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Through hills and mountains towards the Italian sun: A technical and visual analysis of several landscape drawings by Jan Both, Thomas Wijck, Nicolaes Berchem and Jacob van der Ulft
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THROUGH HILLS AND MOUNTAINS TOWARDS THE ITALIAN SUN

A technical and visual analysis of several landscape drawings by Jan Both, Thomas Wijck, Nicolaes Berchem and Jacob van der Ulft.

Nicolaes Berchem, *Mountain Landscape with a man and three donkeys*, 1654, graphite and black chalk, brush in grey wash and pen and ink on paper, 148x205mm, signed and dated CBerchem f. 1654 (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Cat. No. Q 016)

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Art, Architecture and Interior before
1800

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1. Introduction

It is one of the most enchanting themes brought back from the travels to Italy: the hills and trees overshone with the intense yellow golden light of the sun that shines on travelers, animals and the occasional Roman ruin. It must have been quite the change of scenery for the Netherlandish artists that were used to the grey *picturesque* weather of the Netherlands. Whereas the landscapes by artists such as Jan van Goyen were most definitely an inspiration to many of his seventeenth century contemporaries, some of them took it one step further and captured the warmth of the Italian sun in their landscapes. We can even say that some were so intrigued and charmed by this light that they started copying this motif without ever having seen it for themselves. This is the case for artists like Nicolaes Berchem, of whom it was long thought that he went to Italy, because he captured the same scenes in such a manner that it seemed as though he had been there himself. The same goes for Jacob van der Ulft, who drew the Roman ruins so well that we could easily forget that he never stood amongst them.

This thesis will focus on making a comparison of these types of landscape drawings done by seventeenth-century Netherlandish artists that went to Rome and those that did not. My aim is to compare artists of whom it is known and proven that they were in Italy, or more specifically Rome, and those that were certainly not there. The many Netherlandish artists that committed themselves to painting the Italian landscapes are called *italianates*. This term does not differentiate between artists that went to Italy and created these scenes and those that never went there and copied the drawings, engravings and paintings that other artists brought back from their travels. Thus, I will attempt to make clear which of these *italianates* experienced these landscapes firsthand when they travelled to Italy and visited Rome, Florence or Naples for example. If necessary, I will refer to the *primary italianates* as those who visited Italy and *secondary italianates* as those who did not.

Since an analysis based on the iconography can only go so far, this thesis will combine both a technical and a visual analysis. The technical part of the research will focus on the drawing paper and its watermark, and what this might say about the drawing. The second part, the visual analysis, will provide differences and comparisons in respect to the composition, chiaroscuro, scale, dimensionality and staffage. Furthermore, I will strive to create a balance of a subjective analysis that is supported by factual evidence. In doing so, I intend to further our understanding of the importance for artists to travel to Italy, but also to comprehend what influence the Italian landscape had on the overall appearance of the landscape in the Netherlandish drawings. In other words; was the drawing made in the Netherlands or in Italy and how might we see this? What can the drawing paper they used and the watermarks in them say about the provenance of the paper and the artist respectively?

1.1 Methodology

The comparative method that will be used for this thesis will be divided into two sections: one that will focus on the technical analysis of the materials, medium and its watermark and the other will focus on the description of the work's iconography.¹ I will describe, compare and analyze the landscape drawings and include insights on the watermarks and where they (if known) were produced and when. Thus, the objective of this thesis is twofold: the first is to create an objective technical research of the drawings to form the objective foundation and second is the more subjective interpretation of the comparisons and differences between the landscape drawings.

A possible risk of this method is formed by the subjectivity of the art historian. It must be kept into account that one can read into things that are formed by their own attitude or convictions, thus making the research subjective and a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy. It is very important for the integrity of the research that the data is handled with as much objectivity as possible, and that one regards as many facts as possible to form a basis of the conclusions that are being derived from the analysis. To prevent a biased opinion, the foundation of the paper and its watermark will be the starting point of the analysis. The visual analysis is naturally partly subjective and will be based on literature and my own observations and descriptions.

The selected primary italianates will be: Jan Both (1615/1622 - 1652) and Thomas Wijck (1616 - 1677). The secondary italianates that will be analyzed will be: Nicolaes Berchem (1621/2 - 1683) and Jacob van der Ulft (1621 – 1689). These four artists have several landscape drawings available in the Teylers Museum in Haarlem, the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam or in the Special Collections of the Leiden University. Since the drawings need to be available for a visual examination, their availability at institutes in the Netherlands is relevant for the research. Additionally, Jan Both was one of the most prominent Netherlandish landscape painters in Rome. We know from an inventory by the brother-in-law of Berchem, Johannes de Groot, who died in 1680 that Berchem was aware of the works by Jan Both and Thomas Wijck, since they probably came into his possession after the death of Wijck. These paintings included landscapes by Cornelis Vroom, Jacob van Ruisdael and Philips Wouerman, three works by Thomas Wijck, one work by Jan Both and three works by Berchem himself.²

¹ Amy Tucker, *Visual Literacy: Writing about art* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 10.

² Pieter Biesboer et al, *Nicolaes Berchem: in het licht van Italië* (Haarlem: Frans Hals museum, 2007), 31.

Furthermore, the drawings will be similar in composition, theme and material. Per artist a total of three drawings will be discussed. This number has been chosen to guarantee a level of variety by the hand of this artist, but also not to include too many drawings because there is simply not enough space in this master thesis. By limiting the number to three, the oeuvre of the artist will be well represented, but still limited enough for qualitative research. The criteria that will be used will include, but will not be limited to:

- Preferable at least one signed drawing, if possible, also dated
- Roman ruins visible
- At least one landscape with hills or mountains
- Some staffage and/or animals
- Materials that include: pen and ink, brush and wash in either black/grey or brown.
- Watermarks visible on most of the drawings

The periods spent in Rome by Jan Both and Thomas Wijck do not overlap, since Both was there until 1642 and Wijck was probably there from 1653 until 1656. Both painters probably met in the Netherlands between 1642 and 1653 and could have influenced Jacob van der Ulft and Nicolaes Berchem at this time, however this is not demonstrable with written facts. Fortunately there is a large timeframe since the return of both artists from Rome, in which Van der Ulft and Berchem still painted and could have also seen these works.³ In addition, many of the works by Van der Ulft that show the Italianizing style are dated between 1661 and 1679, thus the greatest influence will have come from before that time.⁴

In chapter two I will introduce the paper industry in the Netherlands and Italy and examine the context of the paper trade to rule out as much variables as possible with regards to the provenance of the paper. Furthermore, I will briefly explain the watermarks and their origins before analyzing them in chapters three and four. Chapter three will set out to introduce primary Italianates Jan Both and Thomas Wijck. After a short introduction the drawings that have been selected will be described in a technical analysis, followed by a visual analysis. At the end of the chapter a short overview with the results of the analyses will be provided. Chapter three will introduce the secondary

³ As is proven for Berchem by the inventory of his brother-in-law.

⁴ Michiel C. Plomp, *The Dutch Drawings in the Teylers Museum: Volume II, Artists Born Between 1575 and 1630* (Ghent: Snoeck Ducaju&Zoon, 1997), 399.

italianates and subsequently follow the same structure as the previous chapter. The technical and visual analyses will consist of several elements:

1. Medium, technique and watermark
 - What do these say about the origins of the paper and the date?
2. Scale
 - Is the scaling of the figures relative to the total scene or object and does it say anything about the importance of the figures?
3. Composition
 - How is the compositions set up? Is there a focal point and is it unified or fragmented? Does the darkness of the pen/brush divide the composition? Is there a hierarchy or symmetry? Is it geometrical, free or arbitrary? Is it crowded or spacious, with variety or repetition? Does the composition guide the eye across the drawing?
4. Space (dimensionality)
 - Is the drawing shallow or deep, open or screened off (by trees for example) What is the perspective? Is space suggested by planes in the depth or by recession? How does the handling of space affect the relationship of the image to viewers?
5. Light and shading
 - Is there a consistent source of light? Is that inside or outside the picture? Are there strong or muted contrasts, such as spotlight-lighting. Are the functions of the shadow either to contour and clarify the shape/space or to emphasize the mood?
6. Staffage and animals
 - How is the treatment of the human body or animals handled: are they naturalistic, schematized, abstract or idealized?

1.2 Literary review

There are several important books written about the Dutch artists that painted in the Italian landscape genre. These usually include a section about whether or not this artist went to Rome and an analysis of their style and theme. Schatborn's book *Drawn to Warmth* (2001) is one of the most recent works that provide a full account of the artists in Italy.⁵ Others include Biesboer's *Nicolaes Berchem: In het licht van Italië* and the somewhat older work by Blankert's on *Nederlandse 17^e*

⁵ Peter Schatborn, *Drawn to Warmth*.

Eeuwse Italianiserende Landschapsschilders.⁶ Most of the notes about the artist style in reference to the Italianate genre were described in the previously mentioned books and those by Gerson (1942) and Sutton (1987).⁷ These books however do not always include a footnote where there is information given about the dates and location of the artists, and they sometimes claim trips to Italy, which have later been disputed. It is mainly Houbraken (1753) who serves as the largest source for these older books, but his claims about whether or not an artist went to Italy have now often been proven uncertain.⁸

Occasionally there are records of the watermark showing up in books that have been dated for example, this makes it possible to trace back the watermark to its origins and date the drawing on which it was found more accurately. The books of Churchill and Heawood will be used to research the provenance of the watermark and indicate what this says about the drawing.⁹ Next to the possible dating of a work, this can also aid in retracing the country of origins of the paper. Thus, it can indicate for example that the used paper was Netherlandish and the drawing might not have been made in Italy.

