

# Theodore De Bry's Images for *America*

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Virtually no illustrated book, catalogue or article on the subject of the early history of America and its discovery can be found that resists including at least one of the engravings from Theodore De Bry's famous *America* anthology,<sup>1</sup> 'la più celebre e imponente raccolta di relazioni di viaggio dell'epoca delle grande scoperte geografiche',<sup>2</sup> published in fourteen volumes at Frankfurt between 1590 and 1634.<sup>3</sup> The reason for this popularity is not difficult to understand: the lavishly

furnished illustrations, being accompanied by or accompanying the texts of these travel books,<sup>4</sup> offered a series of easily accessible images, documenting with great boldness and variety the view of a then newly discovered – and today entirely lost – world. Given this celebrity, it appears all the more strange that neither iconographic and pictorial sources of these prints, nor their impact on other artists, have ever been systematically studied.<sup>5</sup> While some information about

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1. See, for example, *Mythen der Neuen Welt – Zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Lateinamerikas*, ed. by K.-H. Kohl, exh. cat., Berlin 1982, *passim*; T. Todorov, *La conquista dell'America*, Turin 1984, pp. 45, 171; *Le Americhe (Storie di viaggiatori italiani)*, Milan 1987, *passim*; *Cristoforo Colombo e l'apertura degli spazi*, exh. cat., Palazzo Ducale, Genoa 1992, II, pp. 934–44; *Iconografia Columbiana*, exh. cat., Musei Capitolini, Rome 1992, I, pp. 114, 117. In an article by S. Striegl on the 'Menschenfressermythos', published in the German journal *Die Zeit*, no. 51, 1995, p. 42, a De Bry engraving was again used as an illustration, sloppily captioning the first engraving of volume III, part III from 1593 as 'A grillparty in the New World'. The scene there is erroneously attributed as the 'fantasy of an anonymous [artist]'
2. I. L. Caraci, *La scoperta dell'America secondo Theodore de Bry*, Genoa 1991, p. 11.
3. Considering the huge literature on De Bry, one would like to exclaim with T. F. Dibdin 'But what a bibliographical chord am I striking, in the mention of the Travels of De Bry!' (*The Library Companion*, London 1824, I, p. 371, also cited by Th. O. Weigel, *Bibliographische Mitteilungen über die deutschen Ausgaben von De Bry's Sammlungen der Reisen nach dem abend- und morgenländischen Indien*, Leipzig 1845, p. 3). For the history and genesis of the *America* project see A. G. Camus, *Mémoire sur la collection des Grands et Petits Voyages*, Paris 1802, p. 13ff.; J. Carter Brown, *A Bibliographical Description of a Copy of the Collection of the Great and Small Voyages of De Bry in the Library of the late John Carter Brown* (by J. Russell Bartlett), Providence, RI, 1875, p. 3ff.; B. Bucher, *Icon and Conquest*, Chicago and London 1981, p. 6ff.; and Caraci *op. cit.*, p. 15ff. Originally, the series had no proper title (names such as 'Collectiones Peregrinationum', 'Sammlung von Reisen in das westliche Indien' or 'Great Voyages' were later given by collectors and libraries), but from volume III on, De Bry entitled the publications as '*Americae pars tertia/quarta*' etc. The first volume was published in French, German, English and Latin, while the following editions offered German and Latin versions only. Between 1597 and 1628 De Bry and his sons also edited a sequel in thirteen books, later entitled '*Sammlung von Reisen in das östliche*
4. The relationship between text and illustration changes from volume to volume: while the illustrations in volume I (dedicated to Virginia) and II (Florida) are situated at the end of the text, volume III (Brazil) has them dispersed within the text; for this see Bucher, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–5, and 189f. (appendix 2) for a list of the illustrated texts. For an early critical description of the differing editions of the *America* series see Ch. Orléans de Roethelin, *Observations et détails sur la collection des Grands et des Petits Voyages*, Paris 1742, Camus, *op. cit.*, Carter Brown, *op. cit.* and (very detailed) J. L. Lindsay (Earl of Crawford and Balcarres), *Grands et Petits Voyages of De Bry* (Bibliotheca Lindesiana – Collations and Notes, no. 3), London 1884. Also very helpful is the *Catalogue of The De Bry Collection of Voyages* in the New York Public Library (reprint from the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, May 1904), New York 1904.
5. See, however, the statement by W. C. Sturtevant, 'First Visual Images of Native America', in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. F. Chiappelli, University of California Press 1976, I, p. 419: 'Research on all subsequent illustrations of American Indians must take de Bry into account, for he served as artists' source for the last two centuries'. For a brief account of De Bry's reception in the eighteenth century see Camus, *op. cit.*, p. 35. In fact, Sievernich in his above-cited edition of De Bry's *America* engravings announced the preparation of a commentary volume that will also deal with such questions. Curiously enough, it remained hitherto almost unnoticed that even René Magritte made use of a De Bry print when he painted his *Panic in the Middle Ages* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) in 1927. X. Cannone, *Une Panique au moyen-âge*, Belgium 1989, rightly pointed out an illustration from 1878 for Jules Verne's *Découverte de la Terre* as the concrete source Magritte consulted, but failed to specify that this illustration reproduced nothing other than plate 15 (*Death of Pizarro*, in some editions plate 16) in Book VI of De Bry's *America*. Concerning the Magritte painting, see D. Sylvester, *René Magritte – Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, Antwerp 1992, p. 214, no. 142.



48. Theodor De Bry, *The Flyer*, 1594, engraving, 164 × 200 mm (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek).

De Bry's prototypes is known, research has been concerned exclusively with De Bry's ethnographic sources, and no one has considered the possibility that he could have benefited from other models.<sup>6</sup>

This restriction is surely also due to the fact that De

Bry himself tells us that for some engravings he reused drawings made by the painter John White, who in his (presumably) second visit to North America in 1585–86 documented the country and its inhabitants at Virginia in hundreds of sheets.<sup>7</sup> Having acquired

6. Only U. Bitterli, *Die 'Wilden' und die 'Zivilisierten'*, Munich 1976, p. 256 and, recently, J. Campbell Hutchison in her De Bry entry in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner, London 1996, v, p. 63 seem to consider such a possibility, when they write that De Bry's representations of landscapes and coast settings rather seem to follow contemporary taste or famous models such as those furnished by Jan Brueghel the Elder, Joachim Patinir or Herri met de Bles. This is, however, only true of the scenes created from 1595 on, when De Bry's sons began their collaboration on Book v: see, for example, the parallels between Brueghel's painting *Landscape with the Young Tobias* (Vaduz, Sammlungen des Fürsten zu Liechtenstein), dated 1598, and the landscape shown in plate 7 of the third part of Book VIII, published in 1599 by De Bry's sons); for the Brueghel painting see K. Ertz, *Jan Brueghel*

*der Ältere (1568–1625). Die Gemälde mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog*, Cologne 1979, p. 565, no. 47.

