistisch project," 2014, a digital publication at <http://www.jhsg.nl/yvonne-colijn-gezicht-op-venetie/>, pp. 3–38, and D. Howard, "Venice as a dolphin: further investigations into Jacopo de' Barbari's view," *Artibus et Historiae* 35 (1997), pp. 101–11.

⁹³ The most recent publication is M. Hamelers, *Gedetailleerde kaarten van Amsterdam: productie en gebruik van grootschalige topografische kaarten*, Bussum 2015, pp. 27–41. I am grateful to Marc Hamelers for the stimulating conversation I had with him on this subject on 1 October 2015. See also Hamelers, op. cit. (note 31), vol. 1, pp. 25–32 (with bibliography), and Colijn, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 187–89. Traces of small holes have been found at regular intervals around the edges of Anthonisz's *Bird's-eye view of Amsterdam* of 1538. René Gerritsen carried

out a technical examination of the painting in 2006. Since infrared reflectography failed to reveal any clear underdrawing or a squared grid, the holes may be an indication of a later attempt to copy the map. The IRR images are difficult to read, probably because of the damage done to the panel during the fire in the town hall in 1652 and the later restorations. My thanks to René Gerritsen for providing me with those images. For more information on the examination see K. Kirsch, *Onderzoeksrapport naar aanleiding van materiaaltechnisch onderzoek naar Gezicht in vogelvlucht op Amsterdam door Cornelis Anthonisz*, Amsterdam 2007. Colijn theorizes on the evidence of the holes that two copies of the map could have been made. In her opinion the holes have nothing to do with the painted version of the map that Christiaanszn Micker made around 1652–60; see Colijn, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 208–09, notes 67 and 77. The possibility that those grid holes are somehow connected with the seventeenth-century squared drawing in the Splitgerber Collection in the Amsterdam City Archives has not been investigated, to the best of my knowledge. Breen initially thought that it been made by Anthonisz, but it turns out that it was a preliminary study for the 1693 street plan; see Hamelers, op. cit. (note 31), vol. 1, p. 25, and J. van Breen, "De oudste door Cornelis Anthonisz geteekende stadsplattegrond van Amsterdam," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 40 (1944), pp. 117–37.

⁹⁴ Niël expanded on the article about the practical realization of Anthonisz's map by L.J.B. Wiessner, "Over de perspectief van de kaart van Amsterdam van 1544 door Cornelis Anthonisz," *Bouwkun-*



26a *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 11v, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

uct.⁹² A great deal of research has been carried out on Anthonisz's map, and recently its perspectival distortion was studied once again.⁹³ In 2000 Maikel Niël suggested that Anthonisz, like de' Barbari, had constructed his map on the basis of compass measurements that he had made from high vantage points in the city, such as the towers on the city walls.⁹⁴

How this could have been done was described in detail a few years after Anthonisz's map by Giorgio Vasari, who painted a fresco of Florence from a high perspective and then described his method in the imaginary tour that he gave for Prince Francesco de' Medici in his *Ragionamenti*.⁹⁵ Vasari made the preparatory drawings on the basis of direct observation from a high vantage point. He sought out the highest point in the neighborhood, and even said that he had climbed on top of a house so that he could observe not only things close at hand but also the churches that stood further away on the horizon. He then relied on "craft, where nature was lacking," by attaching

dig Weekblad 64 (1946), pp. 274–76. See M. Niël, "De perspectivische ruimtweergave van het Gezicht in vogelvlucht op Amsterdam van Cornelis Anthonisz.," *Caert-Thresoor* 19 (2000), nr. 4, pp. 107–13.

⁹⁵ Giorgio Vasari, *Florence under the siege of 1530, 1558*, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. See Nuti, op. cit. (note 91), p. 114, fig. 16.

⁹⁶ Vasari's account is in his posthumous *Ragionamenti*, Florence 1588, a treatise separate from his *Vite*, in which he gives Francesco de' Medici (1541–87) an imaginary tour of the works that he made in the Palazzo Vecchio. The most recent edition is Giorgio Vasari, *Ragionamenti di Palazzo Vecchio: entretiens du Palazzo Vecchio*, Paris 2007, pp. 183–84. With thanks to Bram de Klerck for his bibliographical assistance. The following translation is from Nuti, op. cit. (note 91), pp. 115–17: "Look, Your Excellency, at this painting, in which Florence is portrayed in a lifelike manner from the mountain side and measured in a way that hardly differs from reality.... Know you, that it was difficult to