⁶ Peter Biesboer, *Nicolaes Berchem: In het licht van Italië* (Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum, 2007)

Albert Blankert, *Nederlandse 17^e Eeuwse Italianiserende Landschapsschilders* (Soest: Editions Davaco, 1978)

⁷ Horst Gerson, *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der Holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts: de expansie der 17^e-eeuwse Hollandsche schilderkunst* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1942)

Peter Sutton, *Masters of the 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987)

⁸ Arnold Houbraken, *De Grootte Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en schilderessen* ('s Gravenhage, 1753)

⁹ W.A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger&Co, 1965)

Edward Heawood, *Watermarks* (Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1950)

2. The influence of drawing paper and its watermarks

Paper mills were present in many parts of Europe from the fourteenth century onward. The practice first arrived in Spain through Arabs around the twelfth century, who learned it from Chinese prisoners that were captured in the eighth century after which it spread throughout their empire.¹⁰ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the practice of paper making had spread throughout Europe. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Fabriano in Italy was considered as the center for paper making. However, towards the sixteenth century Genua and Venice in Italy and Antwerp in the Southern Netherlands took its place.¹¹ When Antwerp was captured by the Spanish in 1585 the paper making industry shifted towards Holland and many eventually settled in and around Amsterdam.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Zaanstreek had approximately 40 paper mills. In Italy the region close to Genua had as many as 63 mills.¹² The paper from the Genua area was praised for its quality and was mainly white paper, rather than the more common brown paper.¹³ In the seventeenth century, parts of Italy such as Lazio, Lombardy, Piedmonte and Liguria had efficient papermills and did not depend on paper from other parts of Europe. The growth of the paper industry in other European countries at the beginning of the eighteenth century, decreased the number of mills in Italy. In addition, many Italian mills did not adopt the new Netherlandish machine the “Hollander” that was introduced in the Zaanstreek in 1672, as it was only used by a handful of papermills.¹⁴ In the beginning of the seventeenth century there was a high demand in paper and not enough production in the Netherlands. To meet the requirements of the market, the paper was imported from Germany, France (where Netherlandish tradesmen owned several paper mills), Switzerland and Genua.¹⁵ Especially at the beginning of the seventeenth century Netherlandish paper was not as strong as French paper¹⁶

The amount of paper mills throughout the Netherlands and Italy make it clear that it could not have been very difficult for artists to purchase new paper wherever they went. Of course, one can assume they purchase a little supply to bring with them to be able to make sketches and drawings on

¹⁰ Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, 5.

¹¹ Conor Fahy, “Paper Making in Seventeenth-Century Genoa: The account of Giovanni Domenico Peri (1651),” *Studies in Bibliography* Vol. 56 (2003/2004): 246.

¹² *Ibid*, 244.

¹³ *Ibid*, 246.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 247.

¹⁵ Andrew Pettegree, *The Paper Trade in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Materials, Networks* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2021) 251.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 9.

the road towards Italy or when returning to the Netherlands. To further concretize the possibility of paper being bought and resold with the result of making a profit. The following tables will describe the prices of paper in both the Netherlands and Italy. Tabel 1 shows the prices of paper in Rome per *ream* (around 500 sheets) or *quaderni* (synonym of *quinterno* and equal to roughly 25 sheets). The prices in *scudi* (Italian currency) in 1650-1660 are between 1.5 and 2.5 scudi. The Foolscap paper size is given in *Venetian lira*, which was a subdivision of *ducats* that were worth 6 lire and 4 soldi in the 1630's. The ducat was approximately the same weight in silver and thus the same value as the scudo.¹⁷ If we calculate the lira in scudo, it would have been equal to about 1 or 1.2 scudo. This would have been relatively cheap, but then again the size was equal to about half of the *Reale*.

	<i>Imperiale</i> 70 × 50 cm (3700 cm ²)	<i>Reale</i> 61 × 44 cm (2640 cm ²)	<i>Mezzana</i> 51 × 34 cm (1734 cm ²); <i>Communi</i> 53 × 35 cm (2053 cm ²)	<i>Foolscap</i> 45 × 31 cm (1395 cm ²)	<i>Piccoli</i> (1173 cm ²)
1476–86			£6 8s		£2 2s
1476		£9	£5 10s		£3 6s–£4
Ca. 1500	£18.6	£10.85			
1562					57 scudi £3.87
1579			£4.5		£1.5?
1589			.58–.70 scudi £3.94–£4.76		
1592			.80 scudi £5.44		
1619–22				£6.33–7.2 Venetian lire	
1650–60	2.5 scudi? £17	1.5 scudi £10.2			

Figure 1. Rome: Sizes and costs of paper per ream (500 sheets or 20 quaderni/quinterno) ¹⁸

Spear and Sohm also give data on the possible price of paper and include one size of Italian paper for which they provide prices per Ream. The price of the *Reale* of 61 x 44 cm, would have cost between 400 baiocchi for high quality writing paper, 300 baiocchi for drawing paper, 200 baiocchi for regular paper.¹⁹ In 1650, approximately 100 baiocchi would equal 1 silver scudo. This would mean that the drawing paper would have cost around 3 scudi.

¹⁷ Richard E. Spear and Philip Sohm, *Painting for Profit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 205.

¹⁸ David Woodward, *The History of Cartography* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 597.

¹⁹ I have recalculated the prices since they were given per Quinterno which is about 25 sheets of paper. See for the prices in Baiocchi per Quinterno: Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Profit*, 68.

In 1659 there was a mill built in Batavia (modern day Jakarta) that produces two sizes of paper: small, medium and blue paper. The prices would be 5 *guilder* or *guilder* and 8 *stuivers* per ream, 9 *guilders* and 15 *stuivers* per ream and 4 *guilders* and 16 *stuivers* per ream respectively. Churchill also states that the paper from Zaandijk by Honig was quoted at 7 *guilders* per ream, but it was not as popular as the cheap but poor quality paper from Batavia, which was priced at 4 *guilders* per ream.²⁰ Furthermore, Churchill makes a small overview of the paper prices in 1636, which he categorized by watermark or country. He states that German paper would cost between 7 and 15 *guilders* per ream, French paper between 3 and 10 *guilders* per ream and two unknown papers with the watermark of a lily and dolphin 5 and 4 *guilders* respectively.²¹

The *guilder* (20 *stuivers*) weight around 10 grams of silver in 1650. A silver *scudo* had a weight of 32 grams, which was decreasing to 20 grams towards the second half of the seventeenth century due to the plague and the economic recession it brought on.²² Thus one *scudo* was worth about 2 *guilders*. Figure 2 displays the prices of paper per Ream in *guilders*. Between 1630 and 1660 the nominal prices would have fluctuated between 4 and 8 *guilders*. This would correspond to a price between 2 and 4 *scudo*.

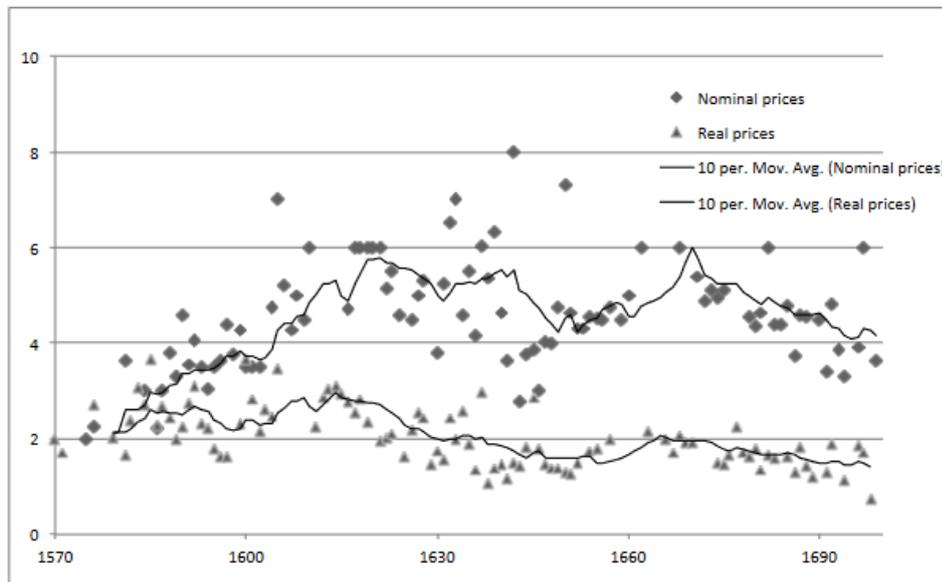


Figure 2. Paper prices per ream in *guilders* in Amsterdam, 1570-1699.²³

²⁰ Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, 5.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Spear and Sohm, *Painting for Profit*, 34.

²³ Clara Rasterhoff, "The Fabric of Creativity in the Dutch Republic: Painting and publishing as cultural industries, 1580-1800" (PhD diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 2012), 87.

To be allowed to buy and sell paper, one often had to be a member of a guild of papermakers. This would cost a considerable fee and since the prices of paper do not vary strongly between the Netherlands, France and Italy, it would not have been profitable for a painter to purchase a small amount of paper and resell it elsewhere. If the artist was in need of paper, it would have been easily purchased in most cities between the Northern Netherlands and Rome. We can assume that the artist bought multiple sheets, so as to have a small supply and to be able to draw out of doors. He or she would have done so regardless of the country they are in. The quality of the paper varied per papermill, but as it turns out, this was usually reflected in the price of the paper. It would then seem that the artist would be inclined to purchase more paper if the quality was to his liking, but this is not something that is documented. All in all, it does not seem likely that artists bought more than a small supply of drawing paper and thus the provenance of the paper will (with some flexibility) often guide us to the place where the draughtsman worked.

Together with the creation of paper, Fabriano in Italy also introduced *watermarks* or *papermarks*. They were first made by adjusting the layer of wet paper, but later metal pieces were shaped into a form and pressed into the paper during manufacturing.²⁴ From the seventeenth century onwards most paper had at least one watermark and sometimes a countermark (made on the other half of the same large sheet of paper before it was cut to size). A very frequent Netherlandish watermark was made in both Amsterdam and in France (but for the Netherlandish market) with the coat of arms of the city of Amsterdam. This mark dates back as early as 1635 and can be found with several initials added to the logo to indicate the papermaker.²⁵ Other important papermakers included watermarks such as the foolscap and the (Strasbourg) Lily which can be dated back to around 1636. Watermarks can vary strongly based on the region and maker. They often contain an image that says something about the company, such as a beehive for C. Honig (honey) from Zaandijk.

²⁴ Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), 260.

²⁵ Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, 6.

3. Drawn from life

The description of the artists will commence with the two artists that went to Rome. Despite the difficulties in determining whether the artists went to Italy, for Jan Both and Thomas Wijck, we know for certain that they did. Both men were mentioned in parochial archives in the seventeenth century in Rome. Both artists were born between 1615 and 1622, although this is still a very rough estimate, they would have been more or less in the same stages of their careers. The first paragraph will describe Jan Both's life and oeuvre and will then continue to discuss the three selected drawings by his hand. The third paragraph continues with Thomas Wijck's life and oeuvre and will subsequently discuss his three drawings. To conclude another paragraph will sum up and conclude the findings of the technical and visual analyses.