7. *America*, Book 1, under the address "To the gentle Reader"; see also Camus, *op. cit.*, p. 13; S. Lorant, *The New World: – The First Pictures of America*, New York 1946, p. 31; E. Croft-Murray and P. Hulton, *Catalogue of British Drawings, Volume One: XVI & XVII Centuries*, London 1960, p. 27, and P. Hulton, *America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White*, Durham, NC, 1984, p. 17. For the life and drawings of John White see Lorant *op. cit.*, p. 180ff.; P. Hulton and D. Beers Quinn, *The American Drawings of John White, 1577–1590*, London 1964; Croft-Murray and Hulton, *op. cit.*, p. 26ff.; Hulton, *op. cit.*, Sievernich, *op. cit.*, p. 463; and *The Dictionary of Art*, xxxiii, p. 146.



49. John White, *The Flyer*, watercolour over black lead, touched with white (oxidized), 246 × 151 mm (London, British Museum).

several of these – today, unfortunately mostly lost – drawings during a trip to London in 1588,<sup>8</sup> De Bry adapted their pictures according to his own needs, supplementing them, for example (as his workshop assistant Gisbert van Veen did in the case of the depiction of *The Flyer* or *Indian Conjurator* for the first volume, see figs. 48 and 49), with landscape backdrops or paraphernalia.<sup>9</sup> But in some cases De Bry also changed – for reasons that will be partly demonstrable here – the appearance of the represented people; as Hugh Honour has so acutely put it: ‘De Bry . . . freely altered and “improved” the originals. Thus while White’s copies retain unmistakably Indian features, the faces and figures in De Bry’s prints are no less unmistakably European, however strange their hair styles and paint-

ed ornaments’.<sup>10</sup>

In other cases, De Bry left his models untouched. Hence, for the illustrations depicting allegorical scenes of the discoveries by Magellan and Columbus in the fourth book (figs. 50 and 52), he used the compositions Johannes Stradanus had drawn in 1589 in praise of the exploration voyages initiated by Amerigo Vespucci (figs. 51 and 53);<sup>11</sup> like other engravers before and after him, De Bry reproduced these compositions almost unchanged.<sup>12</sup>

It is also known that Rubens made use of De Bry’s prints on several occasions. Having bought nine volumes of the *America* anthology in 1613,<sup>13</sup> the Flemish master drew inspiration from them for his title-page of a new edition of the complete works of Hubert

8. Sievernich, *op. cit.*, p. 464 seems to doubt the authenticity of the drawings (today conserved at the British Museum), when he refers to them as mere copies of the entirely lost originals (he perhaps rather meant ‘replicas’?). In fact, there seems to be no doubt about the authenticity of the White drawings, while the copies in an album, likewise at the British Museum, are also unanimously considered as such. In fact, Hulton and Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 25ff. hypothesized that De Bry used a slightly different, and today lost, set of drawings for his engravings. On the basis of this assumption Virginia F. Stern, ‘A Second Set of John White’s Drawings?’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, xxi, 1968, pp. 24–32 proposed that this second set of sheets might once have been conserved at Scadbury Manor. For the originals see Croft-Murray and Hulton, *op. cit.*, p. 29ff.; for the copy album see *ibid.*, p. 59ff., no. 78.
9. *America*, Book 1, no. 11; for De Bry’s changes see Croft-Murray and Hulton, *op. cit.*, p. 29, and V. Fraser, ‘America and American Indians in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Imagery’, unpublished thesis, University of London 1974, pp. 38–48; for this sheet in particular see there, p. 42f., and Croft-Murray and Hulton, p. 48, no. 49. S. Colin, *Das Bild des Indianers im 16. Jahrhundert*, Idstein 1988, p. 22 analyzes De Bry’s market scene in volume v of the *America* series, clearly demonstrating his fusing of models furnished by Christoph Weiditz, Hans Staden, John White and Hans Weigel. For Gisbert van Veen see first of all G. K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, xxii, Munich 1852, p. 275f. and *Thieme-Becker*, xxxiv, Leipzig 1940, p. 175.
10. H. Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time*, London 1976, p. 70. Honour delivers (p. 75f.) also an exemplary and very useful analysis of De Bry’s way of adapting compositions by White, Jacob Le Moyne and Hans Staden. Dibdin, *op. cit.*, p. 371, had already suspected De Bry of having ‘improved his subjects’. For an instructive confrontation between an illustration drawn from André Thevet’s *Cosmographie Universelle*, published in 1575, and De Bry’s 1592 adaption, see Caraci, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
11. *America*, Book IV, no. vi and xv. For Stradanus in general see *The Dictionary of Art*, xxix, p. 740ff.; for the compositions in particular see R. Wittkower, ‘Miraculous Birds, 2: “Roc”: An Eastern Prodigy in a Dutch Engraving’, *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 1, 1937–38, p. 255ff.; G. Thiem, ‘Studien zu Jan van der Straet,

- genannt Stradanus’, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, viii, 1957–59, p. 92f.; A. Bonner McGinty, ‘Stradanus (Jan van der Straet): His Role in the Visual Communication of Renaissance Discoveries, Technologies, and Values’, PhD thesis, Tufts University 1974, Ann Arbor 1984, p. 53f.; and Bucher, *op. cit.*, p. 154f., the article by K. Achilles, ‘Indianer auf der Jagd – Der neue Kontinent in den ‘Venationen’ des Johannes Stradanus’, pp. 161–72 in Kohl, *op. cit.*, the catalogue entry by G. J. van der Sman in the *Cristoforo Colombo* exh. cat., II, p. 1,001ff., and A. Baroni Vannucci, *Jan van der Straet detto Giovanni Stradano*, Rome and Milan 1997, pp. 282–89, nos. 478–81. The Stradanus drawings are conserved in Florence at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Palat. 75; they served as preparatory drawings for a series of four engravings entitled *America Relectio (America Revealed)* and published in 1589. On their iconography see E. W. Palm, ‘Amerika oder die eingeholte Zeit. Zum Lob des Vespucci von Joannes Stradanus’, an offprint from *Indiana 10 (Gedenkschrift Gerdt Kutscher)*, II, Berlin n.d., pp. 11–23 and McGinty, *op. cit.*, p. 53ff., who, however, fails to note on p. 29 that Stradanus’s naming of Vespucci as ‘relector’ is due to Martin Waldseemüller’s *Cosmographie introductio*, St. Dié 1507, where he claims that ‘alia quarta pars per Americum Vesputium [. . .] inventa est’ (p. 30 in the facsimile reprint ed. Fr. R. v. Wieser, Strassburg 1907, part XII of the series *Drucke und Holzschnitte des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts in getreuer Nachbildung*).
12. McGinty, *op. cit.*, p. 61. Adriaen Collaert (1560–1618) also used the Stradanus compositions for his 1589 engravings; see for this the exh. cat. *Iconografia Colombiana*, p. 142, no. 96, and Palm, *op. cit.* While some editions of De Bry’s *America* present in volume IV the scenes illustrated here (figs. 50 and 52), others show instead of fig. 50 another print after a Vespucci drawing by Stradanus.
13. See for this E. McGrath, ‘Rubens’ “Arch of the Mint”’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxxvii, 1974, pp. 191–217, here esp. p. 200, n. 40. See also H. G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk*, Brussels 1943, p. 183 and *idem*, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich 1942, p. 216, where alternatively the dates of 1613 and 1614 are mentioned. M. Rooses, *Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus*, Antwerp and Ghent 1884, p. 112, however, cites an account from 25 October 1613, listing among the books bought by Rubens also volumes IX and X of De Bry’s *America*.