26b *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 48r, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

a compass to the top of that house in order to draw in a straight line to the north of him everything that was far off and a little closer by.⁹⁶

Fols. 11v and 48r provide firm visual support for Niël's hypothesis, and illustrate the very method described

compose it only through a natural view of the eye, as we are used to do when we render towns and landscape in free-hand drawing, as the eye beholds them, given that the higher objects do not allow us to see the lower ones.... I began to draw it from the highest point I could reach, and even on top of a house, to discover not only the nearest spots, but also S. Giorgio, S. Miniato, S. Gaggio and Monte Oliveto. And Excellency, know you that, even though I was so high, I still could not embrace the whole of Florence, because the Gallo and the Giramonte mountains obstructed the view of S. Miniato and S. Niccolo's wall gates.... To make my drawing sharper and inclusive of everything that was in that terrain, I let myself be helped by craft where nature was lacking: I fixed the compass on the roof of that house and I took a sighting in a straight line to the north because from here I started drawing mountains, houses and places near at hand.... It helped me a lot that as I made the plan in a radius of one mile around Florence."



27 Cornelis Anthonisz, *Bird's-eye view of Amsterdam*, 1544. Twelve-block woodcut, 1074 × 1091 mm. Amsterdam Museum

by Vasari. Fol. 11v (fig. 26a) shows the upper part of the Heilige Stede Chapel, which stood between Kalverstraat and the river Amstel, present-day Rokin. The sketch was probably made from a high vantage point, since only the top of the chapel can be seen. According to van Tuinen,

the view from the northwest means that it is very possible that the chapel was sketched from the top floor or roof of Jacob Cornelisz's workshop in Kalverstraat, which was diagonally across from the Heilige Stede, as illustrated in fig. 28.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Van Tuinen, *op. cit.* (note 8), vol. 2, pp. 25 and 69. Anthonisz's *Bird's-eye view of Amsterdam* has north at the bottom and south at the top.



28 Detail of fig. 27. The small red circle marks the workshop of Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, the large one the Heilige Stede Chapel

The rapid sketch of the landscape with church spires and a windmill on fol. 48r also presents convincing evidence in support of Niël's theory (fig. 26b). The draftsman must have climbed up high in order to be able to depict the furthest point of the city with the Haarlemmerpoort, which is recognizable from its two distinctive towers. Van Tuinen believes that this sketch was made from the top of a ship's mast or a tower,⁹⁸ but it is more likely that it was done from the top floor or roof of Jacob Cornelis's workshop in Kalverstraat (fig. 29), the more so because fols. 48r and 11v were originally adjoining pages in the sketchbook, with the landscape and the Haarlemmerpoort on the left (fig. 26b) and the top of the chapel on the right (fig. 26a).⁹⁹ They are two separate studies, though, not one composition, although they may have been drawn during a single session, with fig. 26a looking southeast and fig. 26b northwest. The putative vantage point on the roof of Jacob Cornelisz's workshop, with which Anthonisz had such close ties, might also explain why the windmill is in front of the Haarlemmerpoort.¹⁰⁰

The drawing of the Schreierstoren on fol. 39r (fig. 30a) differs from the other two in that it is not a panoramic view, nor could it be, because the tower stood by the waters of IJ Sound, on the tip of the northeastern corner of the city. The sketch must therefore have been made from



29 Detail of fig. 27. The red circle on the left marks the workshop of Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, the one on the right the Haarlemmerpoort

a boat outside the harbor palisade. The hastily scrawled figures in the foreground show that the sketch was made on the spot, anyway.¹⁰¹ Anthonisz clearly found it important to depict the tower correctly, and he probably used this drawing for the maps of 1538 and 1544 (fig. 30b), but modified the perspective to an aerial view. He would have made more drawings of buildings in the city, possibly on loose sheets or in other sketchbooks. Marc Hameleers recently pointed out that he must have drawn each part of his map separately, partly because there is no standardization of the buildings.¹⁰² Since the sketch of a windmill drawn from a boat on fol. 15v is also a study for an individual building, it too seems to have been made in preparation for the map.¹⁰³

These drawings of buildings in Amsterdam and the view of the city confirm that Anthonisz made his studies and measurements from high vantage points, as Niël suspected. He could then modify the drawings to the ultimate compass direction—the map shows the city from the north because of its important position beside IJ Sound—and the aerial viewpoint. So Anthonisz's sketchbook provides a unique insight into the genesis of his

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁹⁹ Van Tuinen, *op. cit.* (note 10).

