

Patience Grows: The First Roots of Joris Hoefnagel's Emblematic Art

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The story goes that Joris Hoefnagel, while still a child, was thwarted in his pursuit of art.¹ Born to a family of merchants in the metropolis of sixteenth-century Antwerp and reared to take up the familial trade, he is said to have vented his stifled yearning to draw by scribbling in dust on the floor and doodling in chalk on attic walls.² It was a distinguished household guest who saw those doodles and finally convinced Hoefnagel's parents to let the boy pursue the art to which nature disposed him, albeit alongside his other studies.

Although Hoefnagel's biographer Karel van Mander loved to fabricate mythical stories of artistic origins such as this one, his account is not all fiction. What Van Mander tells us of Hoefnagel's later life is born out in his oeuvre, namely that Hoefnagel only began to pursue a full-fledged artistic career well past his youth. After his family lost their wealth to plundering soldiers during the Spanish Fury of 1576—among the more devastating events of the Dutch Revolt – Hoefnagel left Antwerp permanently and found artistic patronage

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 - 2 Miedema H. (ed.), *Karel van Mander: The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the First Edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603–1604)*, trans. D. Cook-Radmore, 6 vols. (Doornspijk: 1994) I 308–309: 'Van seer rijke Ouders die hem tot de Coopmanschap tegen de natuere worstelende, aendronghen: want zijn gantsche oft aldermeeste gheneghentheyt tot de Schilder-const streckende, niet mochten lijden, dat den Jonghen t'huys oft in't Schole dede, t'gene hem de Moeder natuere stadich gheboodt, en niet laten en con. Was hem in de Schole van den Meester t'papier benomen, hy vergaderde het mul oft zandt op den vloer, en troc daer in met een steck oft vinger: t'huys verborghen op solder met crijt. En hadde een reys op een planck met d'een handt zijn ander gheconterfeyt. T'welck siende een Gesant van den Hertogh van Savoyen, ten huys van den Vader gheherberghet wesende, sprack ten besten, soo dede den School-meester, soo dat Hoefnaghel t'zy weynigh oft veel hem tot het teyckenen mocht veronledighen'. For further discussion of this anecdote, see also Vanhaelen A., *The Wake of Iconoclasm: Painting the Church in the Dutch Republic* (University Park: 2012) 27–33.

abroad first with Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol in Munich and later with the Emperor Rudolf II in Frankfurt and Vienna.³ As Van Mander declares in the opening lines of Hoefnagel's biography, art often proves to be a refuge, 'especially in times of war and emigration'.⁴

Hoefnagel is best known today for his stunning manuscript illuminations of plants, animals, and insects such as those found in his volumes of the *Four Elements*, a project begun shortly before his flight from Antwerp [Fig. 6.1].⁵ The miniatures throughout these volumes, situated in oval frames and accompanied by an erudite array of Latin quotations and biblical verses, clearly derive inspiration from the thriving contemporary genre of the emblem book.⁶ Through his productive pairing of text and image, and his masterful mimetic skill at representing everything from dragonfly wings to porcupine quills, Hoefnagel explores the relationship between divinely created nature and his own creative powers as a painter. Indeed, Hoefnagel repeatedly inscribed his works with the phrase *natura magistra* ('nature his teacher'), proclaiming nature as both source and object of his artistic efforts.⁷

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- 3 For Hoefnagel's biography, see Vignau-Wilberg T., "Joris Hoefnagel, the Illuminator", in Hendrix L. – Vignau-Wilberg T. (eds.), *Mira Calligraphiae Monumenta: A Sixteenth-Century Calligraphic Manuscript Inscribed by Georg Bocskay and Illuminated by Joris Hoefnagel* (Malibu: 1992) 15–28, and Vignau-Wilberg T., *Archetypha Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnagelii, 1592. Natur, Dichtung und Wissenschaft in der Kunst um 1600* (Munich: 1994) 17–20.
- 4 Miedema (ed.), *Karel van Mander: The Lives*, trans. Cook-Radmore, I 306–309: 'Een beter ghe-wente bevind' ick by ons Nederlanders, als wel by ander volcken in gebruyck te wesen, dat de Ouders, of sy schoon machtigh van rijckdom zijn, hun kinderen veel tijts vroegh oft in hun jeught laten leeren eenige Const oft Ambacht, het welck besonder in tijt van krijgh, en vervluchten wonder wel te pas can comen'. For commentary on this passage, see also *ibidem*, V 12–14.
- 5 The most thorough study of the *Four Elements* volumes remains Hendrix L., *Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements. A Study in Sixteenth-Century Nature Painting*, (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University: 1984). See also Kaufmann T. D., *The Holy Roman Empire: A Selection from North American Collections, 1540–1680* (Princeton: 1982) 154–157, no. 56; *Idem*, *The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II* (Chicago: 1988) 202–203, no. 9.1; and Hendrix L., "Of Hirsutes and Insects: Joris Hoefnagel and the Art of the Wondrous", *Word & Image* 11 (1995) 373–390.
- 6 For Hoefnagel's engagement with the emblem genre, see the foundational study by Vignau-Schuurman T. A. G. W., *Die Emblematischen Elemente im Werke Joris Hoefnagels*, 2 vols. (Leiden: 1969).
- 7 See Hoefnagel's inscriptions in the *alba amicorum* of Abraham Ortelius (Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS. 2.113 fol. 6v, 1 September 1574) and Emanuel van Meteren (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 68 (21642) fol. 5 verso, 6 December 1575). See also Ortelius A., *Album*

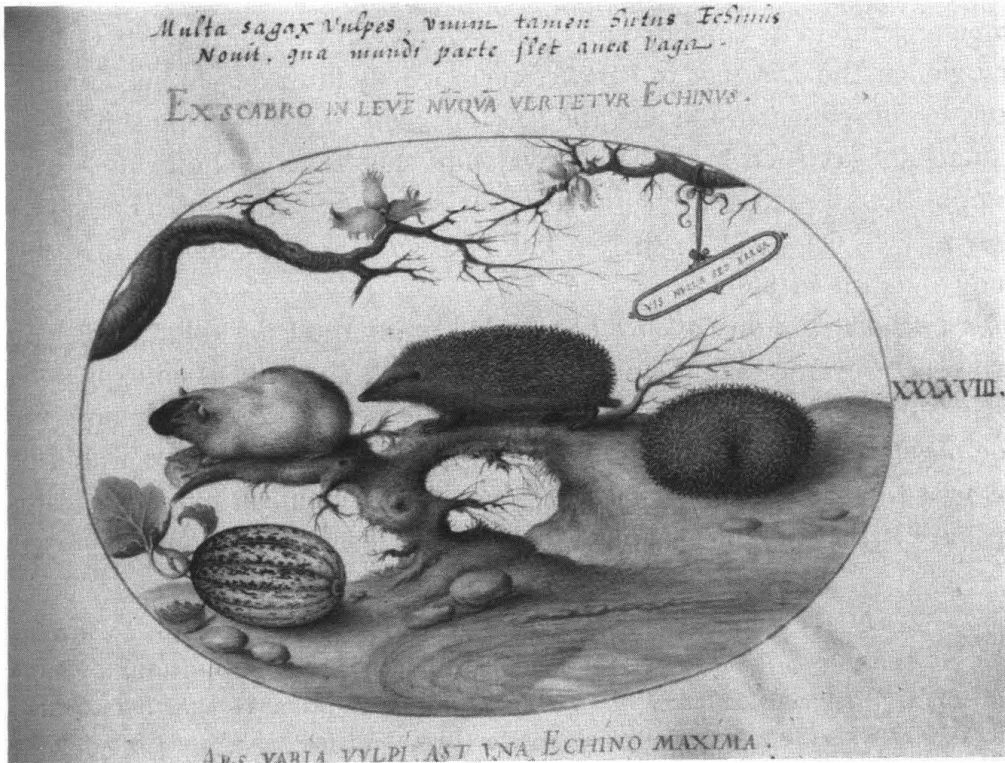


FIGURE 6.1 Joris Hoefnagel, "Ex scabro in levem numquam vertetur echinus", part of his *Animalia Quadrupedia et Reptilia (Terra)* from the so-called Four Elements (ca. 1575–1582). Watercolor and gouache on vellum, 14.3 × 18.4 cm. Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art (1987.20.6.4). Image © National Gallery of Art.