3.1 Jan Both

Jan Both was born in Utrecht between 1615 and 1622. Schatborn states he was born around 1618, which would depend on the age he started his apprenticeship. We know this was probably with Abraham Bloemaert, just like his older brother Andries.²⁶ There was a fee paid to Bloemaert for a son of Dirk Both in 1634, by that time Andries was already on his way towards Rome and probably in France, so this should concern Jan. Another possible teacher of Jan Both is Charles de Hooch.²⁷ If he started at the age of 12, he would have been born in 1622 however, if he started at 16 he was born in 1618.²⁸ Horst Gerson says he went to Lyon before continuing to Rome, which would imply a route via France like his brother Andries did.²⁹ He was probably in Rome by 1637, where he eventually went on to live with his brother at the Via Vittoria.³⁰ Andries Both drowned on his way back to the Netherlands on March 23rd of 1642. Jan returned to Utrecht shortly after this, but was still in Rome when his brother died.³¹ Although Andries was a proficient painter of genre scenes of everyday Roman life, called *Bamboccianti*, Jan had always painted landscapes. Schatborn emphasizes that Jan must have drawn from nature. Blankert describes the style of Both and says that "The main component of his oeuvre are static landscapes with many trees with picturesque genre figures. (...) In

²⁶ Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Edlen Bau-, Bild-, und Malerey- künste* (Nurnberg: 1675) 184.

²⁷ Von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, 184.

²⁸ Schatborn, *Drawn to Warmth*, 88.

Blankert, *Nederlandse 17^e Eeuwse Italianiserende Landschapsschilders*, 112.

²⁹ Gerson, *Aubereitung und Nachwirkung*, 50.

³⁰ Hoogewerff, *De Bentvueghels*, (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 19520, 108.

Malcolm R. Waddingham, *Andries and Jan Both in France and Italy* (Florence: A. Mondadori, 1964), 14.

³¹ Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 8. Document 61.

addition, the nature is fairy-like in its atmosphere and is overshadowed with goldish yellow or clear sunlight.”³²

To define the style of Jan Both in his years in the Netherlands after he returned from Rome, we once again refer to the insights of Blankert, who emphasizes the “predominant foliage and trees with an infinite liveliness and a richness of nuances.” The work of Jan Both has been highly influential on the work of Berchem. The drawing technique of Jan is probably derived from Cornelis Poelenburch, who worked out his drawing in chalk and brush in grey with a pen and brown ink. This was later also imitated by others, such as Willem de Heusch, Jacob van der Ulft and Nicolaes Berchem. After about ten years of working and living in Utrecht, Jan died in 1652, also at a relatively young age like his brother.

3.2 Selected landscape drawings by Jan Both



Figure 3. Jan Both, *Landscape with Travelers*, 1634-1652, graphite, brush in grey wash and pen in ink on paper, 255x381mm (Leiden Universiteit Prentenkabinet, Cat. No. PK-T-AW-1159)

³² Blankert, *Nederlandse 17^e Eeuwse Italianiserende Landschapsschilders*, 113.

Technical analysis

The drawing is in good shape and the paper itself is coarse and light brown with the lines of the sieve quite visible. There is a watermark in the paper which is a fleur-de-lis with a crown on top of it and a letter W underneath. Heawood describes a number of similar fleur-de-lis, the one with the highest resemblance and the unmistakable volutes at the top of the crest is number 1730.³³ This particular watermark has been found in Amsterdam in a copy of Shakespeare from 1646 and in another watermark that dates back to 1632. The WR refers to Wendelin Riehel, a famous papermaker from Basel, Switzerland. His name and initials, WR, became a mark for quality in 1600 and was adopted by other papermakers long after his death.³⁴ A similar shape has been found in documents up to a hundred years later, thus precisely dating the paper based on the watermark is not possible.

Nonetheless, this specific layout of the watermark is mainly found in the Netherlands in the first half of the seventeenth century, thus the paper was either brought to Italy by Jan Both, or it was created after his return to the Netherlands, since the subject is clearly Mediterranean. Normally one could also argue that the drawing was made before he went to Rome, but since it appears to be inspired by the Italian landscape rather than a copy, I do not believe this is likely. Furthermore, the drawing is extremely similar to a number of larger paintings by the hands of Jan Both (after 1642), it seems to have been an extensive preliminary study of both the composition, lighting and theme of the landscape.

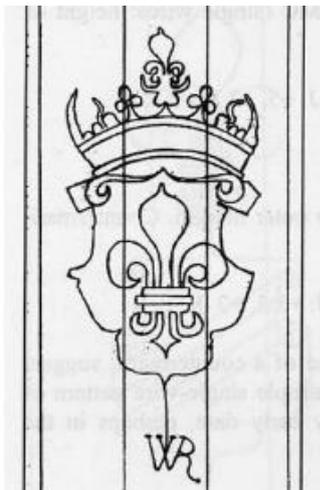


Figure 4. Watermark of a Strasburg Fleur-de-lis.³⁵

³³ Heawood, *Watermarks*, 103, Watermark no. 1730.

³⁴ Frans Laurentius and Theo Laurentius, *Watermarks in 1450-1850* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2023), 8.

³⁵ Andrew Ashbee and Thompson R., Wainwright, J., *Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music Vol. 2.* (London: Viola da Gamba Society, 2014), 268.

Visual analysis

The size of the drawing is very striking and rather large for this type of drawing. There is a graphite underdrawing visible and the detailing is worked out in pen and ink. Furthermore, the staffage and animals are outlined in detail, whereas the background is made up of grey shapes, which blend in with the skies and its surroundings. The details of the leaves and trees are outstanding and even the rocks and the river are beautifully defined. The rock formation in the background on the right side attracts as much attention as the staffage. In addition, the shadows are created with a grey wash in different shadings which makes the drawing come alive. The figures are secondary to the large and mighty landscape that stretches out far beyond the road and small river flowing serenely past the travelers. The people in the drawing are all in different poses and look very natural and realistic.

The deep and open composition guides the eyes from the front left road with the travelers towards the scenery of the backdrop. The road is somewhat of a focal point, but there are smaller scenes fragmented over the screen, such as the draughtsman by the river or the man watering his horse/cow. From the road we are guided diagonally across the drawing and back down again towards the rock formation on the right side of the river. The source of light is located outside the drawing and positioned on the upper left side. In addition, the sun is relatively low, as visible from the shades of the people, suggesting a moment somewhere in the afternoon. Since there is a shade cast in the foreground, we can assume there is a structure that is blocking the light from the sun, such as a hill or trees. This technique of darkening the foreground is quite common in the works of primary Italianates as we will see in the upcoming drawings.

The sunlight is mainly used to set the mood of the drawing; a warm, sunny afternoon with travelers that are unaware of the immense beauty of the landscape before them. The white and dark grey are juxtaposed to create a distinction in the foreground and the background. In the same way the group of trees on the right is much darker than the one in the middle to increase the three-dimensionality of the drawing. Although the drawing is completely full, it does not give a crowded impression, nor is there any horror vacui. The composition is closed off by the trees on the right side, but the left side is open to the imagination and leads us to think there is a road leading back to where the travelers came from. The way Both closes off the composition on one side is very common in Italianizing scenes. It is specifically visible in the works of artists that have seen the Mediterranean landscape.



Figure 5. Jan Both, *Mountain landscape*, 1635-1652, graphite, brush in grey wash, pen and ink on paper, 355x236mm (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Cat. No. P 052)

Technical analysis

The drawing consists of one piece of paper, which is now damaged with several dark spots. There is a watermark visible in the center that consists of a fleur-de-lis with a crown and WR underneath it (detail of fig. 5).³⁶ As described in the technical analysis of the watermark in figure 4, this type of mark is quite common in the Netherlands, which suggests that the drawing was made shortly after Both's departure to Rome (when he still had a supply of Netherlandish paper) or after his return in the Netherlands with the Italian landscape in mind. Unfortunately, due to the widespread use of this watermark, it is not possible to narrow down the production date of this drawing.

Detail of figure 5. Watermark fleur-de-lis with crown and WR written below.



³⁶ Edward Heawood, *Watermarks*, 103, Watermark no. 1730.

Visual analysis

There are no figures or animals visible, but there is a small settlement in the distance that is almost lost in the immense hills and trees. The three-dimensionality is emphasized by the dark foreground with some small bushes rising up in front of the viewer. Very much like the drawing in figure 4, but mirrored we can see the importance of the dark patches in the landscape that is characterizing the Italian scenes. Our gaze is being drawn towards the large mountains in the back. We start approximately in the center of the drawing and work our way up towards the opening between the two mountains where the settlement has its place. The composition is a diagonal that starts in the bottom left corner and goes up towards the upper right corner where the large mountain is. The smaller hill on the right side in the middle aids the eye towards the upper right corner. In the middle is a small piece of serenity, a calm lake reflecting the hills and trees. In addition, there are many triangular shapes to be found, which juxtapose the capricious trees. This type of juxtaposing is often found in the works by Jan Both and his contemporaries in Italy.

The trees on the left side, screen off part of the image and the small hill in the bottom right corner creates a border that indicates the edge of the drawing. The darker trees in front function as a repoussoir to allow us to assess the depth of the drawing. The hills are in a lighter shade of grey so as to create atmospheric perspective. Furthermore, the tranquil space of the lake in the center enhances the feeling of three-dimensionality. The viewer feels as though we are walking along a road and stop to gaze at the view that stretches out parallel to the imaginary road we are walking on. Like in the previous drawing, the source of the sunlight is in the upper left corner and it shines through the landscape leaving a glow on the mountains and hills. The shading is mainly used to define the mountains and highlight the settlement in the middle. The brush strokes are freer than in figure 3 and the color shapes are not as contoured making them blend together slightly.



Figure 6. Jan Both, *Chestnut Seller*, 1638-1652, black chalk and graphite with brush in grey wash and pen in ink on paper, 383x313mm (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Cat. No. P 057)

Detail of figure 6. Watermark of a Foolscap with the initials PB.

Technical analysis

The paper consists of two separate pieces that have been joined together. If we look closely, the lower sheet contains a watermark of a Foolscap with four balls at the collar just below the face, a cross (or shape of a four) and three balls at the bottom of the same size. This type of watermark is only made in the Netherlands and England in the seventeenth century. The dates found by Churchill on papers with similar watermarks are 1631 and 1649.³⁷ Heawood also found similar foolscap watermarks, which have been found in collections of old Netherlandish paper from 1645 until 1651 and another group of similar watermarks are found on drawings by Van de Velde that are now in

³⁷ Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, 81. Watermark nos. 339 and 344.