Goltzius, undertaken in 1631,<sup>14</sup> as well as for the ephemeral decoration, built in 1635, for the glorious state entry of the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand of Austria at Antwerp.<sup>15</sup> What, however, has not been mentioned is that Rubens, needing to create a scene of cruel punishment, turned to the same source that De Bry had used some twenty years before him.

Hugh Honour has stressed the fact that De Bry, when illustrating the pages dedicated to the travel books of Girolamo Benzoni's *La Historia del Mondo Nuovo* as volume iv of his anthology, faced some trouble, since its earlier editions were 'so sparsely illustrated that De Bry had to rely on imagination for most of the plates'.<sup>16</sup> It is exactly this circumstance that makes an exemplary analysis of the prints in volume iv, published in 1594, so interesting and rewarding for our knowledge of De Bry's practice: confronted with a previously almost unillustrated text, and handling by himself the design of the engravings (for the last time unassisted by his two sons, who afterwards helped and supported him), De Bry had to reveal the true extent of his own 'undoubted skill in the art of illustration'.<sup>17</sup>

And indeed, it is just these prints in volume iv that are today held to be among his most perfect.<sup>18</sup> To accomplish this task, De Bry had to 'rely on imagination', but this imagination itself had been shaped and imbued by other artists' representations, which he sometimes remembered very consciously. So, in volume iv, he only did what he had already done to a lesser extent in his former *America* publications: he borrowed, melded, arranged and adapted. And, as before, De Bry only occasionally indicated the authorship of entire scenes he took or adapted for his *America* volumes; although he honestly mentions the painter Joos van Winghe as the designer of the Paradise scene on the frontispiece of volume 1,<sup>19</sup> he consistently fails to credit Stradanus as the author of the allegorical representations, dispersed among the engravings of volume iv.<sup>20</sup> Although he was very severe with those who intended to copy his prints, insulting them as people of an evil mind who made easy profit of the labours of others,<sup>21</sup> he revealed himself to be a faithful follower of the engraver Étienne Delaune, who is said to have influenced De Bry deeply after 1573, and about whom Mariette lamented in his

14. Evers, *op. cit.*, p. 183 and J. R. Judson and C. Van de Velde, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part XXI: Book Illustrations and Title-Pages*, Brussels 1977, p. 334ff., no. 82f. In this context, however, Judson and Van de Velde are also citing – p. 53 (n. 47) and p. 71 – Rubens's title-page for the edition of Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum* of 1628 (see their no. 57, p. 246ff.). Erroneously, they always refer to Book v of the De Bry edition as being published in 1596, but in fact Book v was already published (in 1595) when Book vi appeared in 1596. Concerning the Goltzius title-page, cited by Evers and dated on the evidence of a description by Rubens to 1631, see Judson and Van de Velde, p. 334ff., No. 82f., who indicate the date of 1645 for the executed engraving.
15. Evers, *op. cit.*, p. 183 cited by McGrath, *op. cit.*, p. 211; H. Honour, *L'Amérique vue par l'Europe*, exh. cat., Paris 1976, p. 109 and Honour, *op. cit.* (1976), p. 92. For the original designs, conserved at the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten at Antwerp in sketches dating from 1635, see J. R. Martin, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part XVI: The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Brussels 1972, p. 189f., p. 193ff., no. 50a and p. 201ff., no. 51a. For a completely different case where De Bry's engravings served as models for the *Moor with the Emerald Cluster* (Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe) see H. Nickel, 'The Graphic Sources for the "Moor with the Emerald Cluster"', *The Metropolitan Museum Journal*, xv, 1980, pp. 203–10.
16. Honour, *op. cit.* (1976), p. 77; in the same sense see also Caraci, *op. cit.*, p. 27 who also – throughout her edition of the 24 plates of Book iv – shows the original Benzoni illustrations from 1565 in comparison.
17. G. Atkinson, *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700*, New York 1920, p. 2. See also the compliments voiced by Dibdin, *op. cit.*, p. 371: 'Theodore de Bry, and his Sons [. . .] appear to have been men of considerable, if not of first rate, talents'.
18. See, for example, the judgement by Caraci, *op. cit.*, p. 22: 'Le tre Partes IV – VI dei Grands Voyages costituiscono il nucleo più

caratteristico e più omogeneo dell'intera raccolta. In esse non solo le incisioni del De Bry raggiungono la massima perfezione, ma si concreta il suo progetto di fondere un testo scritto con una serie di illustrazioni, ottenendo un tutto organico perfettamente integrato.' Interestingly enough, it was also Book iv which was chosen twice to be reproduced apart in special editions, such as Caraci and, in 1979, by the publisher Van Hoeve at Amsterdam. For a general description of volume iv see Camus, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–80.

19. 'Iodocus a Winghe in.': concerning Joos van Winghe (1544–1603), whose works De Bry came to know certainly after 1588 when both he and the painter from Brussels lived at Frankfurt as religious refugees, see *Thieme-Becker*, xxxvi, Leipzig 1947 (reprint), p. 55. G. K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, xxi, Munich 1851, p. 526, and *The Dictionary of Art*, xxxiii, p. 252f.; regarding the Paradise engraving by De Bry see *Thieme-Becker*, p. 527. Likewise, in volumes 1 and II, De Bry in his address 'To the gentle Reader'/'Benevolo Lectori' still mentions John White ('Thon Withe an English paynter') and Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues ('James Morgues') as the authors of the drawings he used as models, while he fails to do so in the subsequent volumes.
20. See above; De Bry took also the allegory of the '*America Retectio*' in the introduction of volume iv from Stradanus: for the original context of 1585 – where it likewise served as a frontispiece – see McGinty, *op. cit.*, p. 53f. and Palm, *op. cit.*, p. 13f.
21. *America*, Book 1, address 'To the gentle Reader: Finallye I hartlye Request thee, that yf any seeke to Contrefaict thee my booke, (for in this dayes many are so malicious that they seeke to gayne by other men labours) thwo wouldest giue noe credit vnto suche conterfaited Drawghte. For dyuers secret marks lye hiddin in my pictures, which wil breede Confusion vnless they be well obserued.' For the historical background of such marks and warnings see J. L. Koerner, *The Moment of Self-portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, Chicago 1993, p. 203ff., esp. p. 213.



50. Theodor De Bry, *Columbus*, 1594, engraving, 144 × 194 mm (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek).



51. Johannes Stradanus, *Columbus*, 1589, pen and grey wash, 230 × 296 mm (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana).