¹⁰⁰ Here I depart from van Tuinen, who was unable to explain the location of the mill in front of the Haarlemmerpoort, see van Tuinen, *op. cit.* (note 8), vol. 2, pp. 166–67. It is an open question, incidentally, whether the draftsman really was able to look over the top of the

Nieuwe Kerk from the highest point of the building in Kalverstraat. The possibility that this drawing was made from a high vantage point in or on the Nieuwe Kerk cannot be ruled out.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹⁰² Hameleers, *op. cit.* (note 93), p. 40.

¹⁰³ Van Tuinen, *op. cit.* (note 8), vol. 2, p. 80.



30a *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 39r, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

bird's-eye view of the city. He must of course had a general idea of its size, probably from a basic street plan, perhaps a traditional one that he made himself.¹⁰⁴ The perspective could then be simulated on that basic plan, launching the illusion.¹⁰⁵ He would have had various ways of measuring the distances between the tall buildings, from a simple measuring cord with knots to an astrolabe.¹⁰⁶ He may also have used a pair of dividers, for fol. 27v (fig. 31a) shows a hand holding that instrument, which could be used not only for drawing circles but also for measuring off and transferring distances.¹⁰⁷

DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH ANTHONISZ'S CARTOGRAPHY Many of the drawings in the sketchbook can be linked to Cornelis Anthonisz's work, directly or indirect-

¹⁰⁴ Niël, op. cit. (note 94), pp. 107–13.

¹⁰⁵ For more on this see Nuti, op. cit. (note 91), p. 121.

¹⁰⁶ Schulz, op. cit. (note 92), pp. 435–37.

¹⁰⁷ I am grateful for this discovery to Inge Hoffmann, master's student of art history at Radboud Universiteit, who researched this folio in



30b Detail of the Schreierstoren from fig. 27

ly, but there are others whose subjects or purpose are unclear. They may have been connected with Anthonisz's specialty as a cartographer, and if so it would strengthen the attribution of the sketchbook to him. The folios in question are 3v, 7r, 16v, 17v, 27r, 27v, 40v, 41r and 45r.

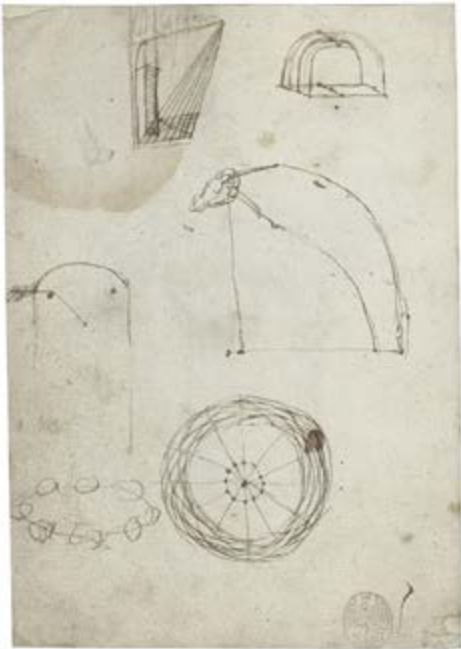
At the bottom of fol. 7r Anthonisz drew four numbered squares. According to van Tuinen this is a geometrical exercise that may be related to the overlapping squares on fol. 16v (fig. 31b) and to the 12-pointed star on fol. 40v (fig. 32a), part of which was drawn with compasses, as can be seen from holes in the paper.¹⁰⁸ It is indeed possible that the artist was practicing on fols. 3v and 16v with spatial projections of the squares on fol. 7r. On fol. 17v (fig. 32b), the verso of the sheet with the pig, are five schematic heads seen from different angles that are looking along line-of-sight surfaces and lines. In the bottom right corner there is a sight pyramid. Van Tuinen has suggested that these drawings are based on Dürer's *Unterweisung der Messung* of 1525, in which the construction of various pyramids is explained.¹⁰⁹ At the top of fol. 27r there is a man lying and standing at full length linked by a quarter of a circle. Van Tuinen interpreted this as a free study after Dürer's *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* of 1528.¹¹⁰ On the verso of that sheet there are various perspective exercises, consisting of studies with

²⁰¹⁴ as part of a thematic lecture series.