However, Hoefnagel's foray into the emblematic genre began even earlier with a volume that has received far less attention. Hoefnagel's *Patientia*, or *Patience*, which he created in 1569, consists of twenty-four drawings and accompanying poems—written by the artist himself—expressing the impact of the Dutch Revolt on his native land.⁸ The structure of each folio is indebted to the

Amicorum, ed. J. Puraye – M. Delcourt (Amsterdam: 1969) 16–17, and Rogge H. C., "Het Album van Emanuel van Meteren", *Oud Holland* 15 (1897) 166. Hoefnagel also employs the phrase *natura magistra* in his 1579 miniature representing an *Allegory with Muses* (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ 4804).

⁸ For a facsimile of the manuscript, with commentary and transcriptions of the poems, see Roosbroeck R. van, *Patientia: 24 Politieke Emblemata door Joris Hoefnagel* (Antwerp: 1935). See also Vignau-Schuurman, *Die Emblematischen Elemente* 243–245; Dorsten J. A. van, *The Radical Arts: First Decade of an Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden: 1970) 53; Boon K. G., "Patientia dans les gravures de la Réforme aux Pays-Bas", *Revue de l'art* 56 (1982) 9–10; Kaufmann T. D., "The Nature of Imitation: Hoefnagel on Dürer", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen*

emblem genre in its combination of image, title, and verse commentary.⁹ On first glance, the drawings in *Patience* seem wholly unrelated to his illuminations in subsequent works like the *Four Elements*. A man fleeing shipwreck, a merchant accosted in the street, wayward shepherds in the fields—these compositions dominated by human figures are an anomaly within Hoefnagel's oeuvre [Figs. 6.2–6.4].¹⁰ Is there a link between this work and his intensive study of nature in later years?

Past scholarship on *Patience* has tended to interpret the volume solely in terms of its overarching theme, characterizing its contents as an expression of Neostoic thought and Calvinist faith.¹¹ If one were to seek a counterpart to Hoefnagel's *Patience* in contemporary writing, an obvious choice would be the 1584 treatise *On Constancy* by the great Netherlandish humanist Justus Lipsius.¹² In the opening chapter of the treatise, Lipsius's protagonist expresses

in Wien 82/83 (1986/87) 169–170; Idem, *The Mastery of Nature. Aspects of Art, Science, and Humanism in the Renaissance* (Princeton: 1993) 89; Tanis J., "Joris Hoefnagel and the Revolt of the Netherlands", in Tanis J. – Horst D. (eds.), *Images of Discord. A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War* (Bryn Mawr: 1993) 10–23; and Jacoby J., "Salus generis humani. Some Observations on Joris Hoefnagel's Christianity", in Konečný L. – Vácha S. (eds.), *Hans von Aachen in Context. Proceedings of the International Conference, Prague, 22–25 September 2010* (Prague: 2012) 119.

- 9 The literature on emblem books is vast. For a recent discussion of the emblem format, see Graham D., "Emblema multiplex: Towards a Typology of Emblematic Forms, Structures and Functions", in Daly P. M. (ed.), *Emblem Scholarship: Directions and Developments. A Tribute to Gabriel Hornstein*, *Imago Figurata Studies* 5 (Turnhout: 2005) 131–158.
- 10 Hoefnagel's drawings of cities and vistas for Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne: 1572–1617) do include numerous figures, but there they serve foremost as a means of guiding the viewer into the composition. On these drawings, see the introduction in Braun G. – Hogenberg F., *Civitates Orbis Terrarum. The 'Towns of the World', 1572–1617*, ed. R. A. Skelton, 3 vols. (Cleveland: 1965) I vii–xxi. See also Popham A. E., "Georg Hoefnagel and the Civitates Orbis Terrarum", *Maso Finiguerra* 1 (1936) 183–201; Nuti L., "The Mapped Views by Georg Hoefnagel: The Merchant's Eye, the Humanist's Eye", *Word & Image* 4 (1988) 545–570; Meganck, T. L., *Erudite Eyes. Artists and Antiquarians in the Circle of Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)* (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University: 2003) 140–158; and Alsteens S. – Buijs H., *Paysages de France dessinés par Lambert Doomer et les artistes hollandaise et flamands des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Paris: 2008) 213–220, nos. 58–60. Hoefnagel's only other representation of human figures as the primary subject are his two miniatures of the hirsute Pedro Gonzalez and his children in the opening folios of the *Ignis* volume from the *Four Elements* series. On these miniatures, see Hendrix, "Of Hirsutes and Insects" 375–379.
- 11 See note 8 above.
- 12 On Lipsius's Neostoic thought, see Saunders, J. L., *Justus Lipsius: The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism* (New York: 1955); Oestreich G., *Neostoicism and the Early Modern*



FIGURE 6.2 Joris Hoefnagel, "Patient in Adversity", part of his *Patientia* (1569). Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.



FIGURE 6.3 Joris Hoefnagel, "The Patient Merchant", part of his *Patientia* (1569). Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.



FIGURE 6.4 Joris Hoefnagel, "The Patient Masses", part of his *Patientia* (1569). Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.

his desire to flee his war-torn country but is soon counseled instead to find inner peace and strength of mind, and to seek example in the divine order governing the natural world. Lipsius explicitly names Patience the mother of Constancy, defining the virtue as willing and ungrudging sufferance of whatever fate befalls a man.¹³ We will see that Hoefnagel's *Patience* parallels these ideas quite closely.

Nonetheless, *De Constantia* postdates Hoefnagel's creation by several years, and neither Lipsius's writings nor any strain of philosophy or spiritual belief can wholly account for the status of *Patience* as one of the most visceral artistic responses to the Dutch Revolt. Closer examination of the volume, as well as the context of its making, suggests that *Patience* had a very personal significance for Hoefnagel's development as an artist and individual. This essay reconstitutes *Patience* as foundational to Hoefnagel's creative endeavor and engagement with the natural world. Through an anthropomorphic approach to the figure of Patience, Hoefnagel speaks not in abstract allegorical terms but in those of lived experience. Like the protagonist of Lipsius's treatise, Hoefnagel explores throughout the volume the need for patience during troubled times, and ultimately finds that the truest form of this virtue, rather than residing in the realm of human civilization, lurks instead in the groves and valleys of the surrounding landscape.

Patience between Friends

The year 1569 found Hoefnagel in England, where he had fled briefly—prior to his permanent emigration from Antwerp—to seek respite from the religious and political turmoil at home. The Dutch Revolt against Spanish rule had been precipitated in 1566 when radical Protestants unleashed a series of iconoclastic attacks in cities throughout the Netherlands.¹⁴ The iconoclasm spurred the

State (Cambridge: 1982); Morford M., *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton: 1991); McCrea A., *Constant Minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England, 1584–1650* (Toronto: 1997); and Lagrée J., "Constancy and Coherence", in Strange S. K. – Zupko J. (eds.), *Stoicism: Traditions and Transformations* (Cambridge: 2004) 148–176, esp. 152–159.