52. Theodor De Bry, *Magellan*, 1594, engraving, 144 × 196 mm (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek).



53. Johannes Stradanus, *Magellan*, 1589, pen and grey wash, 230 × 296 mm (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana).

*Abecedario*: '... le défaut de maistre Etienne estoit de maniérer ce qu'il faisoit, d'où vient qu'il est presque impossible de reconnoistre les maistres inventeurs des pièces où il a négligé de mettre leurs noms'.<sup>22</sup>

Indeed, given that De Bry doesn't seem to have felt any need to name the authors from whom he adapted whole compositions to his own purpose, it seems highly unlikely that he should have cared to acknowledge the sources for particular figures he took from other artists. At first sight, it appears quite obvious that De Bry could have borrowed from the prints of Delaune

in the first place. Delaune's influence, however, should not be overestimated, given that De Bry was already relatively old when he met Delaune for the first time, in 1573, at Strasbourg, where both had sought asylum from religious persecution.<sup>23</sup> And indeed, although the style of Delaune's ornamental frames may have made some impression on De Bry, a stylistic comparison of the works of the two masters casts serious doubt on the expectation of any further influence, since their idioms do not seem to be compatible at all: while Delaune has a predilection for small, but detailed compositions

22. P.-J. Mariette, *Abecedario et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes*, Paris 1854/56, III, p. 79. J.-P. Duviols, 'Théodore de Bry et ses modèles français', *Caravelle – Cahiers du monde hispanique et luso-brésilien*, no. 58, 1992, p. 8 claims that De Bry was trained by Albrecht Dürer.

23. The Huguenot Delaune, born in 1518–19 at Milan, escaped from the St Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1573 and took refuge at Strasbourg, where he was granted asylum for one year. Nevertheless, he stayed only four months at Strasbourg before travelling to other cities, including Augsburg. His later stay at Strasbourg can be pinpointed only by two dates: the years 1577 (when he had prolonged his residence permit at Strasbourg)

and 1580 (an inscription on one of his prints). When he met Delaune in 1573, De Bry was already 45 years old. His oldest son, Johann Theodor, however, is said to have been trained by Delaune. For the biographical details concerning Delaune see Robert-Dumesnil, *Le Peintre-graveur français*, Paris 1865, IX, p. 16ff.; G. A. Wanklyn, 'La Vie et la carrière d'Étienne Delaune à la lumière de nouveaux documents', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (Année 1989), 1990, pp. 9–16; and *The Dictionary of Art*, VIII, p. 660. For De Bry see Lorant, *op. cit.*, p. 30f., the bibliographical indications furnished by Bucher, *op. cit.*, p. 191, n. 6 and Sievernich, *op. cit.*, p. 436, as well as Hutchison, *op. cit.*, p. 62.



54. Theodor De Bry, *Punishment of the Spaniards*, 1594, engraving, 165 × 199 mm (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek).



where tall and tiny figures are scattered around in a perspectively highly developed space,<sup>24</sup> De Bry prefers clearly structured large-scale compositions, which, in spite of their boldness in details, are easy to survey, and which remain strangely flat. Hence, no wonder that it has not been hitherto demonstrable that De Bry borrowed scenes or figures from Delaune: although already thematically close, even Delaune's engraving with a 'Battle of Indians' (from his series 'Combats et triomphes', fig. 65)<sup>25</sup> seems to have left no concrete trace in De Bry's work: if compared to one of the massacre scenes in volume IV of the *America* series (fig. 63),<sup>26</sup> only the central figure in the engraving by Delaune shares some, if very vague, features with an Indian in the scene by De Bry, the figure ready to carry out a vigorous stroke with his weapon upon the monk on the left. Both are raising their weapons (each time apparently a *tacape*, a war club of the Tupinambà Indians)<sup>27</sup> above their heads, and both show their legs lifted in a dance-like attitude, but here the similarities end: while the Indian by De Bry has the leg nearest us raised, Delaune's lifts the opposite one; and whereas the Delaune Indian almost crouches while executing the stroke, De Bry depicts his in a less intense pose. Finally, Delaune depicts the Indian in profile while De Bry shows his rather in a twisted poise, with head and legs seen from the side but with his torso turned towards us.

To whom De Bry in fact turned for inspiration becomes clear when four of his prints in volume IV are considered more closely: for unlike Delaune, De Bry did not 'manipulate' his borrowings enough to make them unrecognizable. And since they sometimes do not quite fit aesthetically into the rest of the scene, they are discernable as quotations, or – reversing the lament of Mariette: 'il est possible de reconnoistre les maistres inventeurs où il a négligé de mettre leurs noms'. Considering the troubles De Bry had to face when illustrating this book, it is telling that these borrowings occur in almost directly neighbouring prints.

The first example presents a case where De Bry still worked from a quite poor model, one of the small woodcuts in the previous edition of Benzoni's *Historia*, which he intended to substitute with his own prints. Hence, his etching, showing a scene of Indians pun-



55. Anonymous Artist, *Punishment of the Spaniards*, 1565, woodcut, 65 × 80 mm (Genoa, Biblioteca del Convento di Sant'Anna).



56. Pierre Vase, *Punishment of Crassus*, 1555, woodcut, 43 × 57 mm (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek).

ishing the goldthirsty Spanish conquerors by pouring molten gold into their mouths (fig. 54),<sup>28</sup> not only elaborates the older, coarser composition in the edition of

24. See, for example, his prints from a Genesis-Cycle or from the *Labours of the Months*, published in *The French Renaissance in Prints from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, exh. cat., Los Angeles, New York and Paris 1994–95, p. 352ff., nos. 102–109.

25. For this series of twelve engravings see Robert-Dumesnil, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–89, nos. 281–92; for the *Indian Battle* see esp. no. 287, captioned there as 'Mélée d'hommes nus'.

26. *America*, Book IV, no. 16; see also n. 52 below.

27. For these arms see the article 'Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach' by J. M. Massing, in *Circa 1492—Art in the Age of Exploration*, ed. J. Levenson, exh. cat., Washington, D.C., 1991, pp. 514–20, esp. p. 516 and n. 17.

28. *America*, Book IV, no. 20.

Valboa wirffte etliche Indianer/ welche die schreckliche  
Sünd der Sodomen begangen/ den Hunden für sie zu zerreißen.

XXII:



**V**ALBOA auff derselben Reiß gegen den Bergen zu/ über-  
windet im Sireitt einen Königschen in der Insel Esquaragua/ vnd  
schlägt in sampt vielen Indianern zu todt: Darnach als er in ein Fleck  
kommen/ sibet des Königschen Bruder vnd etliche andere in Weib-  
licher Kleidung/ darob er sich sehr verwundert/ vnd forschet dieses Han-  
dels ein vrsach/ da wirdt er berichtet/ wie daß der Königscher/ welcher  
erschlagen/ vnd all sein Hoffgesind mit der schrecklichen Sünd wider die Natur vergiff-  
tet gewesen. Hier ab ist Valboa erschrocken/ daß dieses so gar abscheuliches Lastet zu die-  
sen Barbarischen Völcern kommen/ vnd befiehlt man solte sie alle die an der Zahl bey  
vierzig waren/ nemen/ vnd seinen Hunden die er pflegt mit sich zuführen/ furwerffen/  
auff daß sie sie zerreißen.<sup>22</sup> Cap.