Greenwich from around 1666.³⁸ Moreover, the letters PB have been found in other watermarks, but never in combination with the foolscap. Churchill suggests that the initials he registered belong to French paper maker Pierre Bernard from Beauvais and Angoulême and were produced between 1651 and 1662 for the Netherlandish market.³⁹

There is one resembling watermark dating back to 1631, when Jan Both would have been in the Netherlands. However, since the subject is very unique and clearly Italian, it is more likely drawn after Jan Both's arrival in Rome.⁴⁰ Either he had some paper left that he took with him from Utrecht or he made this drawing after his return from Rome. With regards to the originality and realism of the subject, it is my belief that the drawing was made in Rome or possible when he had returned to the Netherlands in 1643 and drew this from memory. The lack of detailing as we will see in the visual analysis, strengthens the hypothesis that it was drawn upon his return in Utrecht and thus from memory.

There is a painting on canvas (57,5x47cm) that resembles this drawing in detail. The painting has been dated by Schatborn to Both's later oeuvre, after his return from Rome. Therefore we can conclude that this drawing was a preliminary work to be transferred onto canvas and turned into a painting.⁴¹ Moreover, this quick and rough drawing by Jan Both is not as detailed as his other drawings. It greatly resembles the style of his brother Andries, which would have been logical since Andries was in Rome for some time before Jan joined him. Some inspiration could have come from Andries when Jan first arrived in Rome, perhaps the staffage was even drawn by him as suggested by Plomp.⁴²

Visual analysis

For the first time we see figures that are large in comparison to the composition. Here the people are not forced to the background or used as decoration, but they have their own right to be in the picture. The scaling appears logical and allows for an equal distribution in space for the staffage and the ruins around them. The main focal point is the dynamic group of figures in the center. Especially the man walking towards our right draws the attention. The composition feels rather arbitrary, there is not clear line of view, but yet the image is not crowded or chaotic. The staffage is far more detailed

³⁸ Heawood, *Watermarks*, 110. Watermark no. 2025.

³⁹ Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, 19.

Angoulême version often combined with the countermark IHS like in figure 7.

⁴⁰ Schatborn, *Drawn to Warmth*, 89.

⁴¹ Schatborn, *Drawn to Warmth*, 93-94.

⁴² Plomp, *The Dutch Drawings in the Teylers Museum*, 94.

than the background and this creates a distinction between them. The road leading from the gate on the left side towards the lower right corner of the drawing creates a somewhat diagonal composition.

The figures have a very coarse and rough exterior. In many ways they resemble the style of the brother of Jan Both, Andries. By looking at the clothing that is displayed and sometimes the lack thereof, it would appear these people are from the working classes. The types of hats are common in both Jan and Andries' paintings and drawings. The same goes for the man lying on a rock on the lower left side of the drawing, we see him in other drawings by the Italianizing artists in Rome such as Pieter van Laer as well. The recognizability of the figures that appear in the primary Italianate drawings, is an indication that there was influence exerted within the Netherlandish artists in Rome. We know from Hoogewerff that many of them joined the Bentvueghel brotherhood in Rome and sketched and studied together.⁴³

The space is open and slightly cut off by the ruins on the sides, which also create some atmospheric perspective in the background through the arch. The space where the figures are, is cut off in the front by shadow and we are slightly looking down upon the scene rather than participating in it. The source of light is outside the drawing on the left side. Furthermore, the last rays of sunlight peek through the arch and illuminate the figures, giving them long shadows in the sand. The shadowing on the figures is created by layering different shades of grey on their clothes and face, which both sets the mood of the drawing as well as contours the figures and the architecture.

⁴³ Hoogewerff, *De Bentvueghels*, 65.

3.3 Thomas Wijck

Thomas Adriaensz. Wijck was born in Beverwijk near Haarlem between 1616 and 1621. He quickly went to Haarlem to study and was registered there in 1642 at the local guild, where he took up three pupils.⁴⁴ He himself was a pupil of Adriaen van Ostade, whose style left several traces in the work of Wijck, that according to Schatborn is visible in the “busy and vigorous use of pen”.⁴⁵ Houbraken states he went to Italy, but he bases this on an entry in a Roman parish from 1640 until 1644, and since he was married at the beginning of the year 1644, this is not the Tomaso Fiammingo that is Thomas Wijck.⁴⁶ There is however a gap after his wedding in Haarlem in May 1644 until April 1651, when according to Van Thiel-Stroman he probably went to Rome.⁴⁷ Since it has now been proven that his Italian subjects were also drawn on Italian paper, Schatborn states that he was drawing from life.⁴⁸ There are several drawings at the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam that we know have been drawn on Italian paper and many have an Italian watermark. This is in accordance with a quote by Houbraken stating that Wijck drew from life in Italy.⁴⁹

According to Blankert many scholars suggest that Wijck’s stay in Rome was before 1642, which would mean that he was able to learn from and cooperate with Pieter van Laer, Andries Both and Jan Asselijn but this has now been disputed. It is however possible that he saw the works of Pieter van Laer and Jan Both in the Netherlands since they returned in 1639 and 1642 respectively. Blankert also wrongly states that Wijck was able to learn from Nicolaes Berchem in Rome, but since it is now certain that Berchem was never in Rome this is not possible.⁵⁰ In his own idiosyncratic style, Wijck creates Italianizing drawings and paintings that often depict harbor scenes, interiors, courtyards and landscapes. These works show influences by Jan Asselijn, Jan Both and Pieter van Laer. The harbor scenes are more likely to have been painted after 1650, rather than before, this is around a time that his style and compositions start changing.⁵¹

⁴⁴ I. van Thiel-Stroman, *Thomas Adriaensz Wijck, in: Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850* (Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum, 2006), 242.

⁴⁵ Schatborn, *Drawn to warmth*, 117.

⁴⁶ Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en schilderessen*, 17. Gerson, *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der Holländischen Malerei*, 165.

⁴⁷ Van Thiel-Stroman, *Thomas Adriaensz Wijck*, 347-349.

⁴⁸ Schatborn, *Drawn to warmth*, 119.

⁴⁹ Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en schilderessen*, 17.

⁵⁰ Blankert, *Nederlandse 17^e Eeuwse Italianiserende Landschapsschilders*, 145.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 144.

3.4 Selected landscape drawings by Thomas Wijck



Figure 7. Thomas Wijck, *Rocky Coast, a Castle on Top*, graphite and black chalk, brush in grey wash and pen in grey ink on paper, 150x208mm (Leiden Universiteit Prentenkabinet, Cat. No. PK-T-AW-744)

Technical analysis

In this drawing the graphite underdrawing is still very visible and there is a distinctive use of black chalk. Also, there used to be writing in the top right corner, but it is not legible anymore and there is a tiny mark in the bottom left corner in ink. In the center of the paper, there is a watermark that with initials that spell out: IHS. Furthermore, the letter H has a line down the middle that looks like a cross.⁵² This type of watermark has been found on Dutch, French, Italian and English paper at the ending of the seventeenth century. The earliest dates found on documents with a resembling watermark is from 1641 and has been found in the Netherlands. Heawood describes this type of watermark in numbers 2957 and 2959, which have been found in documents in Amsterdam and Paris at the end of seventeenth century and in 1680 respectively.⁵³

⁵² Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, 89. Watermark no. 538.

⁵³ Heawood, *Watermarks*, 129. Watermark nos. 2957 and 2959.

The first uses of these letters in a watermark can be dated to the first half of the sixteenth century in northern Italy. The letters IHS refer to the Jesuits and adding it a century later to watermarks was probably a sign of the good quality of the paper, like with the watermark of the fleur-de-lis with the WR added. Furthermore, several mills in Angoumois (previously the county of Angoulême) stood on Jesuit lands, which is why the IHS symbol was used as a countermark on many of these French papers. The paper of figure 4 with the fleur-de-lis, is made in the same region.⁵⁴ The mills that made these specific watermarks were presumably owned by the Jesuit Notre-Dame Abbey of La Couronne in Angoulême from 1644 on.⁵⁵ Since this paper was made for the Netherlandish market, we can assume that the paper was imported to the Netherlands before it is was purchased by Wijck somewhere after 1645. This date coincides with the presumed dates of Wijck's trip to Italy around 1645. The small size of the drawing make is plausible that this was drawn on the spot, perhaps when Wijck was on his way to Italy in France or Northern Italy. In any case, there is also no reason to dismiss the possibility of Wijck buying this paper in France on route to Italy, which would lead to the same hypothesis of him bringing the paper to create drawings in Italy or enroute to France.



Detail of figure 7. Watermark with the initials IHS and a cross above.

Visual analysis

Most of the drawing has been filled in with grey wash that covers most surfaces. The only exception is the very bright and light ground before the castle on the hill. The rest is mainly made up of grey spaces with some outlines in the hills and the staffage. The castle on top is very detailed, much more so than the buildings in the back or the people in front. The figures are very sketch-like and schematic and there is no facial expression or detailing. On the hills in the far left there is a lot of detailing in pen, outlining some trees and the rocks of the beach. The further we proceed into the drawing, the vaguer the objects become. The hill in the background on the left side, is completely lost in a hue of atmospheric perspective.

⁵⁴ Ashbee, *Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, 268.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Moreover, the composition consist of two diagonals that lead the eye to the distant bridge a city. The first diagonal starts at the castle on the hill and guides us down via another hill in the distance down to the lower right on the drawing. The second diagonal begins in the lower left, where the water passes by the coast and is guided through the rocks in the lower middle towards the town on the left side. The way Wijck used pen in the front part of the rocks on the lefthand side creates a repoussoir by which we can estimate the scale and depth of the drawing. This drawing is specifically oriented towards three-dimensionality and has a deep vista that is screened off by the rocks on the left side and the plateau in the bottom with the staffage on it. It feels as though the whole scene is taking place in the distance and we are looking at it from a bird's eye view in a low position.

As is generally the case, the source of the light is coming from outside the drawing on the left side. The strongest contrasts are in the objects that are meant to appear closest to us such as the hill on the left and the plateau on which the two men are standing. The shadows are mainly used to create the mood of the late afternoon of a very sunny and beautiful day, as is very common in most of the drawings of the italianates. Furthermore, the strong juxtapose in dark and light grey is recognizable from the Jan Both drawings and emphasis a strength of the sun that can hardly be found in the Netherlands.