13 Lipsius Justus, *De constantia libri duo* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1584) 11: 'At Constantiae vera mater, Patientia et demissio animi est. Quam definitio rerum quaecumque homini aliunde accident aut incident voluntariam et sine querela perpassionem'.

14 On the iconoclasm and early years of the Dutch Revolt, see Backhouse M., *Beeldenstorm en bosgeuzen in het westkwartier (1566–1568). Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de godsdiensttroebelen der Zuidelijke Nederlanden in de XVI^e eeuw* (Kortwijk: 1971); Scheerder J.,

Catholic King Philip II of Spain to send a throng of Spanish troops into the Low Countries to squelch the mounting reform movement. The heightening of the Inquisition, coupled with trials of accused Protestant sympathizers, soon made the region, and Antwerp in particular, a dangerous place in which to pursue any form of artistic or confessional expression.¹⁵ The commercial enterprise that had established Antwerp as the leading trading port of Europe during the first half of the sixteenth century suffered no less amidst the violence and political upheaval.

As a result, Hoefnagel found company during his English sojourn in a growing expatriate community of Netherlandish merchants, artists, and scholars who had likewise fled their native land.¹⁶ It was this community that formed the intimate setting for the creation of *Patience*, specifically Hoefnagel's friendship with the learned merchant and reformist sympathizer Johannes Radermacher who had settled in England just a few years earlier in 1567.¹⁷ Radermacher was born in Aachen but like Hoefnagel had launched his mercantile career in Antwerp, where his religious views had presumably made it untenable for him to remain. A surviving manuscript album that Radermacher compiled full of writings by scholarly friends attests to his cultivated interests.¹⁸ *Patience*

De Beeldenstorm (Bussum: 1974); Parker G., *The Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: 1977); Duke A., *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London: 2003) 125–151; Arnade P., *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: 2008) 90–259; Groenveld S., *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog. Opstand en consolidatie in de Nederlanden (ca. 1560–1650)* (Zutphen: 2008), and most recently Jonckheere K., *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm. Experiments in Decorum, 1566–1585* (New Haven: 2012) 7–27; and Groen P. (ed.), *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog. Van opstand naar geregelde oorlog, 1568–1648* (Amsterdam: 2013) 37–56.

- 15 On this point specifically, see Marnef G., *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550–1577*, trans. J. C. Grayson (Baltimore: 1996) 109–152.
- 16 This community remains understudied. See Forster L., *Janus Gruter's English Years. Studies in the Continuity of Dutch Literature in Exile in Elizabethan England* (Leiden: 1967), and Bostoën K., *Dichterschap en koopmanschap in de zestiende eeuw. Omtrent de dichters Guillaume de Poetou en Jan vander Noot*, Deventer Studiën (Deventer: 1987). See also Dorsten, *The Radical Arts* 26–39, 50–61, and Aston M., *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge: 1993) 167–199.
- 17 For Radermacher's biography, see Bostoën K., *Bonis in bonum. Johan Radermacher de Oude (1538–1617), humanist en koopman* (Hilversum: 1997).
- 18 For Radermacher's album, see Bostoën K. J. S. – Binnerts-Kluyver C. A. – Hattink C. H. E. J. – van Lynden-de Bruine A. M. (eds.), *Het album J. Rotarii. Tekstuitgave van het werk van Johan Radermacher de Oude (1538–1617) in het Album J. Rotarii, Handschrift 2465 van de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit te Gent* (Hilversum: 1999). Radermacher also

too marks the beginning of a creative exchange between Radermacher and Hoefnagel that would prove lasting. Twenty years later the artist would also produce for his friend a splendid flower still-life and allegorical painting on friendship.¹⁹ Hoefnagel pays homage to his collaboration with Radermacher and credits him as commissioner of the *Patience* volume in a sonnet on its opening folio [Fig. 6.5]:

The spirit was troubled, restrained by the body,
Distrusting and anxious from great apprehension.
God has roused the spirit quickly out of its misery;
No suffering is so great that time cannot reduce.

With you as his instrument who came to visit me,
To offer a friendly invitation to the noble and pure art
That God gave me, I sprang as if from the dead,
With the spirit full of fantasy, and set it to work.

Considering the present course of these astonishing times,
Perseverance and patience are needed from all sides.
Being myself in the same misery, I took this as my subject.

Now then, my work finished, albeit rough and of little impact,
Goes to Radermacher. He will not scorn you
Because he thinks as a friend; show him my open heart.²⁰

engaged with other Netherlandish artists among the English émigré community, notably with Lucas de Heere, whom he mentions in a letter to Abraham Ortelius (London, Friday, 5 March 1568). See Ortelius A., *Abrahami Ortelii (geographi Antverpiensis) et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum (Abrahami Ortelii sororis filium). Epistulae*, ed. J. H. Hessels (Cambridge: 1887) 57, no. 24.

19 *Still-Life with Flowers for Johannes Radermacher*, 1589 (Middelburg, Zeeuws Museum, 11.8 × 16.3 cm, inv. no. M98-072-01), and *Allegory on the Friendship between the Artist and Johannes Radermacher*, 1590 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, oil on panel, 22.5 × 4.5 cm, inv. no. 1308 (OK)).

20 Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 5 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 9: 'Den gheest sijnde beroert, doer tlichaems arresteren / Mistroestich en benaut, doer dapprehencie groot. / Heeft godt den gheest verweckt, wel haest al wijt den noot. / Gheen lijden toch zoe groot, den tijdt die candt mineren. / Ghij als sijn instrument, die quaempt mij visiteren / Vrindelijck inviteren, tot d'edele conste bloot / Die Godt mij heft ghegheven, ick spranck als van die doot. / Des gheest vol fantasijen, en ghinck hem imploijeren. / Den loop present aensiende van wonderlijcke tijden / T'vedrach en patiencia, van nood' aen alle sijden / Sijnd' oock int selve lijden, nam t'selve voer mijn subiect. / Nu dan mijn werck volmaect, maer rou, en