§ iij Indianer



58. Hendrick Goltzius, *The Companions of Cadmus*, 1588, engraving, 242 × 310 mm (Haarlem, Teylers Museum).

1565 (fig. 55), but seems to draw on a similar representation in Pierre Coustau's moral emblem book *Pegma*, first published in a Latin edition in 1555 at Lyon (fig. 56).<sup>29</sup> There, the lesson '*Mors Una Beat Et Ditat*' ('Death alone makes one happy and rich') is exemplified by the fate of the triumvir Licinus Crassus Divus

who, following the reports by Cassius Dio and Lucius Annaeus Florus,<sup>30</sup> suffered a similar, if somewhat milder punishment: on his campaign against the Parthians, Crassus's enemies caught and slayed him, then triumphantly mocked his dead body by infusing it with molten gold.<sup>31</sup> But while in the accounts by both

<sup>29</sup> Petrus Costalius, *Pegma*, Lyon 1555; a French edition, entitled '*Pegme*' appeared in 1560 likewise at Lyon.

<sup>30</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, Book XL.27-3 (Loeb Classical Library, London 1969, pp. 446-47), and Lucius Annaeus Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, Book I. xlv.11 (Loeb Classical Library, London 1966, pp. 212-13); already here, this act is morally interpreted as a punishment of Crassus's thirst for gold.

<sup>31</sup> Following Florus, Crassus was first decapitated. Cassius Dio and Florus are ascribing a fate to Crassus that actually was not his: the triumvir was indeed killed during the war by the Parthian king Surenas, but it was Manius Aquilius who – according to

Pliny, *Natural History*, Book xxxiii.48 (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, 1961, pp. 40-41) and Appian, *Roman History*, Book xii: The Mithridatic Wars, iii.21 (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, 1972, pp. 276-77) – suffered execution by the infusion of liquid gold on behalf of King Mithridates. Cassius Dio and Florus adapted this story (already interpreted morally by Pliny) to the life of Crassus. See for this also the comment in A. Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata – Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1967, p. 1,180, n. 1.



59. Theodor De Bry, *Suicide of Indians*, 1594, engraving, 162 × 197 mm (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek).



60. Maarten Van Heemskerck, *Massacre of the Innocents*, 1551, etching and engraving, 296 × 852 mm (Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett).

Cassius Dio and Florus, Crassus is already dead when he is maltreated, the *Pegma* woodcut by Pierre Vase (or Eskrich)<sup>32</sup> shows him still alive when he is subjected to the cruel torture. The commentary text '*Dum petit Euphratem, fatis lachrymantibus, aurum/Quod sitiit Crassus, mortuus ille bibit*'<sup>33</sup> confirms this, and it is perhaps all these particular correspondences with the episode he was to illustrate in Benzoni's travel report that made De Bry turn to Coustau's emblem book. In both cases a moral lesson is drawn from the story of a soldier who is tortured to death by 'barbarians', who are nevertheless astute enough to think of a significant way to punish the blameable desires of the aggressor. It would not be surprising then, if De Bry, while illustrating the gruesome scene, should have benefited not only from the earlier print by Benzoni, but also from the woodcut by Vase. The composition there could have provided him with such ideas as, for example, the Spaniard surrounded by his torturers, or the gesture of awe and amazement in the watching soldier who leans on his lance in the woodcut by Vase, echoed by the Indian who stands by the head of the tortured Spaniard in the print by De Bry.<sup>34</sup>

Still another cruel punishment, this time, however, one carried out by the conquistador Balboa against Indians whom he charged with sodomy, is shown two prints later: greyhounds are set on the natives, who are, literally, torn and bitten into pieces by the fierce animals (fig. 57).<sup>35</sup> In representing this horrible scene,



61. Hendrick Goltzius, *The Blessed Welcomed into Heaven*, 1577, engraving, 260 mm diameter (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett).

32. For Pierre Vase-Eskrich see *Thieme-Becker*, xi, Leipzig 1915, p. 31f., and the introductory notes to the edition of the *Pegma* by S. Orgel: *The Philosophy of Images*, New York and London 1979.

33. 'On his campaign at the Euphrates, and under the tears of the fates, the dying Crassus drinks the gold for which he craved': Costalio 1555 (see n. 29 above), p. 165. The intended moral lesson is that the mercy of death ends even the insatiable desires of (already rich and) covetous people. The following commentary explains this by citing the story of Croesus. In the French edition, Crassus is only named in the title while the commentary, here kept more general, doesn't mention him at all.

34. Colin, *op. cit.*, p. 269 rightly stresses the fact that De Bry rearranged the figures furnished by the elder illustration.

35. *America*, Book iv, no. 22. In the scholarly literature on this print, its meaning is usually concealed. It is used, rather improperly, by W. P. Cumming, R. A. Skelton and D. Beers Quinn, *The Discovery of North America*, New York 1972, p. 136f., no. 148 as an illustration of the report of the contemporary chronicler, Oviedo, who tells of the Spanish practice of using greyhounds (called 'aperrear') in their war against the Indians. Since the depicted scene does not show a battle scene but a (though cruel and unjust) punishment, such an application seems doubtful. The same is true for the interpretation proposed by H. Frübis, *Die Wirklichkeit des Fremden – Die Darstellung der Neuen Welt im 16. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1995, p. 125 (the scene erroneously captioned as fig. 94 instead of 93): she associates the scene with the metaphor, used by Bartolomé de Las Casas in his *Brevissima*



62. Raphael Sadeler I, *The Blinding of the Sodomites*, 1583, engraving, 243 × 203 mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

watched by the apparently satisfied Spaniards in the background with shocking calmness, De Bry seems to be particularly fixed on the motif of the dogs biting the defenceless Indians in their heads. Like ghastly modulations of the group on the left, made up of the entwined bodies of a man and a dog crunching the face of its victim, two other Indians are damned to suffer a similar fate. The reason why De Bry was so fixed on this motif when creating the scene becomes understandable when his source is taken into consideration: for such gory details as the torn-off heads, lying in the middle and at the right of the scene, as well as for the bleakly gnawn-off bone between them, and above all for the group on the left, De Bry consulted the famous engraving by Hendrick Goltzius that reproduced the painting of *Cadmus* by Cornelisz. van Haarlem (fig. 58).<sup>36</sup> For the giant dragon that Cornelisz. shows attacking and devouring the companions of Cadmus, De Bry substitutes a greyhound, dispersing the gruesome remains of the former prey that Cornelisz. had shown as closely surrounding the bodies of the two victims. The chain of different poises and gestures in De Bry's representation thus appears to be a kind of variation on the main motifs furnished by Cornelisz. A similar technique is used for the figures and postures of the eight watching Spaniards in the background, which are also generated as variations on four basic types (in the case of the second spectator from the right, being repeated on the left, De Bry's procedure becomes especially obvious).<sup>37</sup> By developing a series of groups from these given elements, De Bry managed to create the essential parts of the illustration in a quite comfortable manner – and by a strange but lucky coincidence, Cornelisz.' composition even furnished the appropriate hairstyles for the 'sodomite'

natives: while the male Indians in volume IV generally wear their hair shorn in a monk-like tonsure (see figs. 54, 59 and 63: a detail, actually typical for the Tupinambà Indians, adapted from Léry's *Voyage to Brazil* and then generalized by De Bry to depict the 'Indian in general'<sup>38</sup>), De Bry here follows the traditional medieval type and shows the 'sodomites' with long curly hair.<sup>39</sup> Since the unlucky companions of Cadmus already show up with this hairstyle, he could even transfer them, almost unchanged, into his scene.