Figure 8. Thomas Wijck, *View of an Italian Town*, graphite, brush in brown wash on paper, 155x235mm (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, Cat. No. RP-T-1884-A-382)

Technical analysis

The drawing was signed TWijck on the left side on the façade of the building in the same color as the pen in the drawing. The drawing has been worked out in brown wash, with details in pen and ink. Furthermore, the paper contains a watermark of the coat of arms of the city of Amsterdam. This type of watermark was very common from the 1630's onward. The two lions on either side of the crest with three crosses and the crown on top are an unmistakable symbol for the city of Amsterdam, which was either produced in the Netherlands or it was made in France specifically for the Northern Netherlandish market.⁵⁶ As the title suggests the subject is an Italian town, which means the drawing was either made in the Netherlands after his return or the paper was brought to Italy as a supply. Although views of Italy were common in the seventeenth century, this is not the type of image that would be widespread through prints. This leads us to believe that the drawing was made during or after his visit to Italy, either on the spot or from memory.



Detail of figure 8. Watermark with the coat of arms of Amsterdam.

Visual analysis

The graphite underdrawing is still visible and a lot of grey wash was used to depict the shadows around the building on the left. Once again, the scale of the scene is determined by the size of the figures in the foreground on the right. The depth of the composition is emphasized by the gradually lower houses on the left side of the road. The figures are not important in their own right, but serve as a benchmark for the scale. The composition is clearly diagonal and divided into three sections: the skies, the buildings and the road. The eye is guided by the buildings and the road that slowly unfold towards a bridge in the distance that beautifully closes the landscape.

Moreover, like we have seen in the drawings by Jan Both, the many geometric shapes juxtapose the uneven sand on the road and the organic shape of the skies. All in all, the composition is very well balanced: on the one side there are slightly chaotic houses and on the other there is a

⁵⁶ Heawood, *Watermarks*, 74, Watermark no. 430.

large empty space in the sky. The drawing is screened off by the buildings on the left side, but it has been left open on the right side. The atmospheric perspective is clearly visible in the vague houses in the distance, which appear true to life. In addition, the building on the front left side is very detailed and much darker than the other buildings, this creates even more depth in the drawing. The rugged bricks and pieces of ruins on the ground and the overgrowth of plants in the houses are recognizable in the primary italianizing works. We behold this scene from approximately road level, but slightly more at the beginning of the road, so we can take in the scene that unfolds in front of us.

On the right side of the drawing the shapes appear to merge with one another, whereas on the left there are many boundaries and precise lines. The schematized figures are rather sketch-like and do not have any facial expression or much detail to them. The chiaroscuro gives the drawing an Italian feel, you can almost tell its hot by looking at the side of the second house that is bathing in an intense sunlight. The shadow of the houses has been used to emphasize the linear perspective. A wonderful touch is the stairs moving in the opposite direction creating an even stronger sense of perspective. Lastly, the light source is located outside of the drawing in the upper left corner.



Figure 9. Thomas Wijck, *Santa Maria Liberatrice on the Forum Romanum in Rome*, graphite, brush in brown wash, pen in brown ink on paper, 177x254mm (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, Cat. No. RP-T-1898-A-3592)

Technical analysis

Like in figure 8, the drawing was worked out in brown brush with accents in pen and ink and it was signed TWijck in the lower left corner. Furthermore, there is a watermark visible in the paper in the shape of an encircled dove with the letter M on top of the circle and the letter C below it. A watermark comparable to this dove can be found on papers in Rome from around 1646.⁵⁷ This watermark is very unique and was difficult to trace back to its origins in Rome. Finding this watermark after 1646 tells us that Wijck was almost certainly in Rome after his wedding in 1644. This strengthens the findings in figure 5 where the fleur-de-lis watermark can also be dated to the same period. It also suggests that the drawing was done slightly later than the drawing in figure 5, because it was done on Roman paper. Wijck would have presumably bought paper in Italy when he had run out of his own Netherlandish supply of paper.



Detail of figure 9. Watermark of an encircled bird.

Visual analysis

The composition clearly focusses on the church of the Santa Maria Liberatrice, since that is the most detailed and finely drawn part of the whole. The wall on the left side aids in guiding the viewers gaze towards the church, which enhances the diagonal composition of the drawing. The space seems very well organized and the lack of clouds give it a calm and peaceful appearance. The shapes are all geometrical except for the small hill in the lower front which is capricious and thus creates a juxtaposition against the smooth, straight lines of the structure behind it. On the left side behind the church, we can see several structures that are subject to atmospheric perspective. Furthermore, the impression of three-dimensionality is created by the overlapping wall and hill in the foreground and by leaving space between the viewer, the figures and the building. The figures are very small in comparison to the structures in the drawing. It makes one wonder if they are purposely so small as to make the church look bigger. From the distance that has been created between the building and the viewer, it seems as though the figures are only halfway. In addition, the figures are drawn schematically with realistic proportions, but since there is very little detailing it is hard to tell if they are also naturalistic.

⁵⁷ Heawood, *Watermarks*, 68. Watermark Nos. 177 and 178.

The tower on the left behind the church and some of the ruins are in graphite and not worked out in pen or brush. This creates another contrast with the capitals and the roof of the circular tower, which are all very detailed and precise. In addition, even the bricks in front are sketchy and slightly overgrown with plants as it would be when viewing this scene in Italy. The brush strokes are tight in the church and loose and painterly in wall, figures and hills around it. Finally, the source of the sunlight is just outside of the drawing in the upper left corner. On the church itself, the shadow has been used to define the statues on the tower and the tiles of the roof. The corrections made on the wall on the left side suggest (amongst other things) that he tried to capture this composition by drawing from life.⁵⁸

The function of this work is not known. Nevertheless, it is not often that the artist focusses mainly on the building and its details. This level of focus on one structure is not usually the case in the Italianate genre, since the depiction of the landscape and the entire composition tends to be more important than a singular building. Considering the size, the signature and the detailing of the work, it seems likely that it was a study for later use. What is more, is that the Santa Maria Liberatrice was rebuilt at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This building that was located on the Forum Romanum is often presented as one of the visual aids in confirming Wijck's stay in Rome.⁵⁹ This can be underlined by the dating of the watermark after 1645 and the use of Italian paper.

⁵⁸ Heawood, *Watermarks*, 68. Watermark nos. 177 and 178.

⁵⁹ Elisabeth Berry Drago, *Painted Alchemists: Early Modern Artistry and Experiment in the Work of Thomas Wijck*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 185.

3.5 Results of the analyses

The watermarks in the works of Jan Both appear to be mainly from the Northern Netherlands, which in combination with the Italianizing subjects leads me to believe they were made after his arrival in Rome when he still had a supply of paper of after his return from Rome. The same goes for the selected works by Thomas Wijck, but in his drawings we clearly see the Italian watermarks present and thus the paper must have been bought in Rome. This also strengthens the hypotheses about the arrival date of Wijck in Rome, which is now rather certainly after his wedding in 1644 and probably in 1645.

In the drawings by Both and Wijck we have seen some striking juxtapositions of detail versus vague and geometric shapes versus capricious forms. Both artists implement these contrast in their own manner. Whereas the architecture in the works of Wijck are incredibly detailed, in Both's work it is the trees, the rocks and sometimes the staffage that are amazingly detailed and realistic. The staffage is frequently used to indicate the scale and three-dimensionality of the drawing, but also to fill up gaps in the composition and give it a more balanced appearance.

It is clear that the main focal points of the drawings are the most detailed parts of the composition. In addition, the compositions of Both and Wijck are often positioned diagonally and start off in the foreground with a much darker repoussoir, that emphasizes the familiar Italian mood of the drawing and creates depth and balance. Furthermore, Both often uses organic material to close of the composition such as trees or hills, whereas Wijck uses structures such as buildings and walls. In his *Rocky Coast* (fig. 7) Wijck closes off the left side by a large rocky cliff, that in juxtaposition to the light and arbitrary trees of Both, appears heavy and sturdy. Lastly, there is no sign of *horror vacui* and the compositions are always carefully balanced.

It is clear that both these artists had good teachers and had sufficient study to accurately display the atmospheric perspective and the linear perspective. Furthermore, the works of both Wijck and Both appear to be original and from their own ideas and observations, rather than from circulating prints or other works they might have seen and copied. Although it is very common for an artist to copy works of other with the objective to learn from them, the more detailed and realistic works appear to be idiosyncratic and innovative. This notion requires further research in order to fully determine the originality of their draughtsmanship, which this thesis cannot do justice at this time.

4. Inspired by Italian landscape images

After assessing the drawings made by the primary Italianizing artists, it is now time to focus on the drawings that were inspired by and copied after artists such as Jan Both and Thomas Wijck. The two selected secondary Italianates: Nicolaes Berchem and Jacob van der Ulft made such elaborate landscape drawings, that it is hard to believe they did not see it themselves. Of course, there were prints, drawings and paintings available in the Netherlands by many artists that went to Italy and these would have been easily accessible to those artists that stayed behind.

4.1 Nicolaes Berchem

Nicolaes Pietersz. Berchem was born around 1621/1622 in Haarlem and was at first probably a student of his father Pieter Claesz.⁶⁰ Afterwards he became a student of Claes Moeyaert in Amsterdam from 1639 until 1642. In 1638 Pieter van Laer returned from Italy and settled in Haarlem. Berchem must have seen the Italianizing works of Van Laer. His first signed and dated work from 1640, *Forest landscape with the holy Hieronymus* in Würzburg is a clear example of this. Next to Pieter van Laer there are also comparisons to the works of Cornelis Vroom, who was one of the most prominent representatives of landscape motifs in Haarlem.⁶¹ Berchem was registered at the guild in Haarlem since 1642 and he took on three students.

In 1646 he married Catrijne Claesdr. de Groot, who was the stepdaughter of the painter Jan Wils. Furthermore, Nicolaes was also the cousin of painter Jan Baptist Weenix. Hoogewerff and Gerson state that Berchem was in Rome from 1642 until 1645/6 with his cousin, however this is now generally disputed by Biesboer 2006, Jansen 2007 and Blankert 2013.⁶² Both Jansen and Blankert

⁶⁰ Adriaan van der Willigen and De Kinkelder, Marijke C., *Dictionary of Dutch and Flemish Landscape and Marine painters working in oils, active before 1725 (typescript uit 1993-1998, in bewerking door en met aanvulling van Marijke de Kinkelder, conservator Oude Kunst, RKD)*, (Den Haag: RKD, 2014)

⁶¹ Biesboer, *Nicolaes Berchem*, 18.