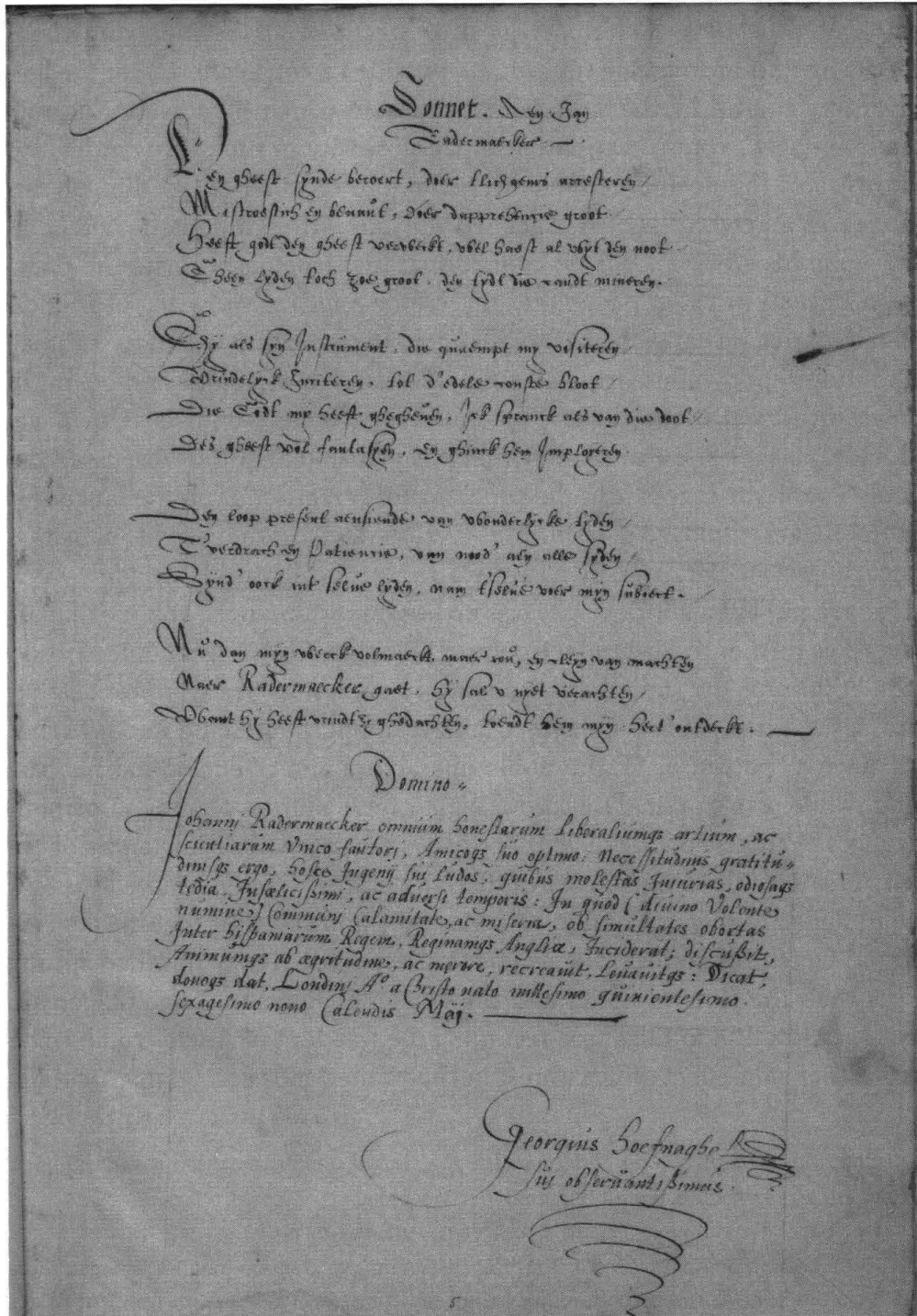


FIGURE 6.5 Joris Hoefnagel, "Sonnet to Jan Radermacher", part of his *Patientia* (1569).
 Ink on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961).
 Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.

Hoefnagel proclaims Radermacher an instrument of divine will whose 'friendly invitation' to create the volume provided a consolation from the fear and misery caused by the 'astonishing times' in which they lived. Not only does Hoefnagel express that patience is a necessity in times of war; he also demonstrates the need for friends who can join together under difficult circumstances and who, like Radermacher, will look with sympathetic heart and mind upon his creation. It is no coincidence that Hoefnagel closes the drawings in *Patience* with an image that represents a festive gathering of friends, which the artist declares the best of all possible contexts in which to embrace the volume's eponymous virtue [Fig. 6.6].²¹ A handful of images and poems in *Patience* also dwell on the plight of the Antwerp merchants that both Hoefnagel and Radermacher knew intimately, and it is plausible that they discussed the volume's contents together in the process of its creation. Even the languages that Hoefnagel employed in writing his verses—Dutch, French, and Spanish—reflect the vernacular diversity of Antwerp's mercantile world.

Literary and linguistic dexterity was no less important to the volume than its imagery, as further indicated by Hoefnagel's inclusion of a second dedication at the bottom of the same folio. Hoefnagel here writes in Latin prose rather than Dutch verse, and in a distinct cursive script, addressing Radermacher as 'a singular patron of all the noble liberal arts and sciences, and his best friend' while also implicitly acknowledging their mutual command of both languages.²² This second dedication provides the precise circumstances of the work's creation; Hoefnagel declares that he dedicated and presented the volume to Radermacher in London on 1 May 1569 and specifies that the adverse times to which his sonnet alludes encompassed 'the rivalry that had sprung up between the King of Spain and the Queen of England'. The antagonism between Philip II and Elizabeth regarding the freedom of Anglo-Dutch trade was another side-effect of the unrest in the Netherlands and was particularly

cleyn van machten / Naer Radermaecker gaet, hij sal u nijet verachten / Want hij heeft vriendtz ghedachten, toendt hem mijn hert ontdeckt'.

21 Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 53 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 25, no. 24.

22 Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 5 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 9: 'Domino Johanni Radermaecker omnium honestarum liberaliumque artium, ac scientiarum unico fautori, amicoque suo optimo: necessitudinis gratitudinisque ergo, hosce ingenii sui ludos, quibus molestas iniurias, odiosaque tedia, infoelicissimi, ac adversi temporis, in quod (divino volente numine) communi calamitate, ac miseria, ob simultates obortas inter Hispaniarum Regem, Reginamque Angliae, inciderat. Discussit, animumque ab aegritudine, ac maerore, recreavit, levavitque. Dicit, donoque dat, Londini Anno a Christo nato millesimo quinientesimo sexagesimo nono Calendis Maii, Georgius Hoefnaghel, sui observantissimus'.



FIGURE 6.6 Joris Hoefnagel, "The Best of All Patient People", part of his *Patientia* (1569). Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.

pronounced in the year 1569.²³ Hoefnagel thus opens the volume not only with an homage to his friend, but also with an assertion of just how strongly its verses and drawings belong to the present moment.

However, far more than merely elucidating the volume's genesis, Hoefnagel uses this opening folio as an opportunity to emphasize his own powers of invention, 'the noble and pure art' which he describes as a gift from God. Hoefnagel recounts in the sonnet how his spirit (*gheest*), long weighed down by physical suffering, suddenly awoke at Radermacher's invitation. Inspired, he set his mind to the act of making and found thereby a solace—even beyond Radermacher's friendship—in art itself. Not unlike the trajectory of Karel van Mander's biographical narrative, Hoefnagel portrays his artistic abilities as innate and divinely bestowed but also emphasizes that only through the trials of wartime—and his friend's urging—was his creative spirit fully brought to life.

Finally, Hoefnagel's repetition of the word *gheest* throughout the sonnet emphasizes that the drawings and poems in *Patience*—as much as they very clearly evoke the contemporary context of the Dutch Revolt—are not documentary in nature; they were created *uyt den gheest* ('from the spirit') rather than *naer het leven* ('from the life').²⁴ Hoefnagel even doubly emphasizes this point by describing his spirit as 'full of fantasy' (*fantasijen*), evoking the Renaissance conception of imagination as a place in the mind brimming with images culled from sensory experience, and which in turn propelled the generation of new thoughts and visual creations.²⁵ Hoefnagel implicitly construes the volume as an imaginative exploration of war's ramifications based upon the images and experiences assembled in his mind, but he is emphatic that the work does not present a direct record of specific observed events. This distinction is crucial to recognizing how *Patience* relates to other textual and visual responses to the reform movement and the war with Spain.

23 On this rivalry, see Ramsay G. D., *The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands: The End of the Antwerp Mart, Part II* (Manchester 1986) 153–173.

24 For the distinction, and complimentary relation, between these methods of creation, see Karel van Mander's canonical discussion in Miedema H. (ed.), *Den Grondt der edel vry Schilder-const*, 2 vols. (Utrecht: 1973), I 98–107, and also Melion W. S., *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: 1991) 65–66.

25 A foundational source for the Renaissance conception of *fantasia* is Aristotle's *De Anima*, III 427b–428b. See also Swan C., *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland: Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629)* (Cambridge: 2005) 14–22; Kanz R., *Die Kunst des Capriccio: Kreativer Eigensinn in Renaissance und Barock* (Munich: 2002) 62–69; Kemp M., "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia': the Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts", *Viator* 8 (1977) 347–398; and Harvey E. R., *The Inward Wits: Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: 1975) 31–53.