De Bry was not the only one fascinated by the rough and impressive brutality of Cornelisz.' composition: as already suggested above, De Bry shared use of the *Companions of Cadmus* print with Rubens. Like De Bry, Rubens took Goltzius's engraving as a basis for his representation of one sinner in his *Fall of the Damned* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek)<sup>40</sup> being violently assaulted and bitten by a devilish monster. But while De Bry also cited the original postures and stances of the *Companions of Cadmus* almost *verbatim*, Rubens refused to do so, showing instead only the variation he had imagined. Hence, the torso of the kneeling damned man in the lower right of the painting is nothing other than a front view of the main companion of Cadmus, originally seen from behind, now turned towards us and reversed.

Still, not all the models De Bry chose originally treated horrifying themes. On the contrary, he sometimes took figures out of an initially peaceful or even blissful context to arrange them into violent images. Such a practice can be observed, for example, in the print that directly follows the scene with Balboa's dogs. Showing the suicide of Indians, unable to bear any longer the Spanish tyranny (fig. 59),<sup>41</sup> the scene illustrates several of the desperate acts described in the

*relación* (1552) where he compared the Spaniards to a pack of fierce wolves falling upon the gentle Indian sheep. While the Protestant De Bry clearly shows his disdain for the ruthless cruelty of the Catholic *conquistadores* through most of his *America* publications, in this particular case his precise point of view remains obscure, since, even as a Protestant, he had to caption the slaughtered Indians as being 'poisoned' with the notorious 'awful sin against nature': sodomy.

36. National Gallery, London. A cleaning of the painting has revealed the remains of the signature and date ('*Cor Corneli . . . fecit Ao 1588*'), which suggests that both painting and engraving (dated also 1588 by an inscription) were executed in the same year. The doubts once raised against the authenticity of the painting by Neil MacLaren have since been settled in favour of it. Concerning the painting see N. MacLaren and C. Brown, *The National Gallery Catalogues – The Dutch School*, London 1991, I, p. 83f.; for both the painting and the engraving see J. L. McGee, *Cornelisz Corneliszoon Van Haarlem (1562–1638): Patrons, Friends and Dutch Humanists*, Nieuwkoop 1991, p. 272f. and p. 324. For the print see O. Hirschmann, *Hendrick Goltzius*, Leipzig 1919, p. 53f.; F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and*

*Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, v, Amsterdam 1951, p. 1, no. (4)/8, and VIII, p. 104; W. L. Strauss, *Hendrick Goltzius 1588–1617: The Complete Engravings and Woodcuts*, New York 1977, II, p. 452, no. 261, and *The Illustrated Bartsch*, III, p. 228, no. 262 (79).

37. For another, very instructive example of this repetitive pattern see the article by J. Forge, 'Naissance d'un image', pp. 105–25, esp. p. 110ff., in *L'Amérique de Théodore De Bry – Une collection de voyages protestante du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. M. Duchet, Paris 1987 (CNRS). For the similarity of the model, taken there from Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil* (1578), to a drawing by John White, see Hulton, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

38. See for this Bucher, *op. cit.*, p. 16f.

39. See for this Bucher, *ibid.*, p. 153.

40. Dated by M. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre de P. P. Rubens*, Antwerp 1886, I, p. 108 to c. 1614. However, in a letter (which Rooses also cites) from Philippe Rubens to Roger de Piles, the painting is dated to 1621. M. Jaffé, *Rubens – Catalogo Completo*, Milan 1989, pp. 247f., no. 528, compromises, dating it to c. 1619.

41. *America*, Book IV, no. 23. For the former, quite coarse illustration in the elder Benzoni edition see Caraci, *op. cit.*, p. 80: the scene could provide De Bry with only some very basic motifs.

accompanying text. At the left, as the text explains, a pregnant woman eats poisonous herbs in order to kill her foetus before committing suicide. Next to her, her dying fellow countrywoman is flanked by two already dead children, the arrangement strongly echoing a similar group in an engraving by Maarten van Heemskerck, dated 1551 and depicting the *Massacre of the Innocents* (fig. 60).<sup>42</sup> The odd appearance of the pregnant woman at the left, shown as she eats the noxious herbs, might be attributed to the fact that the print represents one of the examples where De Bry was quite unfortunate in adapting a given figure: why does she kneel in such an affected manner, looking heavenwards and gesticulating with her right hand into empty space? Again, Stradanus and Goltzius have to be named here, since De Bry borrowed the entire figure from an engraving by the latter after a sketch by the former (fig. 61).<sup>43</sup> There, the poise and look of the woman was legitimized by the fact that she, as one of the blessed welcomed into Heaven, is just about to be taken and carried away by an angel.

The same process of adopting an entire figure without properly adapting its expressive gesture to the intended scene can be observed again in the Indian at the right, apparently collapsing after having mortally injured himself, though at the same time curiously sheltering his face with his hands. Yet, this behaviour, here seemingly rather inappropriate, only becomes intelligible when considered in its original context, an

engraving by Raphael Sadeler I, where it illustrated the punitive effect of the *Blinding of the Sodomites* (fig. 62).<sup>44</sup> Given these hardly convincing adaptations, it takes only little to assume that also the Indian in the background, thrusting himself onto a spear and thus illustrating the account that some natives killed themselves with the help of sharp instruments, follows an only scarcely changed design: his spread legs, twisted body and the expressive gesture – one arm outstretched, the other contracted while holding the deadly weapon – looks strange, if not even somewhat awkward, and might hint that De Bry here, too, drew on a model, such as one of the sons in Baccio Bandinelli's relief of *Noah* (Florence, Bargello), who is, obviously, not killing himself, but simply throwing a curtain over his father's nakedness.<sup>45</sup>

It is De Bry's use of Mannerist figures that explains why these 'illustrations . . . very widely diffused the belief that America was peopled by a race barely distinguishable, physically, from the ancient Greeks'.<sup>46</sup> As Hugh Honour has stated: 'Les gravures que de Bry fit . . . sont exactes, au point de vue ethnographiques, dans le détails. . . Les figures gardent cependant les attitudes et les proportions des statues classiques',<sup>47</sup> and he tried to explain this kind of representation with the fact that 'at a time when the only accepted models for the depiction of the nude were antique statues, de Bry and the artists he employed could not have conceived the nude figure of an Indian in any other

42. For the Heemskerck print see *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700*, Maarten Van Heemskerck (Part II), Roosendaal 1994, p. 16, no. 305; the print is dated and inscribed 'Martin' MHemskerck iuentor DVCuerehert fecit 1551'. For Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert see *Thieme-Becker*, VII, Leipzig 1912, p. 367. While she did not especially emphasize this group, the whole scene for Frübis, *op. cit.*, p. 128 recalled a 'Massacre of the Innocents'.