⁶² G.J. Hoogewerff, "Wanneer en hoe vaak was Berchem in Italië," *Oud Holland* 48 (1931): 85.

Gerson, *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der Holländischen Malerei*, 165.

Biesboer, *Nicolaes Berchem* 21-23.

Guido Jansen, "Review "Nicolaes Berchem", Haarlem, Zürich and Schwerin", *Burlington Magazine* 149 (2007), 354-356.

Albert Blankert, 'Terug naar Charles de Hooch, alsmede over het raadsel van geniaal 'rapen' (Den Haag, 2013), 41-48.

state, in their earlier works from 1985 and 1978 respectively, that he did go to Italy, but revised this opinion in the before mentioned more recent works.⁶³

Berchem had children in 1647, 1649, 1652 and 1657. In addition, he made two paintings in 1649 and 1650 in the Netherlands, which makes it very unlikely that he could have been in Italy before 1653.⁶⁴ Despite the drawings that have been made in the Netherlands and Germany (Westfalen) 1649 and 1650, Marijke de Kinkelder pleads for a brief stay in Italy in 1651 and 1652.⁶⁵ But that does not match with the conception of his daughter who was born in 1652 and the drawing of 1650. Biesboer also underlines that we have no plausible reason to believe Berchem was ever in Italy despite from his subject matter.⁶⁶

Although Berchem most likely never went to Italy, he did make a trip with Jacob van Ruisdael to the German region of Bentheim.⁶⁷ The influence of Jacob van Ruisdael is clearly noticeable in his earlier works. His early drawings consist mainly of historical, figure and animal studies and herdsmen and animals. It is generally agreed that the works of Jan Asselijn and Jan Both greatly influenced the art of Berchem. We can clearly see this when his style changes in the 1650's and he starts created broader landscapes, wide vistas, mountains, hills with ruins, fountains and watering places and herdsmen. In addition, he created around 60 prints of which the earliest one dates back to 1644.⁶⁸ From 1653 on he creates Italian and Dutch landscapes with a convincing Mediterranean light.⁶⁹ The more intimate scenes painted and drawn by Berchem seem to be inspired by the works of Thomas Wijck.⁷⁰ This mainly concerns his artwork after his return to Haarlem in 1670 and later.

⁶³ Guido Jansen, "Berchem in Italy, notes on an unpublished painting," *Mercury No. 2* (1985): 13-17. Blankert, *Nederlandse 17^e Eeuwse Italianiserende Landschapsschilders*.

⁶⁴ Biesboer, *Nicolaes Berchem*, 21.

⁶⁵ Van der Willigen, *Dictionary of Dutch and Flemish Landscape and Marine painters*, 32.

⁶⁶ Biesboer, *Nicolaes Berchem*, 102.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 34.

⁶⁸ Schatborn, *Drawn to Warmth*, 190.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 187.

⁷⁰ Biesboer, *Nicolaes Berchem*, 30.

4.2 Selected landscape drawings by Nicolaes Berchem



Figure 10. Nicolaes Berchem, *View of the Ruins of the Colosseum*, 1630-1683, graphite, brush in brown and grey wash, pen in ink on paper, 517x622mm, signed: NcBerchem f: (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, Cat. No. RP-T-1883-A-277)

Technical Analysis

After extensive analysis I can conclude that there is no visible watermark. There are three possible explanations: the first is that there never was a watermark, the second is that the watermark has been cut off when resizing the paper and the last is that since the drawing is so large and delicate it has been fortified with a very piece of paper on the back. The paper seems very thick, but the vergé lines are still visible on both the front and the back, furthermore the line in the middle is relatively visible on both the front and the back.⁷¹ It would seem illogical to attach a new sheet of paper that was also two adjoined pieces, because that would weaken the whole.

⁷¹ On vergé lines see: Helen Westgeest and van Buren, T., Groot, A., de Koomen, A., *Kunsttechnieken in historisch perspectief* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 158-161.

The paper that it has now been attached to around the borders of the drawing, does contain a watermark with a name. The first part is still visible and says: Van Gel... The papermaker thus appears to have been Van Gelder, who had a papermill in Wormer (in the Zaanstreek). The paper was therefore probably made to be traded in Amsterdam around the eighteenth century.⁷² There is no certainty about the function of the drawing, but it is far too large and detailed to be a mere sketch. It was probably used as preliminary research for a panel or canvas.

Visual analysis

The way in which Berchem has organized the space creates a sort of trompe l'oeil, but instead of looking through a closed off door, archway or window, we first observe a scene in the foreground and are afterwards guided towards the structure behind the arches. There is a hint of atmospheric perspective that is visible through the thinner lines and lighter brushwork in the layers of the Colosseum. The way in which the composition is set up invites the viewer to think they are standing in the Colosseum themselves, gazing at the draughtsman on the left and the man and woman washing on the right. Furthermore, the drawing is clearly three-dimensional and allows us to see quite far into the structure of the theatre.

The gateway in the middle of the theatre with the shepherd and his goats just in front of it, is the main focal point of the drawing. From there, one is invited to examine the rest of the scene, reviewing the foreground with the staffage and then observing the finesse with which the rest of the inner circle of the Colosseum is laid out. The darker areas are mainly all in the foreground and he has used the darker lines of a pen to accentuate the rocks, grass and plants growing from the ruins. Despite the fact that we are inside the building it does not feel like an enclosed space due to the views of the ruins expanding beyond the arches. The source of light lies outside of the drawing on the left-hand side. The sun is already quite low and creates a warm glow that continues all the way towards the staffage inside the structure. The horizontal rows of the theatre are bathed in a bright sunlight which blurs their contours and creates the typical warm Italian glow over the drawing that is unmistakable within the Italianizing genre.

The figures are quite small in comparison to the structure of the building. This scale makes sense and is true to life if we compare it to the Colosseum in Rome. The naturalistic figures seem to be of lesser importance, despite this they are quite detailed and refined. The brushstrokes are quite

⁷² Heawood, *Watermarks*, 95. Watermark no. 1365.

tight and bound by the sharp edges of the shades. The definition of the rocks, the goats and the figures are perfectly outlined with clear edges. Towards the background the shapes overlap more and the boundaries fade. The staffage is mainly centered along a horizontal line and creates a barrier within the rest of the composition. Their function is a highly practical one: not to illustrate daily life, but to serve as a repoussoir a mere filling of the space to enhance the feeling of grandeur and height in the structure. The type of large hats that the draughtsmen are wearing remind one of Italian landscapes with draughtsmen such as those by Jan Both, which would have been known to Berchem from the 1640's onward.

All in All, I must admit the execution of the drawing is wonderful for someone who has not seen the Colosseum. The only points that might give his lack of an Italian experience away, is the cleanliness of the bricks and the polishedness of the composition. Besides this, the addition of the imaginary stream below the structure seems odd and does not really add much value in my opinion.



Figure 11. Nicolaes Berchem, *Mountain Landscape with a Man and Three Donkeys*, 1654, graphite and black chalk, brush in grey wash and pen and ink on paper, 148x205mm, signed and dated CBerghem f. 1654 (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Cat. No. Q 016)

Technical Analysis

The drawing is rather small and has almost the same dimensions as figure 7 by Thomas Wijck. In addition, this drawing has a watermark on the edge, in which the top part of a crown is visible. This type of watermark appears to be similar to the crown above the fleur-de-lis in figure 4 and 5 by Jan Both. Unfortunately, the paper has been resized, cutting away half of the watermark.⁷³ When regarding the size of the paper, it is possible that the Berchem cut up a *Foolscap* size paper in four pieces. The foolscap paper would have been of a common size in the Netherlands, which corresponds with the supposed watermark that has been made for the Northern Netherlandish market. Another drawing by Berchem in the Teylers Museum, *Italian Landscape with Herdsmen near a fountain* (Q 019) has the exact same watermark and is also signed and dated in the same manner.

The date on the drawing, 1654, is shortly after Berchem's visit to Germany, where he might have gotten some of his inspiration for this mountainous scene. This drawing is part of a series of several landscape drawings by the hand of Berchem, who are mostly all signed and dated and many of them are now in the Teylers Museum in Haarlem. Plomp says about these drawings that they were probably intended for the art market, although it is not certain if the landscapes were meant to be part of a series.⁷⁴



Detail of figure 11. Watermark part of a crown.

Visual analysis

The drawing is made in graphite with a black chalk underdrawing and has many striking details in pen and ink. It really feels as though we are beholding the scene from afar, rather than participate in it. Both the figure and the animals appear naturalistic and true to life. In addition, their size is purposely small in comparison to the landscape to emphasize the scope of the site. The detailing is quite remarkable and Berchem uses a lot of hatchings, which he does more often in his other landscape drawings. The trees resemble those by Jan Both and are more detailed than the rocks and road. Furthermore, the light source is situated outside of the drawing on the left side in the middle. The

⁷³ Churchill, *Watermarks*, 83, Watermark no. 388.

⁷⁴ Plomp, *The Dutch Drawings in the Teylers Museum*, 63-64.

shading of the figure and animals are accurate, but the trees and rocks do not seem to create any shadows on the ground. Since this drawing was done after the death of Jan Both, I would suggest that Berchem was clearly influenced by the Both's composition and detailing. The recognizable juxtapose of chiaroscuro reminds us in every way of the primary italianates. Nevertheless, the capricious shapes have the overhand and there are hardly any geometric forms that can be distinguished.

The composition is shapes diagonally which makes it more dynamic. The high trees that reach up towards the left corner and the rocks that appear from underneath the leaves start off the diagonal line of the drawing. It then proceeds to level off over the road towards the cliff on the lower left corner. The composition is really interesting due to the large planes and the skies that are mainly empty. Nevertheless, it does not feel too open, due to the large cloud in the sky that balances out the total. The atmospheric perspective is visible in the planes and the hills in the background. Furthermore, the position from which we look upon the scene is slightly higher than the road that stretches out in the center. We, as a viewer, do not seem to participate in the drawing, but are rather looking upon the scene from a slightly higher point.



Figure 12. Nicolaes Berchem, *Italianate landscape with Shepherds and Draughtsmen at a Baroque Fountain*, graphite and black chalk, brush in grey wash and pen in ink on paper, 144x191mm, signed and dated: CBerghem f. 1653 (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Cat. No. Q 018)



Detail of figure 12. Part of a watermark of intertwined C's.