On the one hand, Hoefnagel's volume belongs to a larger contemporary genre of diasporic art and literature created by Netherlandish émigrés who capitalized on a freedom of expression unthinkable in the inquisitorial climate back home. A notable example, dating to the same year that Hoefnagel created *Patience*, is the treatise entitled *The Beehive of the Roman Catholic Church* written by the then exiled Calvinist scholar Philip Marnix.²⁶ Yet whereas Marnix's virulent satire issues a direct critique of Catholic vices and the Spanish occupation of the Netherlands, Hoefnagel's *Patience* is not overtly political. Hoefnagel's volume, by contrast, was the product of a personal exchange between friends, was never published, and was likely seen only by Radermacher and his close circle of fellow Netherlandish expatriates in England. As such, Hoefnagel's work emblemizes the present circumstances and the virtues needed to endure them for an audience of like minds. He does not aim to insert himself into the larger debate between the warring Catholic and Protestant factions. Indeed, nowhere in Hoefnagel's oeuvre does he expressly assert his own confessional stance.²⁷

Hoefnagel's interpretation of patience as a theme, beginning with the volume's first drawing, also stands out from other visual personifications of the virtue produced in the sixteenth-century Netherlands within the context of the reform movement [Fig. 6.7].²⁸ Hoefnagel portrays Patience in a manner that belies her usual position as an unequivocal model of Christian behavior, for instance, as she appears—pious and calm amidst a sea of devilish creatures, Boschian encampments, and corrupted ecclesiastical figures—in a 1557 engraving designed by Pieter Bruegel the Elder [Fig. 6.8].²⁹ Hoefnagel's young female Patience, by contrast, sits bare-breasted and shackled on the ground as the aged dame Hope directs her prayers heavenward. Patience follows with her eyes, but she clenches her body in consternation: arms folded, brow furrowed,

26 Marnix P., *De bijenkorf der H. Roomsche Kerke, met inleiding en varianten*, eds. A. Lacroix – A. Willems, 2 vols. (Brussels: 1858). For background on Marnix's life and political activities, as well as a summary of past literature, see Duits H. – Strien T. van (eds.), *Een intellectuele activist. Studies over leven en werk van Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde* (Hilversum: 2001).

27 For a recent attempt to characterize Hoefnagel's religious beliefs, see Jacoby, "Salus generis humani" 102–125.

28 Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 7; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 20, no. 1. For a useful overview of sixteenth-century representations of patience, see Boon, "Patientia dans les gravures" 7–24; Vignau-Wilberg, "Patientia: Humanistische Überlegungsstrategie" 137–161.

29 Orenstein N. (comp.), *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etching, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450–1700: Pieter Bruegel the Elder* (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel – Amsterdam: 2006) 48, no. 20, and Orenstein N., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Drawings and Prints* (New York: 2001) 161–162, no. 55.



FIGURE 6.7 Joris Hoefnagel, "Patience", part of his *Patientia* (1569). Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.



FIGURE 6.8 *Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Patientia (1557). Engraving, 33.4 × 43 cm. London, British Museum (1851,1213.92). Image © British Museum.*

and knees pressed tightly together. Despite the inscription on her shackle box, her physical form projects the very opposite of the virtue she is meant to embody. Hoefnagel's agitated figure seems even more at odds with the message she voices through the poem below, that of patient faith in God alone:

I am Patience personified.
 Hope consoles me in all my sufferings.
 Hope cheers me up in my sadness.
 She lifts my heart completely towards heaven.
 I sit here as an exemplum for both young and old,
 Rich and poor; therefore take note of me.
 And place your hope and consolation in the Lord;
 Blessed is the person who builds on Him alone.³⁰

30 'Patientia ben ick self in persoone, / Hope vertroest mij, in allen mijn lijden / Hope die doet mij, in droefheyt verblijden / Zij heft mijn hert, al naer t'shemels toone / Ick sitte ten toone, voer jonck en oock voer oudt, / Voer rijk end' arm, dus wilt op mij letten / En op den heere, u hope en troest setten / Salich den mensch, die op hem alleene boudt'. Translation adapted in part from Tanis, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Revolt" 13.

If we take Hoefnagel at his word, then his visual representation of the virtue has to be understood to convey not the antithesis of Patience but rather the struggle required to achieve patience under duress, and the difficulty of keeping hope when all seems lost. In that sense, Patience's tense posture recalls the opening lines of Hoefnagel's poem to Radermacher describing his own struggle to lift his spirit beyond the hindrances of his fearful and anxious body. By projecting this kind of narrative onto an allegorical figure, Hoefnagel humanizes Patience; he treats her not as some otherworldly virtue but instead as yet another human victim of the present circumstances. Even she has to endure hardship in order to achieve spiritual consolation, and even she cannot do it alone. Just as Hoefnagel needed Radermacher's friendship, so too Patience relies on Hope at her side.

Equally significant is the rugged and uncannily anthropomorphic landscape that surrounds the two virtues in Hoefnagel's drawing, its forms congruent with the posture and movement of their entwined bodies. The sinuous tree behind Patience mirrors with its curving knotted trunk the clenching of her crossed arms. The tendril-like hills in the background landscape morph and flow like the folds of Patience's skirt, and the highest cliff in the background curves and gestures like Hope's upraised arm. Amidst this barren expanse of land, with only scant leaves on the tree above and patchy vegetation in the distance, a few weeds to either side of Patience's feet have fought their way out of the inhospitable soil and taken root. Through all these details, Hoefnagel suggests that the struggle for patience in adversity is not only a basic component of the human condition but also inherent within the cycle of nature itself.

In and Beyond the City Walls

Throughout the remaining twenty-three drawings in the volume, Hoefnagel's emblematic representations of patience alternate between the external world of nature and the internal world of the city. These two categories—the landscape and the urban vista—would have resonated for Hoefnagel and Radermacher with the actual lived environment of their hometown of Antwerp, a once-burgeoning mercantile center surrounded by productive farmland and gentrified suburbs.³¹ Moreover, the popularity of the landscape genre on the

31 For a useful overview, see Kavalier E. M., *Pieter Bruegel: Parables of Order and Enterprise* (Cambridge: 1999) 29–56. On Antwerp's suburbs, see Limberger M., *Sixteenth-century Antwerp and its Rural Surroundings. Social and Economic Changes in the Hinterland of a*

Antwerp art market was based in no small part on an interest in the boundary between urban and rural life, and Hoefnagel's drawings in *Patience* reveal his consciousness of this visual tradition.³² Hoefnagel's description of his spirit as 'full of fantasy' when he created the *Patience* volume may signal his awareness of generating its drawings out of an imaginative gathering not only of images from lived experience but also from the works of fellow artists.

Several of Hoefnagel's urban scenes employ sharp perspectival recession and high horizon lines that dramatize the realm of the street [Fig. 6.9].³³ In this regard, they may recall the prints designed by Hans Vredeman de Vries—Antwerp's major exponent of perspectival city views—whose works Hoefnagel would have known [Fig. 6.10].³⁴ Vredeman's views present an idealized image of the streets of Antwerp itself, which had been newly planned during the first half of the sixteenth century to create long vistas evocative of classical beauty and ordered civilization.³⁵ Yet Hoefnagel disrupts the idealizing potential of this expansive urban stage by populating the space with human encounters that are anything but orderly or civilized. In his drawing of a family expelled from their home—their possessions thrown out in the street while a man in the background inventories their paltry worth—the recession depth behind them only exaggerates their isolation. As the wife buries her head in her skirts and the husband looks imploringly out at the viewer, Hoefnagel's reference to patience here seems almost facetious.

Commercial Metropolis (ca. 1450–ca. 1570), Studies in European Urban History (1100–1800) 14 (Turnhout: 2008).