¹⁰⁸ Van Tuinen, op. cit. (note 8), vol. 2, pp. 58 and 144.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

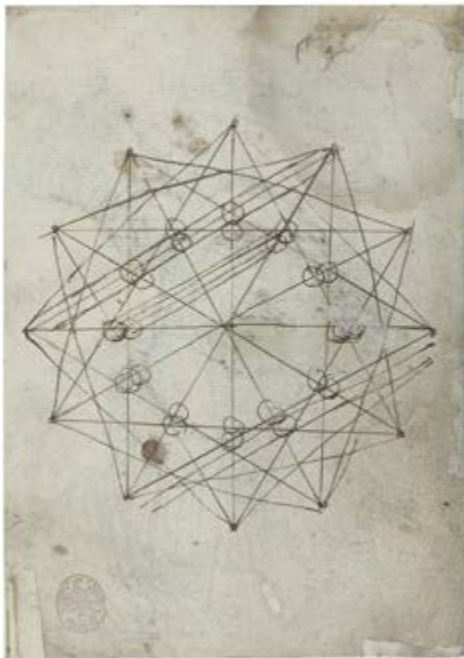
¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 108.



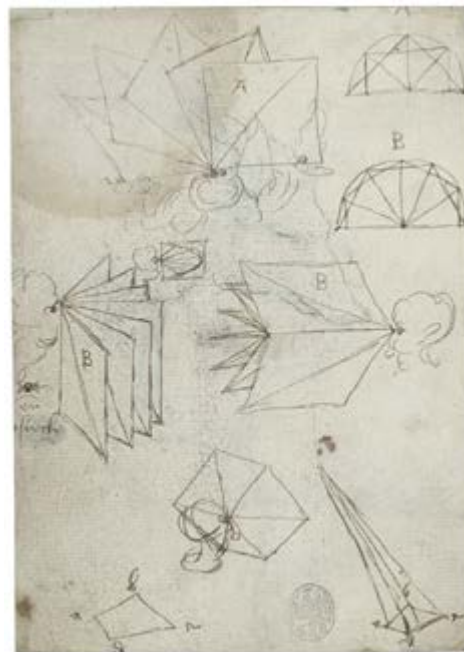
31a *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 27v, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



31b *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 16v, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



32a *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 40v, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



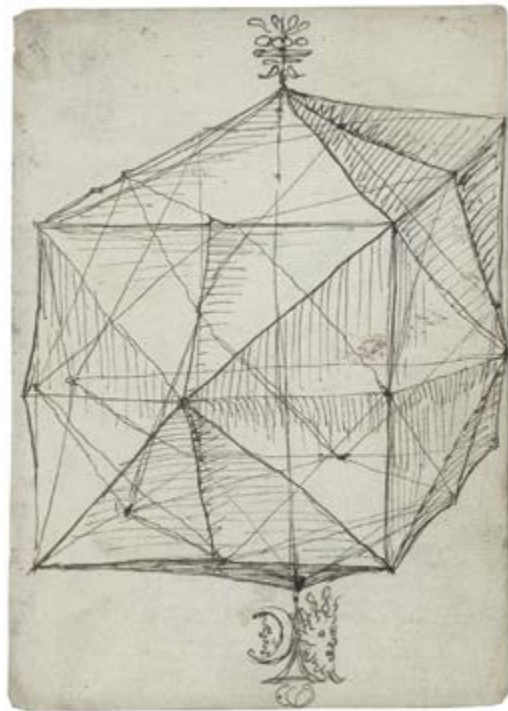
32b *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 17v, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett



33a *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 41r, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

the vanishing point of a tiled floor, a circle with several outlines, and a hand with dividers (fig. 31a).¹¹¹ In addition to the woman's head on fol. 41r (fig. 33a) there are six small drawings with geometrical exercises for regular polyhedrons.¹¹² One such regular polyhedron on fol. 45r (fig. 33b) may have been taken from Luca Pacioli's *De divina proportione* of 1509.¹¹³

Although the precise function of this group of drawings is unclear, it is striking that the panorama drawings discussed above (figs. 26a, 26b) and the geometrical drawings of the viewpoints on fol. 17v (fig. 32b) were originally on successive pages at the back of the sketchbook. That makes it tempting to see the sketches on fol. 17v as schematic illustrations of separate viewpoints of the city from a great height which could then be slid together to



33b *The Berlin Sketchbook*, fol. 45r, 144 × 102 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

form a mosaic. In that case these drawings, which could be regarded as a form of visual geometry, could also be associated with Anthonisz's preparations for his *Bird's-eye view of Amsterdam*, but this will require further study.