43. For the engraving *The Blessed Received in Heaven* by Hendrik Goltzius after Giovanni Stradanus, dated 1577, see Strauss, *op. cit.*, I, p. 34f., no. 8, and Bartsch, *op. cit.*, III (formerly 3,1), p. 250, no. 283 (87). The dead child lying in front of the woman likewise seems to be inspired by an engraving by Goltzius: note first of all the position of the dead baby's feet in his composition of *The Judgment of Solomon*. The ever-economical De Bry adopted virtually the same arrangement a second time in the 'suicide' scene, where he used it in the left background for the representation of a dead adult. For Goltzius's *Solomon* print see Bartsch, III, (formerly 3,1), p. 76, no. 76 (31).

44. For this scene of the *Blinding of the Sodomites* (Gen. 19: 11), part 5 of a cycle of six prints, all dated 1583 and representing episodes from the Old Testament, see *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, XXI, ed. K. G. Boon, Amsterdam 1980, p. 214, no. (5) and XXII, p. 184, no. (5). The print is inscribed 'Nicolas de Hoey iuentor, Raphael Sadler f. et excud.' For Nicolas de

Hoey see *Thieme-Becker*, Leipzig 1924, XVII, p. 233.

45. Since the poses of Bandinelli's figure and De Bry's suicide do not match properly, De Bry perhaps consulted another source, which, however – given Bandinelli's predilection for this particular pose – has to be searched for within the sculptor's circle. In fact, a similar pose also appears in the background of a painting showing *Leda and the Swan*, likewise attributed to Bandinelli and dated to c. 1516-17 (whereabouts today unknown; recorded for the last time in the sale of its previous owner, Robert Nevin, at Rome; old photograph in the Witt Library), as well as in a preparatory drawing in the British Museum. Furthermore, it can be detected in an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi, showing Bandinelli's composition of a 'Massacre of the Innocents' (see *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXVI: *The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of his School*, ed. K. Oberhuber, New York 1978, p. 33). For the Bandinelli relief in the Bargello, Florence, see J. Poeschke, *Die Skulptur der Renaissance in Italien*, II: *Michelangelo und seine Zeit*, Munich 1992, p. 177f., no. 186, where it is dated to c. 1555-60. For the painting and the related drawing see P. Pouncey, 'Di alcuni disegni del Bandinelli e di un suo dipinto smarrito', *Bollettino d'Arte*, XLVI, 1961, pp. 323-25 and R. Ward, *Baccio Bandinelli – Drawings from British Collections*, exh. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge 1988, p. 32f., no. 13.

46. Honour, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 73.



63. Theodor De Bry, *Massacre of Franciscans*, 1594, engraving, 162 × 200 mm (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek).

way'.<sup>48</sup> As we can now recognize that De Bry borrowed figures from Mannerist artists such as Bandinelli, Cornelisz., Goltzius, Sadeler and Stradanus, however, it seems far more likely that the easier accessible engravings, rather than antique statues were responsible for this 'Greek' body esthetic<sup>49</sup> – and the above shown case of the pregnant suicidal woman (fig. 59) here even furnishes a very concrete

example, since her pose could easily be mistaken for a derivation from an antique sculpture of a *Crouching Venus*.<sup>50</sup>

As already mentioned, De Bry arranged figures he had taken out of a peaceful and even blessed context into images of violence and death: one of Noah's sons becomes a suicide, and – even worse – a redeemed woman turns into a poisoner, desperately procuring

48. *Ibid.*, p. 77; the same opinion is voiced by W. Neuber, *Fremde Welt in europäischem Horizont*, Berlin 1991, p. 250.

49. For Bitterli, *op. cit.*, p. 363 De Bry's figures reflect the style of the High Renaissance ('atmen den Geist der Hochrenaissance'), while Bucher, *op. cit.*, p. 32 compares the figures to 'an artist's anatomy plates, which can be found in the painting and scul-

ture of that time'.

50. See, for example, the statues cited by F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, New Haven and London 1981, p. 321f., no. 86 and P. Pray Bober and R. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: a Handbook of Sources*, London 1986, p. 62ff., no. 18f.



abortion. This tendency finds its extreme culmination in the scene of a massacre of friars and Spaniards (fig. 63), which precedes the hitherto discussed prints.<sup>51</sup> In the centre of this representation, two Franciscans are awaiting their martyrdom during an Indian attack, one still vainly trying to defend himself against a deadly stroke, the other with widespread arms calmly waiting to be slain or shot.<sup>52</sup> It is this figure, with its devout expression and its face turned heavenwards, that strikes the eye amidst a scene full of violence and death, and once again, its bearing actually turns out to derive from a totally different context: in two etchings by Federico Barocci (fig. 64) the figure of St Francis is not witnessing slaughter and death but the blissful vision of Jesus, the Virgin Mary and St Nicholas (telling him the acceptance of his desire by Pope Honorius III to personally exercise indulgence). Comparing both prints, one dated 1581 by an inscription and reproducing Barocci's painting of *Il Perdono* (Urbino, S. Francesco),<sup>53</sup> the other datable to around



64. Federico Barocci, *Il Perdono*, 1581, engraving, 535 × 325 mm (Bologna, Pinacoteca delle Stampe, inv. P.N. 1216).

51. *America*, Book iv, no. 16. Concerning the historical background see the brief caption in Cumming *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 136, no. 150.
52. The spatial relations between the protagonists in this print are slightly confusing: while it is clear that the friar on the right will be slain by the vigorous stroke of the Indian standing in front of him, it remains unclear at whom the archer on the left, behind this group, is aiming. The friar on the left, whose arm covers a part of the bow, seems to stand out of the line of fire; if the archer on the other hand tries to kill the kneeling Spaniard on the left, already wounded by an arrow, he will only be able to hit the Indian preparing the deadly stroke on the friar on the left.
53. For the print see Bartsch, xxxiv, p. 12, no. 4 (4); concerning both the painting and the engraving see H. Olsen, *Federico Barocci*, Copenhagen 1962, p. 159f., no. 27, and A. Emiliani, *Federico Barocci (Urbino 1535-1612)*, Bologna 1985, pp. 104-17.