- 32 For the dialogue between rural and urban life in the art of sixteenth-century Antwerp, see Heuer C., *The City Rehearsed. Object, Architecture, and Print in the Worlds of Hans Vredeman de Vries* (London: 2009) 92–98, and Silver L., *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: 2006) 26–52.
- 33 Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 17 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 21, no. 6.
- 34 From the series *Scenographiae, sive Perspectivae* first published in 1560, on which, see Nalis H. (comp.) with Fuhring P., *The New Hollstein: Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450–1700: Hans Vredeman de Vries*, ed. G. Luijten – C. Schuckman (Rotterdam: 1997) 52–57, esp. 53, no. 31. On the significance of this series, see Uppenkamp B., "The Influence of Hans Vredeman de Vries on the Cityscape Constructed like a Picture", in Lombaerde P. (ed.), *Hans Vredeman de Vries and the Artes Mechanicae Revisited* (Turnhout: 2005) 117–128.
- 35 Soly H., "L'urbanisation d'Anvers au XVI^e siècle", *Revue du Nord* 63 (1981) 391–413; Uppenkamp, "The Influence of Hans Vredeman de Vries" 121–123; and Heuer, *The City Rehearsed* 68–72.



FIGURE 6.9 Joris Hoefnagel, "The Patient Expelled", part of his *Patientia* (1569). Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.



FIGURE 6.10 Hans Vredeman de Vries, "Perspective View of a Street", part of his *Scenographiae, sive Perspectivae*. Etching, 21 × 25.9 cm. London, British Museum (1850,0612.67). Image © British Museum.

In another episode set within the city titled 'The Patient Merchant', the recession of the street and the dense surrounding buildings leave little escape for the man being ransomed in the foreground [Fig. 6.3].³⁶ As he reaches for his sword and looks warily at his antagonist, the merchant speaks through Hoefnagel's verses for the plight of his entire community, to which both the artist and Radermacher belonged:

We merchants are in a bad way.
 We bring princes and countries to prosperity.
 Our trade brings prosperity everywhere.
 Now they come and confiscate our goods,
 Even ransom our persons.

³⁶ Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 11 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 20, no. 3.

Through war, controversy, or such quarrels,
 Have Patience, the Lord will reward us one day.
 God gives, God takes, it is all the Lord's will.³⁷

This resentment of war and its assault on commercial productivity surfaces more than once in Hoefnagel's volume. It is a lament that reverberated throughout Antwerp in these years, not the least in the polemical songs of the anti-Spanish rebels known as *geuzenlieden* ('beggar's songs'), which were distributed as cheap pamphlets in the city streets and later published and preserved in compendia volumes. The parallel between the message of Hoefnagel's accosted merchant and one such song is particularly revealing:

Mourn with us loudly,
 You people, large and small,
 See how it is being lost:
 Antwerp, the beloved city.
 The merchants clamor;
 They make such a great protest.
 They would like to have trade again,
 But it seems to me this will not be.

Where did one ever hear it said
 There was so pleasant a city
 Where commerce has utterly fallen
 And is scorned completely.
 Where every lover once triumphed,
 To see his beloved pleased.
 Commerce once flourished there,
 But now we sit in grief.³⁸

37 'Wij coopliden, sijnder zeer qualijcken aen / Wij doen princen, en landen floreren. / Ons tracteren, doe over al wel gaen. / Ons goedt men compt, nu hier confisqueren / Ransoneren, oock onse persoonen. / Doer orloghe, twist, often sulcken gheschille / Patientie, die heer die salt eens loonen / Godt gaf, Godt nam, tis al tsheeren wille'. Translation adapted from Tanis, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Revolt" 18.

38 Kuiper E. T. – Leendertz P. (eds.), *Het Geuzenliedboek naar de oude drukken*, 2 vols. (Zutphen: 1924) I 254–255, no. 111: 'Wilt met ons druck oorbooren / Ghy menschen cleyn ende groot, / Siet hoe dat nu gaet verlooren / Antwerpen die Stadt minioot, / Die Coopliden kermen seere, / Sy maken also grooten gheclach / Die neeringhe hadden sy gheerne weere, / Maer my dunckt dat het niet wesen mach... Waer hoordemen oyt yemant spreken, / Dat een Stadt alsoo lustich stont, / Daer de Coopmanschap gheheel

The condition of forced immobility evoked in the beggar's song—of sitting in grief rather than engaging in industry—aligns with a recurrent motif in Hoefnagel's *Patience* volume as a whole. With the exception of the friendly dinner gathering in the last drawing, Hoefnagel never depicts his human figures engaged in positive or productive activity; often, even if they are not shackled like *Patience* herself, they seem stuck in place. The analogy in the beggar's song between the once flourishing city of Antwerp and a scorned lover even has a direct parallel in one of Hoefnagel's more mocking drawings in *Patience*. Hoefnagel depicts a paramour leaning on a stoop ornamented with sculpted devilish heads that ape his frustrated profile, while he stares—idle and despondent—down the street before him [Fig. 6.11].³⁹

Turning to Hoefnagel's drawings of the landscape outside Antwerp's walls, we find the same emphasis on suspended activity, suggesting that the aftershocks of war and discord rippled far beyond the city streets. In these latter compositions, Hoefnagel was likely alluding to the art of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, the artist with whom—more than of any other contemporary—he nurtured a close kinship. Hoefnagel borrowed repeatedly from Bruegel's works throughout his own oeuvre and found in his predecessor's exploration of the natural world a foundation for his own art.⁴⁰ It is telling that Hoefnagel's close friend the Antwerp cartographer Abraham Ortelius declared Bruegel not merely the best of painters but Nature itself fully embodied. This high praise could only have fomented Hoefnagel's desire to emulate his great artistic precursor.⁴¹

In Hoefnagel's drawing of "Patience in Adversity", a man narrowly escapes shipwreck and flees to shore against turbulent waves and pelting rain [Fig. 6.2].⁴² Hoefnagel boldly depicts the storm with quick choppy lines shooting down

is ghesweken / En veracht tot inden gront, / Daer elck Minnaer triumpheerde, / Om
sijn lief te behaghen siet, / De Coopmanschap die daer floreerde, / Maer nu sitten wy
int verdriet'. Kuiper suggests that this beggar's song was probably written around 1575
or 1576 [,] just before the Spanish Fury; in any case, it was created in close temporal
proximity to Hoefnagel's volume.

39 Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 29 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 22, no. 12.

40 See Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon 173–182*; Serebrennikov N. E., "Imitating Nature / Imitating Bruegel", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47 (1996) 222–246; and Ilsink M., *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch. Kunst over kunst bij Pieter Bruegel (c. 1528–1569) en Jheronimus Bosch (c. 1450–1516)* (Nijmegen: 2009) 148–154, 166.

41 Ortelius, *Album Amicorum* 21–22: 'Congruit nostro Brugelio hoc, cuius picturas ego minime artificiosas, at naturales appellare soleam, neque eum optimum pictorum at naturam pictorum vero dixerim'.

42 Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 25; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 22, no. 10.



FIGURE 6.11 Joris Hoefnagel, "The Patient Lover", part of his *Patientia* (1569). Red chalk on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 296r). Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.