It is possible, too, that these somewhat puzzling sketches were made during Anthonisz's time as a student, an option that was mentioned above in connection with the drawings of architecture and ornaments. In the early decades of the sixteenth century Leuven grew to become the cartographic center of the Low Countries.¹¹⁴ Well-known northern Netherlandish cartographers like Jacob van Deventer (c. 1501–75) and Gemma Frisius (1508–55) were enrolled at the university there: the former in 1520 as a medical student and the latter in 1526 as a student of philosophy and medicine.¹¹⁵ Willem Hendricksz Croock

¹¹¹ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 109. Van Tuinen interprets the hand with dividers as a "schematic eye and three sightlines or a hand with a projectile that falls along three different paths."

¹¹² Ibid., p. 145.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 157.

¹¹⁴ Van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 15–16, and A. de Smet, "Leu-

ven als centrum van de wetenschappelijke kartografische traditie in de voormalige Nederlanden gedurende de eerste helft van de 16e eeuw," in H. Liebaers et al. (eds.), *Album Antoine De Smet*, Brussels 1974, pp. 329–45.

¹¹⁵ Van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 16–17, Hamelers, op. cit. (note 31), vol. 1, p. 25. For Frisius see P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok

(c. 1489–1551), the head of the Amsterdam office of works and a cartographer, had also studied in Leuven and knew Jacob Cornelisz, Anthonisz's grandfather, with whom he painted the banners of six warships in 1520 on commission from Charles v.¹¹⁶ Croock may also have played a part in Anthonisz's cartographic training.

No matter what the function of the group of geometrical drawings was and where they could have been made, they all appear to relate to basic geometrical principles and are thus linked to what the printmaker and cartographer would become, or perhaps already had been for some time.

CONCLUSION All the above arguments show that so many of the drawings in the Berlin Sketchbook are associated with prints by Cornelis Anthonisz, with his *Bird's-eye view of Amsterdam* and with his specialty as a cartographer, that the only possible explanation is that he must be the draftsman of the sketchbook. So we are no longer dealing with an anonymous Master of the Berlin Sketchbook but with the grandson of Jacob Cornelisz, and I suggest that in future the album be referred to as the sketchbook of Cornelis Anthonisz. That attribution confirms what had already been assumed, namely that Anthonisz had studied with his grandfather. The copies after the latter's paintings, but above all the staccato drawing style, which is so close to that of Cornelisz, make the close relationship between grandfather and grandson crystal clear, and provide an exceptionally concrete idea of the visual idiom and repertoire that Cornelisz imparted to his pupils. Although a few of the sheets depart stylistically from that idiom a little (fols. 39v, 40r), and strictly speaking could have been drawn by another artist, I take it for granted that Cornelis Anthonisz made the bulk of the drawings himself. The small size of the book alone shows that it was a personal sketchbook. Interestingly, the artist's later and so typical range of activities is also reflected in the drawings, and as such the book

illustrates not only the period when Anthonisz was finding his feet as an artist but also shows something of his later specialties. The clearest harbingers of those specialties include fols. 11v, 48r and 39r (figs. 26a, 26b, 30a) with their sketches of panoramas and specific buildings in Amsterdam that were drawn from high vantage points and the water.

The relationship between various drawings and woodcuts demonstrates that despite the often complex iconography of Anthonisz's prints he built up his compositions in a very practical way with everyday motifs and literal quotations from his sketchbook. Discoveries of this kind provide a very close insight into the printmaker's workshop. However, the lively hand that is evident in the book, with the short, staccato strokes of the pen, is not everywhere apparent in Anthonisz's prints, possibly because he could have collaborated with the cutter Jan Ewoutsz more often than one might expect from the presence of the latter's address on the woodcuts, because in those instances Anthonisz was only responsible for designing the prints.¹¹⁷

That this is a personal sketchbook, and that the artist very probably filled it himself, is unique for the early sixteenth-century Netherlands. Cornelis Anthonisz's sketchbook is so small that it was easy to carry around and jot down ideas or motifs as they presented themselves. For Anthonisz, his sketchbook served as a didactic, annotated and creative drawing book in which he recorded motifs, often with seeming nonchalance. In the process, intentionally or otherwise, he built up a stock of set pieces that he could later use when designing and working out his compositions. His sketchbook was thus an archive of images and visual test bed in one.

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(eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, 10 vols., Leiden 1911–37, vol. 6, p. 556.

¹¹⁶ Van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 19), p. 115, and van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 14 and 18. On Willem Croock see also A.H. Huussen, "Willem Hendricxz. Croock, Amsterdams stadsfabriekmeester, schil-

der en kartograaf in de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 64 (1972), pp. 29–53, with the banners on p. 34.

¹¹⁷ On this collaboration see also Armstrong, op. cit. (note 19), p. 18.