Technical Analysis

This drawing has been dated to 1653, one year before the drawing in figure 11. There is a watermark in the paper that has two C's crossed together.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, the watermark is not entirely visible since half was cut away, possibly because the sheet of paper was divided in two or four pieces. This type of watermark has been found in both Antwerp and Amsterdam between 1639 and 1646.⁷⁶ This was also originally a French watermark which was created for the Netherlandish market. The intertwined C's are references to Duke Charles the third and his wife Duchess Claude of Lorraine, which is the region where this paper comes from.⁷⁷

Visual analysis

The underdrawing in graphite and chalk is still visible and grey wash has only been used in some places, such as the shadow in front and in the fountain, the rest of the darker spaces are done in graphite hatchings. The mountains are mainly shapes that somewhat flow over into each other. The first thing that draws the eye is the large fountain in the center right. The road around the fountain slightly descends towards the lower right of the drawing and the background with hills and trees follows this example. There is a group of three artists placed in the bottom left of the image, which is balanced out by the slight diagonal angle and the off-centered fountain. Furthermore, the scene in the front with the fountain has a clear hierarchy over the backdrop with the atmospheric mountains, which make the image look more mediterranean. This time the figures also play a slightly bigger role in the drawing and they are placed dynamically around the fountain, which creates three-dimensionality. Furthermore, we gaze upon the scene from about the same level as the draughtsmen in the front left, or perhaps just a little bit higher.

There is movement suggested by the animals and figures and the shadowing was used skillfully to better define the staffage. The sculptures on the fountain are considerably larger than the staffage, but they display the same level of detail and naturalism. Unlike in many other drawings of

⁷⁵ Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, 50. nos 536 and 537.

⁷⁶ Heawood, *Watermarks*, 128, Watermark nos. 2893 and 2896-7.

⁷⁷ Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, 61.

landscapes that have been discussed, the staffage in this image looks more dynamic due to the overlap and the foreshortening of the arms in some places. Moreover, especially in the foreground the shading is well executed and seems fitting. The light is coming from the upper left corner and appears to be blocked by something on the left side of the draughtsmen. The drawings by Berchem in 1650's really seems to have transformed under the influence of the primary italianates. The juxtapose of the chiaroscuro and the geometric mountains are increasingly properly executed. The positions of the figures and their hats for example, clearly reference Jan Both. According to Plomp, the composition for this drawing was inspired by a drawing made by Berchem's stepfather-in-law Jan Wils.⁷⁸ There are cases of the drawings of Berchem, Jan Wils and Jan Asselijn, for example, being mixed up, thus this inspiration seems likely.⁷⁹

4.3 Jacob van der Ulft

Jacob van der Ulft was born in Gorinchem in 1621, he was the son to a glass painter and the mayor of Gorinchem. He later followed in his father's footsteps to become a mayor of the town as well and was a proficient draughtsman, printmaker, architect and painter. There are 58 "view from life" in the Fondation Custodia in Paris by his hand that are all in Italian settings. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that Van der Ulft never went to Rome and could not have drawn these images in situ. Hoogewerff does claim that Van der Ulft was in Rome in 1650 and that he joined the brotherhood the Bentvueghels there, however Houbraken disputes this and tells us he never visited Italy and the drawings were based on prints. Underlining the opinion of Houbraken, Schatborn states that the drawings in the Fondation Custodia were probably made after drawings from live by Jan de Bisschop and thus are copies.⁸⁰

Van der Ulft made several sketches for the city of Gorinchem to create a coat of arms. And he made illustrations for a book in 1659. As stated, he became mayor of Gorinchem in 1660 and 1679, after which he fled the town and went to Den Haag due to accusations of corruption. Around 1683 he left Gorinchem for good and went to live in Noordwijk aan Zee on the Netherlandish coast between Leiden and Den Haag. This is also where he died in October or November of 1689.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Plomp, *The Dutch Drawings in the Teylers Museum*, 66.

⁷⁹ See RKD works by Jan Wils such as landscape with the bridge near Francheville, now in the British museum, which has also been attributed to Jan Asselijn amongst others. www.RKD.nl

⁸⁰ Schatborn, *Drawn to Warmth*, 199.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 198-199.

4.4 Selected landscape drawings by Jacob van der Ulft



Figure 13. Jacob van der Ulft, *View of the Castle of Civitavecchia*, black chalk and graphite, brush in grey wash, 264x390mm, Signed J. v.d. Ulft, Note: Casteel van Civitavechia (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, Cat. No. RP-T-1918-404)

Technical Analysis

The drawing is quite large, as it was made out of two joined pieces of paper. It contains mainly graphite and black chalk. As is underlined by Schatborn, these drawings in black chalk by Ulft have more of a natural appearance than those that are detailed in pen.⁸² The detailing is done in a darker grey wash and there is no use of pen in ink. At the top of the drawing there is a text that says: *Casteel van Civitavechia*, which is done in a brown ink rather than the grey of the rest of the work. The drawing is signed J.v.d.Ulft in the lower right corner in the same color as the rest of the drawing.

In the paper there is a watermark of the city of Amsterdam with the initials CB on it. The coat of Arms of Amsterdam is similar to that of the drawing by Thomas Wijck in figure 8. The addition of the initials CB is the only difference between the two. This particular watermark is mentioned by Churchill who recognizes it as paper that was made in a joined endeavor by C. van Gangelt and G.

⁸² Schatborn, *Drawn to Warmth*, 199.

Bernard around 1665.⁸³ This means that the paper originates from France and was made for the Netherlandish market. Although this work is not dated, the dating of the watermark tells us it was made in the 1660's.

The building in the drawing is Bernini's arsenal and it is still undergoing construction, which means that it can be dated to 1660. There are drawings by Pieter Moninckx (1606-1686) with the Arsenal on it which would have been made in before 1637 in Rome.⁸⁴ It is probable that Ulft made his drawings after the example of Moninckx, which he would have brought to the Netherland. The watermark that can be dated to 1665 is in correspondence with this hypothesis.



Detail of figure 13. Watermark of the Coat of Arms of Amsterdam with the letters CB below it.

Visual Analysis

The composition is slightly diagonal but the water and the horizon also create a clear horizontal line. There is some atmospheric perspective in the background where there are mountains in a very soft grey tone. The same goes for parts of the city on the left side that appear to be further away. The drawing feels a bit unbalanced due to the number of figures, boats and the castle all located on the right side. The main focal point is thus on the lower right side of the drawing. We are looking at this drawing from a bird's eye view and there is a suggestion of depth due to the plane of the water. Furthermore, the linear perspective seems off, but it is difficult to pinpoint where this exactly comes from. It is perhaps because of the boats, that do not seem properly executed in three-dimensionality.

The front part of the drawing with the boats and the staffage is the most detailed part of the drawing. Despite the perspective being off, the detailing of the work is very striking and well

⁸³ Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, Viii, Watermark no. 9.

⁸⁴ Schatborn, *Drawn to Warmth*, 162.

executed. The work becomes increasingly vague towards the background, where the shapes start to merge together in hues of grey. The largest part of the image is bathing in a bright sunlight that was executed in either very light grey or by not coloring it at all. There are only very small bits of shadow visible, which creates little contrast and depth. The shading that is visible indicates a light source outside of the composition on the left side. The lack of contrast in chiaroscuro is striking and uncommon for the italianizing scenes, which together with the poorly executed linear perspective seems to emphasize the lack of a study in Italy.

Moreover, the staffage is very small in comparison to the castle, but their size seems to be realistic and true to life. The figures have little importance in their own right, but they give the drawing a more natural appearance and make it possible to estimate the size of the castle and the rest of the scene. The staffage is grouped together in smaller groups that are placed around the shore. The proportions of the figures seem natural, but their attitudes are all similar: standing up without much variation, which makes them look schematized. The lack in variation and overlap of the figures, does not correspond with the iconography of the primary italianates.



Figure 14. Jacob van der Ulft, *Italian Landscape with a Round Building*, graphite, brush in brown and grey wash, pen in brown ink on paper, 160x224mm, signed and dated Jac:Vand ulft 1666 (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Cat. No. Q 072)

Technical analysis

The paper contains a watermark that looks like a stack of initials, but unfortunately I have not been able to trace the meaning of the initials. The drawing was both signed and dated: Jac: Vand ulft 1666, in a pen in brown ink that corresponds with the rest of the composition. The initials and numbers in the watermark display a number four in the middle, which was believed to be the perfect number and therefore more often used in watermarks.⁸⁵ The letters underneath the four are difficult to read, but they are most likely a G and an A. The watermark originates from the beginning of the seventeenth century and is mainly found in the Netherlands, Germany and sometimes France.⁸⁶ It is probably either made for the Netherlandish market, or came to the Netherlands because it was imported by paper traders. This makes it likely that it was purchased by Van Der Ulft in the Netherlands. There is no truly similar watermark mentioned by Heawood or Churchill, but the closest resemblances date back to around 1600 and can be found in Cologne and Amsterdam.



Detail of figure 14. Watermark with the letters GA

Visual analysis

The underdrawing in graphite is still visible through the wash and pen. The pen strokes and lines are beautifully executed, much better than in figure 13. Especially in the object and the staffage the lines are heavily emphasized, which juxtaposes the painterly shapes of the surroundings of the scene. Some elements such as the trees in the right background are very sketch-like and capricious. The figures and the visible animal (a donkey?) are not too detailed, but their proportions are naturalistic and true to size. Furthermore, the trees seem to be in accordance with the flora in and around Rome. The staffage around the temple is necessary to estimate the scale of the structure, since there are sculptures that vary in size and need not be life size.

⁸⁵ Ashbee, *Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts*, 265-6.

⁸⁶ Heawood, *Watermarks*, 135. Watermarks nos. 3181-3 and 3191.

There is a centralized composition, with figures and the trees divided evenly throughout the drawings. This creates a feeling as though we just walked through a park or forest and now find this structure in an open plane. Since there is not much going on outside of the structure, it makes a balanced and spacious impression. The darker pen in the foreground on the right, but especially on the left side, gives the composition more layers. Furthermore, source of light is located outside of the drawing and approximately on the left side in the middle. The sun is relatively low, suggesting a time of day later in the afternoon. The chiaroscuro is well executed in the darkness of the trees and two figures in the shadows and in contrast with the light building and bright figures in front of it. There is a lack in shadings of grey, but the strong contrast does resemble the works by Wijck and Both.