FIGURE 6.12 *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Storm (ca. 1559). Pen on paper, 20.2 × 29.9 cm. London, Courtauld Institute of Art (Seilern Coll. Nr. 11). Image © Courtauld Institute.*

from the top of the folio. The man's clasped hands and upturned eyes suggest that he has put his faith in God, in counterpoint to the drowning figure in the background whose flailing arms betray his imminent fate. Hoefnagel's churning waves and violent rain recall Bruegel's drawing of the seas just off Antwerp's harbor, in which the small island with empty gallows and torture wheel casts a decidedly ominous mood over the scene [Fig. 6.12].⁴³ The danger of shipwreck—both actual and metaphorical—is everywhere implied, even if not depicted.⁴⁴ By comparison, Hoefnagel's composition is even more explicit in its message. In the context of the other drawings and poems within the *Patience* volume, Hoefnagel's shipwreck becomes charged with contemporary significance; it is the ultimate image of halted movement, in which neither the

43 Mielke H., *Pieter Bruegel: Die Zeichnungen* (Turnhout: 1996) 61, no. 52. On Bruegel's representations of storms at sea, see also Goedde L., *Tempest and Shipwreck in Dutch and Flemish Art. Convention, Rhetoric, and Interpretation* (University Park: 1989) 64–76.

44 Many attempts have been made to uncover political commentary in Bruegel's works. For a reasoned approach to this issue in Bruegel's depictions of the natural world, see Kavalier, *Parables of Order and Enterprise* 212–254.

vessel's passengers nor its commercial goods reach the shore, save one desperate and isolated survivor.

It is certain that Hoefnagel had access to some of Bruegel's drawings and, as such, it is not implausible that he would have known Bruegel's seascape. Around 1595, Hoefnagel adapted and published two of Bruegel's landscape compositions as prints, together with two shipwreck scenes after designs by Cornelis Cort.⁴⁵ Hoefnagel also collected and dealt in drawings by other artists, particularly in those by early Netherlandish masters, as he discusses in a letter to Ortelius.⁴⁶ An inscription on Hoefnagel's drawing of Messina for Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* even cites as a model certain 'autograph studies' by Bruegel that were in his possession.⁴⁷

Another drawing titled "The Patient Masses" may also reflect Hoefnagel's dialogue with Bruegel's art [Fig. 6.4].⁴⁸ Hoefnagel depicts one shepherd raising his hands in prayer while the other sits in doleful contemplation, his oversized sheep shears discarded at his feet and jutting out over the space of the frame. Through the verses below, the two men lament how the poor masses suffer when princes desire to go to war, complaining that 'they prefer to whip the

45 Sellink M., *Cornelis Cort. Constich plaedt-snijder van Horne in Holland / Accomplished Plate-Cutter from Hoorn in Holland* (Rotterdam: 1994) 137–146, nos. 49–52. See also Goedde, *Tempest and Shipwreck* 146–147, and Serebrennikov, "Imitating Nature" 227–228. Hoefnagel added narrative content to Bruegel's landscapes, transforming one into a *Landscape with Mercury Abducting Helen*, and the other into a *Landscape with the Fall of Icarus*. To Cort's design for a *Shipwreck*, he also added a female figure fleeing to shore, very much like the man in his *Patience* drawing. Hoefnagel's son Jacob also employed his father's composition from *Patience* as a model for his 1599 drawing *Allegory of Humanist Virtue*, for which see Gerszi T., *The New Ideal of Beauty in the Age of Pieter Bruegel. Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Drawings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest* (Budapest: 2012) 158–159, no. 63.

46 On Hoefnagel as a collector and dealer of drawings, see Vignau-Wilberg T., "Qualche diseigni d'importancia'. Joris Hoefnagel als Zeichnungssammler", *Müncher Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 38 (1987) 185–214. For Hoefnagel's letter to Ortelius, see Ortelius, *Epistulae* 566–567, no. 239 (Frankfurt, Thursday, 20 September 1593), and Popham A. E., "On a Letter of Joris Hoefnagel", *Oud Holland* (1936) 145–151.

47 Braun – Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* VI 58; Popham, "George Hoefnagel" 200: 'Repertum inter studia autographa Petri Bruegelii Pictoris nostri seculi eximii. Ab ipsomet delineatum. Communicavit Georgius Hoefnaglius, Anno 1617'. The date makes this inscription somewhat problematic as Hoefnagel actually died in 1600, though as Popham suggests, it may just have been a mistake on the part of the engraver.

48 Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 13; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 20, no. 4.



FIGURE 6.13 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Summer* (1568). Pen on paper, 22 × 28.6 cm. Hamburg, Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett (21758). Image © Kunsthalle Hamburg.

world in a frenzy' than to care for their subjects.⁴⁹ Here Hoefnagel's composition bears a striking relation to Bruegel's 1568 drawing of *Summer* showing peasants working and taking refreshment under the hot sun [Fig. 6.13].⁵⁰ In particular, Hoefnagel's seated shepherd with outstretched leg and discarded shears parallels Bruegel's peasant who has laid down his scythe to quench his thirst. Yet Hoefnagel's drawing is self-conscious and subversive of its Bruegelian model. His shepherds are not resting from toil but seem to have abandoned their livelihood completely, a suspension of labor analogous to that experienced by Hoefnagel's city merchant. At the same time, the absurd heft of the shepherd's shears not only renders labor an impossibility; it also signals the object as out of place, and by extension, as an allusion to be discovered by the discerning viewer.

49 'Wat moet die arme, ghemeijnte toch lijden. / Alst die Princen, lust orloghe te voeren / Malcanderen zij, nijet en willen mijden / Liever die weerelt, brengt sij setten in roeren.'

50 Mielke, *Die Zeichnungen* 69, no. 67. The engraving of *Summer* was published only in 1570, but Hoefnagel could have seen the drawing before leaving Antwerp for England.

Hoefnagel's *Patience* volume operates in a realm of productive ambiguity befitting its emblematic origins and learned audience. Often the verses that give voice to his protagonists, declaring how God will reward their patience, are at odds with the dire conditions in which Hoefnagel represents them. In some cases, like his scorned lover sighing on a stoop, Hoefnagel must have intended his figures as ironic prototypes that would amuse and engage the viewer's critical eye.

These interpretive challenges are reinforced by the somatic experience of the volume itself. The strange corporeality of the figures who inhabit its folios—almost all of them in tense, twisted, and unstable poses—refract their unease back onto the viewer. For Radermacher and his close friends, turning the pages of *Patience* was an invitation into a realm of intimate knowledge but also one of shared struggle and harsh experience in which encounters in the city street or the surrounding landscape raised questions about the very nature of humanity. However, it would be wrong to interpret *Patience* overall as skeptical about the virtue that it explores, even if the artist shows little evidence of its positive effect in the human encounters he portrays. Not only does the scene of gathered friends at the close of the volume visualize Hoefnagel's gratitude for Radermacher's assistance in guiding him towards patience, but on the title-page of the work, Hoefnagel frames the entire project in a manner that reveals his own physical creative act as an epitome of that same virtue.

The Good Herb Patience

Together with his dedicatory sonnet to Radermacher on the second folio, the title-page of *Patience* was probably the last component of the volume that Hoefnagel completed [Fig. 6.14].⁵¹ In the final stanza of his dedication, Hoefnagel describes the work as already finished; the change of drawing medium from red chalk to ink and wash also seems to set the title-page apart. The inscriptions on the title-page are, at one level, a classic defense of art in the face of critics. At the bottom of the page, just above the date 1569, Hoefnagel cites the Latin phrase *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* ('Let the cobbler stick to his last'), words famously spoken by Apelles when a humble cobbler deigned to critique the artist's representation of a shoe.⁵² The message conveyed is that those ignorant of art should not presume to understand it, let alone meddle in

51 Hoefnagel, *Patientia* fol. 3 recto; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 8.

52 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae*, XXXV 85, in Henderson J. (ed.), *Pliny, Natural History*, trans. H. Rackam, 10 vols. (Cambridge, MA: 1952) IX 322–325. See also Erasmus Desiderius,

an artist's creative process. Hoefnagel's verses at the top of the title-page open on an equally defensive note:

When painters and poets do whatever the spirit devises.
 Nobody should feel offended or bothered by what they do.
 Nobody should pay them mind, except in a general way,
 Whatever his class, his condition, country, or tongue.
 And I exclude no one from the word so often tried:
 That good herb patience is needed by everyone.⁵³

This assertion that painters and poets should be left alone to pursue 'whatever the spirit devises' echoes not only Hoefnagel's emphasis on *den gheest* in his dedicatory sonnet to Radermacher but also a famous defense of art by the ancient poet Horace.⁵⁴ It is hard to imagine that Hoefnagel meant this reference merely to evoke a classical trope. Given the iconoclasm that the artist had just witnessed back in Antwerp, to defend art against ignorant critics was as natural a response as it was necessary. The immediacy and honest expression of the poems and drawings in the *Patience* volume were an antidote to oppressive circumstances.

It is along these lines that the poem's final two verses prove the most revealing. In referring to the virtue of patience as a 'good herb', Hoefnagel plays on the word's secondary association with the plant, *Rumex patientia*, known in Dutch as *Patientie*, which was used as a healing agent in sixteenth-century Europe. In the contemporary herbals of Leonhart Fuchs and Rembert Dodoens, *Rumex* is said to cure everything from scorpion bites to a toothache, but above all, various ailments of the stomach.⁵⁵ The verb *proeven* that Hoefnagel employs in the penultimate line can mean 'to try' but also 'to taste' or 'to savor' and implies as such that patience is a virtue which one strives to achieve, yet also

Adagia I, vi, 16, in Mynors R. A. B. (ed.-trans.), *Collected Works of Erasmus. Vol. 32: Adages* (Toronto: 1989) 14.

53 'Doen Schilders en poëten, al wat den gheest verdenckt, / Niemant hem en ontstichte, oft zij hier bij ghecrenckt. / Niemant en trecx hem aen, dan wel int generale / Van wat staete dat hij sij, conditie, landt, oft tale / Ick en steecke niemant wijt, het woort dicwils beproeft. / T'goet cruyt patientia, Een ijegelijck behoeft.'

54 As Horace writes in his *Ars Poetica* (lines 9–10): 'Pictoribus atque poetis quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas'. For Hoefnagel's paraphrase of Horace in a poem on Albrecht Dürer's portrait of Philip Melanchthon, see Kaufmann, "The Nature of Imitation" 172–173, and Kaufmann, *The Mastery of Nature*, 95–96.

55 Fuchs Leonhart, *Neu Kreüterbuch* (Basel, Michael Isengrin: 1543) N5 recto-O2 recto, Cap. CLXXV ('Von allerlen Mengelwurtz'), and Dodoens Rembert, *Crujdeboeck* (Antwerp, Jan van der Loo: 1554) 594–597, Cap. IX ('Van Lapathum').

a substance which one physically ingests and applies to the body.⁵⁶ The plant itself is depicted on the right side of a page from Dodoens's herbal with thick roots, a cluster of low leaves, and stalks of inconspicuous yellow flowers [Fig. 6.15].⁵⁷ It is tempting to speculate that it was this herb the artist intended to evoke with the persistent crop of weeds situated at Patience's feet in the volume's first drawing.

Regardless, Hoefnagel surely meant to trope on the double meaning of patience as virtue and natural remedy in his representation of the volume's title [Fig. 6.16]. In a muted palette of brown and greenish tones, the word patience comes alive in knotted twisting branches, whispery roots, and sprouting leaves. Even though uprooted from the earth, in analogy to Hoefnagel and Radermacher uprooted from their home, Patience continues to grow and rejuvenate. In nature's enduring struggle, divine salvation and God's creative power are most fully in evidence.⁵⁸

At the same time, the intricate skill with which Hoefnagel enlivens the letters of the title-page, with minimal color yet the softest modeling and finest lines, shows that he—in difference to so many figures depicted within the volume—has not laid aside his tools. Hoefnagel does not wallow in grief, but as he tells Radermacher, has set his spirit to work, and the product of his patient labor here unfolds most beautifully, both in word and image. The choice of ink and wash as the medium for representing the letters of the volume's titular virtue emphasizes, even more than red chalk, the patience and meticulous care that the work required.⁵⁹ By representing the word 'Patience' as an organic

56 I am grateful to Bret Rothstein for provoking me to consider this double meaning of *proeven* in Hoefnagel's poem.

57 Dodoens, *Crujdeboeck* 594.

58 The final folio also includes a verse refrain that emphasizes faith in God alone, which certainly would have aligned with Radermacher's Calvinist belief. Hoefnagel, *Patientia*, fol. 55–55v; Roosbroeck, *Patientia* 9–10.

59 The notion that patience was a virtue of artists also appears a few years earlier in Lucas de Heere's famous 1565 "Ode to the *Ghent Altarpiece*", where he employs the word *patientie* to describe Jan van Eyck's diligence in his process of creation. See Heere L. de, *Den hof en boomgaerd der poësie*, ed. W. Waterschoot (Zwolle: 1969) 29–32, esp. 30: 'Sijn scherpicheit maect ons zijn patientie vroet, / En zij memorie groot blijckt in tselfde claelic / Alzoo oock zinen grooten gheest boven al doet, / In d'inventie, ende ordinancien openbaerlic'. See also Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon* 139–142. Lucas de Heere was prominent among the Netherlandish expatriates in England and a friend of Hoefnagel, as a drawing De Heere gifted to Hoefnagel in August 1576 attests (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-T-1911-83). I am currently preparing an article titled "Joris Hoefnagel and the Art of Friendship" on the relationship between these two artists.



FIGURE 6.15 Arnout Nicolai after Pieter van der Borch, woodcut illustration to Rembert Dodoens's *Cruijdeboeck* (Antwerp, Jan van der Loo: 1554) 594. Detail, Patientie plant. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (RP-T-1948-118). Image © Rijksmuseum.

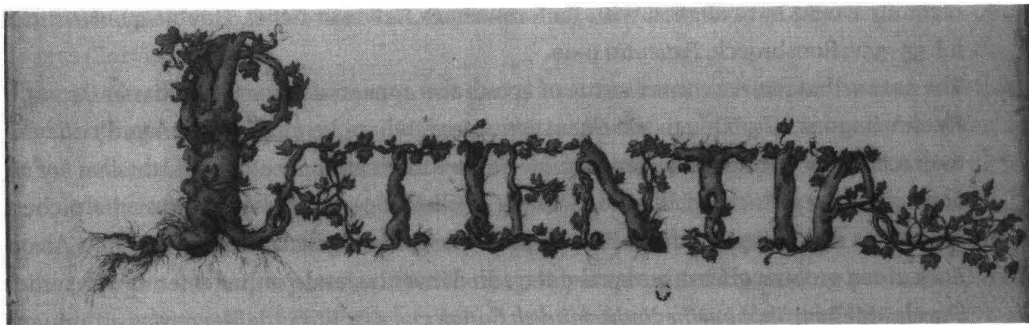


FIGURE 6.16 Joris Hoefnagel, title-page of *Patientia* (1569). Ink and wash on paper, 29 × 42.5 cm. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (Leber 2961). Detail, letters of the title. Image © Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.

thing that grows over time, Hoefnagel bodies forth his patient execution of the volume in yet another living figure.

Hoefnagel conveys on the title-page the overarching lesson of the volume as a whole: guided by nature and friendship, patience does provide its full salutary effect, both in life and in art. In the years to follow, when Hoefnagel would trade his merchant career for that of a full-time artist, he would embrace the representation of the natural world to the delight of his eminent courtly patrons. Yet *Patience* tells us that Hoefnagel was first drawn to nature out of grief and fear over the war that gripped his native land, and that it was in nature where he found the truest analogy for the friendship and struggle that lifted his spirit to the act of creation.

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