Moreover, space is suggested by the vagueness of the trees in the far right and the hint of a mountain between the trees on the left. The figures have been positioned in recession so as to create more depth in the composition. Although the drawing is meant to look three-dimensional, it is not as deep as the other landscapes such as figures 3, 5 and 11. Furthermore, the scene is screened of by the trees on the left side and slightly by the rocks and bushes on the right side. There is very little atmospheric perspective, but we do see more blurry and sketch-like trees and mountains in the background.



Figure 15. Jacob van der Ulft, *Capriccio with Classical Buildings*, 1660-1679, graphite, brush in brown wash, pen in brown ink on paper, 197x305mm, signed Jac Vand'ulft (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Cat. No. Q 074)



Detail of figure 15. Partly visible watermark in the shape of an oval.

Technical analysis

The paper of the drawing is very thick, perhaps another piece of paper was attached to the back, because it is very unusual. There is a hint of a watermark visible, but due to the thick paper it is no more than a faint oval as can be seen in a detail of figure 15. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find a watermark that is sufficiently corresponding to this. Furthermore, there is a similar drawing, which is more sketch-like, that was sold at Christie's in 1985. That specific work is considered to be the preliminary work for this drawing.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the buildings look rather precise, but these types of buildings together do not exist. The way they are grouped together seems rather odd and unrealistic. A grouping together of existing buildings is not uncommon in Italian landscape drawings, this type of work is referred to as *Capriccio*, however this genre often displays a more realistic setting that although not real, looks as though it could be and that is not the case here.

Visual analysis

The graphite underdrawing is still very much visible in this drawing. The lines in the buildings are very linear and tight, whereas the detailing in pen on the staffage is more painterly. The staffage is very vague and not detailed, they have no particular role in the composition, other than to provide the benchmark of scale and add a more naturalistic look of the landscape as a whole. Despite the different intervals at which the figures are placed in the scene, they are all more or less the same

⁸⁷ Plomp, *The Dutch Drawings in the Teylers Museum*, 400.

height, which is unrealistic. The same type of staffage can be seen in the drawing of figure 14, which displays the same level of vagueness.

There is a clear diagonal composition that starts in the upper left corner and descends down together with the structures towards the lower right. There are many geometrical forms, more than we have seen in any of the drawings thus far. The position of the staffage seems a bit arbitrary, whereas the buildings are continued in perfect repetition of one another. The upper part of the drawing above the diagonal line is practically empty and balances out the crowdedness of the lower half very well. There is not a clear repoussoir although this drawing might have benefitted from one. The small block of ruin in the front is the only thing that could act as such, but it is rather small and not in proportion. The large planes on the right side of the drawing emphasize the three-dimensionality of the scene and the atmospheric perspective is visible in the continuously vague buildings in the backdrop. The viewer is distanced from the landscape and appears to be beholding it from afar.

Lastly, the shading on the ground that is being created by the building, the staffage and the ruins are well executed in most places. It is however odd that the shadows of the ruins in front and the figures on the right-hand side seem much darker than the shadow side of the building. The right side of the first structure is in a grey tone, but it is still very light despite being in the shadow. The source of light is once again outside of the drawing in the upper left corner. Moreover, the shapes in the clouds seems to merge and the sandy ground seems to be just shapes flowing slowly to the background. To conclude, the shading could have been more accurate and seems either too light or not dark enough in some places.

4.5 Results of the analyses

The drawings by Berchem and Van der Ulft are all executed on paper that came from the Netherlands, we cannot always correctly date these, but may be certain that the watermarks came from the Netherlandish market. The dates on the works by the secondary italianates generally correspond to the watermarks. The objects of their drawings mainly consist of widespread known subjects that are being distributed through prints. Since it was unlikely that they bought so many papers with them to suffice for several years, the claim that they never went to Italy appears correct. On the subject of the drawings by Van der Ulft, Jansen says that “the architecture is probably collected from different sources and arranged and adjusted with the aid of his own imagination”.⁸⁸

The scaling is mainly accurate in the drawings by Berchem, although he sometimes places the figures in a horizontal line which creates a more static appearance. In Van der Ulft’s work we see that he sometimes creates figures of the same height, although they are not at the same distance from the viewer. All three works by Berchem show a lot of skill in the depiction of atmospheric perspective and linear perspective. It is surprising that the latter two drawings by Van der Ulft depict a good control of the linear perspective, but the first drawing in figure 13 does not, perhaps it was an earlier work. Furthermore, Berchem draws quick figures that are not completely worked out sometimes, but they are always natural and realistic, especially in the worked out drawings with pen in ink. This is in contrast to the works by Van der Ulft by whose hand we rarely see any detailed staffage and he gives them a highly schematized appearance.

By the polished surfaces of what in Both and Wijck’s drawings are coarse walls with overgrowth of trees, we can see the lack of information and insight in the works of Jacob van der Ulft. This is also true in a lesser extent for the drawings by Berchem. In Berchem’s drawing of the Colosseum, we also see the perfectly straight blocks in the foreground and although there is some growth visible, the polished looks of the blocks on the left are very different in style to the structures by Wijck. We can imagine Schatborn is right when he states that the composition of this drawing has been derived from the available prints and drawings of the Colosseum. It is known that Berchem owned several of these artworks and was thus familiar with the topic.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Guido Jansen and Luijten, Ger., *Italianisanten en Bamboccianten: Het italianiserend landschap en genre door Nederlandse kunstenaars uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1988), 109.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

5. Conclusion

While following the paper trade in the seventeenth century, it has been made clear that much of the French paper was intended for the Netherlandish market. Especially at the beginning of the seventeenth century, before the Hollander was introduced and the paper mills of the Zaanstreek became more popular. Many of the papers from France bear recognizable watermarks that can be traced back to the paper market in Holland and subsequently to Amsterdam. The fact that the artists used Netherlandish paper says less about his possible travels to Italy than if he has both an Italian subject and an Italian watermark. As we have seen by the works of Van der Ulft and Berchem, neither used Italian paper and they have used more common subjects that could be found on prints. In addition, the watermarks can sometimes be rather precisely dated, which aids in the reconstruction of the moment that the primary italianates visited Rome. We can clearly see this in the Italian watermark of figure 8, which helps pinpoint the moment Wijck travelled to Italy. This could be a useful tool for further research into watermarks in drawings by primary italianizing artists.

As for the difference in iconography of the primary and secondary italianates, it is clear that realism and lifelikeness are much harder to recreate when one has not been to Italy. The details are sometimes lacking or incorrect in the works of secondary italianates which can be spotted in the illogical grouping together of structures or in the smooth and polished appearance of the ruins. In addition, it is very fascinating to see how Both and Wijck use staffage to compliment the composition and overall balance of the landscape, whereas Berchem and Van der Ulft sometimes have trouble finding the right ratio.

The clearest difference between the works of the primary italianizing artists and the secondary italianizing artists is in the treatment of the chiaroscuro. Both and Wijck seem to have found a way to capture the Italian sun in monochrome drawings with multiple layers of different grey tones. Their use of a significantly darker repoussoir in contrast to the almost white surfaces of objects or staffage, is unmistakable for the primary italianizing artists. Even in drawings that have the same level of detail in the buildings and the landscape, the difference in the detailing of the staffage tends to be great. Moreover, the juxtapose between the capricious trees, sandy floors and skies and the geometric shapes of the structures or in mountains and roads remains unparalleled by the secondary artists. To conclude, we see that the secondary italianates skillfully copy and create italianizing scenes. They include many of the elements that distinguish the primary italianates, but they never include all the elements in the drawing at the same time, as we see Jan Both and Thomas Wijck do and which distinguishes them as true-to-life draughtsmen of the italianizing genre.

Illustrations

Figure 1. Rome: Sizes and costs of paper per ream (500 sheets or 20 quaderni/quinterno).

Figure 2. Paper prices per ream in guilders in Amsterdam, 1570-1699.

Figure 3. Jan Both, *Landscape with Travelers*, 1634-1652, graphite, brush in grey wash and pen in ink on paper, 255x381mm (Leiden Universiteit Prentenkabinet, Cat. No. PK-T-AW-1159)

Figure 4. Watermark of a Strasburg Fleur-de-lis.

Figure 5. Jan Both, *Mountain landscape*, 1635-1652, graphite, brush in grey wash, pen and ink on paper, 355x236mm (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Cat. No. P 052)

Figure 6. Jan Both, *Chestnut Seller*, 1638-1652, Black chalk and graphite with brush in grey wash and pen in ink on paper, 383x313mm (Teylers Museum Haarlem, Cat. No. P 057)

Figure 7. Thomas Wijck, *Rocky Coast, a Castle on Top*, graphite and black chalk, brush in grey wash and pen in grey ink on paper, 150x208mm (Leiden Universiteit Prentenkabinet, Cat. No. PK-T-AW-744)

Figure 8. Thomas Wijck, *View of an Italian Town*, graphite, brush in brown wash on paper, 155x235mm (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, Cat. No. RP-T-1884-A-382)

Figure 9. Thomas Wijck, *Santa Maria Liberatrice on the Forum Romanum in Rome*, graphite, brush in brown wash, pen in brown ink on paper, 177x254mm (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, Cat. No. RP-T-1898-A-3592)

Figure 10. Nicolaes Berchem, *View of the Ruins of the Colosseum*, 1630-1683, graphite, brush in brown and grey wash, pen in ink on paper, 517x622mm, signed NcBerchem f: (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, Cat. No. RP-T-1883-A-277)

Figure 11. Nicolaes Berchem, *Mountain Landscape with a Man and Three Donkeys*, 1654, graphite and black chalk, brush in grey wash and pen and ink on paper, 148x205mm, signed and dated CBerghem f. 1654 (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Cat. No. Q 016)

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Figure 13. Jacob van der Ulft, *View of the Castle of Civitavecchia*, black chalk and graphite, brush in grey wash, 264x390mm, Signed J. v.d. Ulft, Note: Casteel van Civitavechia (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, Cat. No. RP-T-1918-404)

Figure 14. Jacob van der Ulft, *Italian Landscape with a Round Building*, graphite, brush in brown and grey wash, pen in brown ink on paper, 160x224mm, signed and date Jac:Vand ulft 1666 (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Cat. No. Q 072)

Figure 15. Jacob van der Ulft, *Capriccio with Classical Buildings*, 1660-1679, graphite, brush in brown wash, pen in brown ink on paper, 197x305mm, signed Jac Vand'ulft (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, Cat. No. Q 074)

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