65. Etienne Delaune, *Battle of Indians*, engraving, 220 × 67 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale).

1575 and representing the *Stigmatization of St Francis*,<sup>54</sup> it is even possible to discern which of these two engravings exactly served De Bry's needs. Since he shows his friar not as bald-headed as the St Francis of the *Stigmatization*, and since he had to renounce his stigma, it becomes evident that he turned to the *Perdono*, whose protagonist he accepted completely unchanged. And again, as in the case of the *Cadmus*, he not only borrowed the appearance of an entire figure, but, further, he used this as a basis for the creation of a second figure. Hence, the friar lying on his back, vainly trying to protect himself against the menacing stroke, apparently was shaped after the prototype furnished by Barocci's St Francis – a source that is still traceable in the strange and conspicuous manner in which the two figures elegantly join the middle- and ring-fingers of their outstretched hands.

But why all these precise citations? And how can it be explained that De Bry, usually a skilled engraver, here chose figures with striking and even sometimes conspicuous gestures that he could only insert in his compositions in quite a clumsy and awkward manner? Did he do so in order to emphasize these citations? Here, the distinction between his use and the usual and recommended academic workshop practice,<sup>55</sup> developed by Werner Busch on the example of Hogarth and Wright of Derby,<sup>56</sup> seems to apply: while the latter practice, following Busch, is defined by the procedure of using successful classical models brought from the Christian iconographic tradition into a new pictorial context<sup>57</sup> without being troubled by their contents,<sup>58</sup> in De Bry's case the real sense of the use of

these models is only discovered when the relation between the original sense and the new context of its use is considered. An art-historical way of looking and a historical way of arguing is hence required of the viewer.<sup>59</sup>

Given De Bry's abhorrence for Catholicism,<sup>60</sup> it is very tempting to speculate about his motives to methodically take figures of blessed souls and venerable saints from their sacred context so as to rearrange them into gory scenarios where they are either committing suicide or being killed. It was hardly his aim to just depreciate the sanctities and reverent values of the Catholic church by this means, but perhaps he wanted to denounce the crimes committed by the Catholics by transferring and blending their saints and characters exactly into the massacres their adherents and believers had caused during their Mission in the name of the Christian God.

But, given the fact that probably only a limited number of readers would have been able to recognize and decipher this hidden message,<sup>61</sup> his motives might equally be ascribed to artistic preoccupations.<sup>62</sup> Thus, perhaps both these motives, his Calvinist, anti-Catholic message, and his artistic needs and ambitions, conjoined to form an inseparable complex: choosing figures out of a Catholic and Counter-reformist context and putting them into scenes that were intended to denounce Catholic crimes would thus not only be justified by the fact that De Bry – given the sparse illustrations furnished by the preceding edition by Benzoni – had to rely on already finished figures, ready for use. But since he illustrated

54. For this engraving see Bartsch, xxxiv, p. 11, no. 3 (3) and D. DeGrazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family*, Washington, D.C., 1979, p. 361, no. 221. For the date and the related sketch see Olsen, *op. cit.*, p. 160f., no. 28 and Emiliani, *op. cit.*, p. 118f. It is interesting to note that the above-mentioned workshop assistant of De Bry, Gisbert van Veen (see n. 9 above), not only is held to have been a pupil of Cornelisz. but also did engravings after Barocci.

55. W. Busch, *Joseph Wright of Derby: Das Experiment mit der Luftpumpe – Eine Heilige Allianz zwischen Wissenschaft und Religion*, Frankfurt am Main 1986 (Fischer kunststück-series), p. 42: 'Dabei ist dieses Vorgehen sorgfältig zu unterscheiden von dem üblichen und anempfohlenen akademischen Werkstattbrauch.' I am indebted to Martina Hansmann (Florence, Kunsthistorisches Institut) for directing my attention to Busch's studies.

56. See n. 55 above as well as W. Busch, *Nachahmung als bürgerliches Kunstprinzip – Ikonographische Zitate bei Hogarth und seiner Nachfolge* (Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, vii), Hildesheim and New York 1977, p. 46f.

57. Busch, *op. cit.* (1986), p. 42: 'gelungene klassische Formvorbilder auch der christlichen Bildtradition in neuem Bildkontext zu nutzen'.

58. *Ibid.*: 'es setzt sich nicht [. . .] auch mit dem Inhalt der übernommenen Figuration auseinander'.

59. *Ibid.*: 'In unserem Fall ergibt sich der eigentliche Sinn der Neuverwendung erst, wenn das Verhältnis von altem Sinn und neuem Verwendungszusammenhang reflektiert wird. Vom Betrachter wird damit kunsthistorische Betrachtungs- und historische Argumentationsweise gefordert'.

60. See for this the analysis of De Bry's selection and distorting emphasis of episodes, treating especially the crimes of the Catholic Spaniards, furnished by Bucher, *op. cit.*, p. 9f., Duviols, *op. cit.*, p. 8 and Frübis, *op. cit.*, p. 125ff. See also the biographical circumstances reported by Caraci, *op. cit.*, p. 15, Sievernich, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 and 436 and Hutchison, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

61. For De Bry's public (members of the European aristocracy, in particular members of the German courts such as those of Saxony and Hesse, as well as educated people, collectors, merchants and artisans), see Bucher, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

62. For the limited intelligibility of these 'hidden meanings' (as opposed to the 'plain literal sense') see also Busch, *op. cit.* (1977), p. 65 and Busch, *op. cit.* (1986), p. 57: 'der Leser, der bis hierhin gefolgt ist, [. . .] mag sich fragen, wer soll denn unter der Oberfläche empirisch genauer Darstellung den allzutief verdeckten Sinn überhaupt wahrnehmen'.

nothing else than Benzoni's report – a text so critical of the misdeeds of the Spanish Catholics that even today it has not been translated into Spanish,<sup>63</sup> – his orientation towards specifically Catholic stock images may have seemed all the more expedient.

In this way De Bry also appears to have created a visual pendant to the texts of Bartolomé de Las Casas, whose polemical treatise *Brevisima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (published for the first time in 1552)<sup>64</sup> De Bry not only would edit in 1598 in a Latin version, but also illustrate with 18 engravings.<sup>65</sup> This 'Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies', defamed by the enemies of Las Casas as being part of the so-called 'Leyenda negra' (Black Legend) – in their view a malevolent and distorting campaign against Spanish colonial politics – was in all probability also known to Girolamo Benzoni, whose *Historia* provided the text

for volume iv of De Bry's anthology. Given this interplay between Las Casas, Benzoni and De Bry,<sup>66</sup> it is no surprise that especially the engravings of book iv have become 'throughout centuries the most effective illustration of the Leyenda negra'.<sup>67</sup> Even though De Bry's sons – significantly – later saw the necessity to provide the re-editions of book iv with a foreword that attempted a reconciliation with Spanish readers,<sup>68</sup> indeed, not only De Bry's reproofing intentions, but also his work practice matched perfectly with the opinions of Las Casas, who, as a fierce critic of Spanish crimes, had proclaimed in 1550: 'And finally I say that till the Last Judgment, no infidel will be obliged to accept the Faith of Jesus Christ as long as the proclaimers of this Faith are warriors, murderers, robbers and tyrants'.<sup>69</sup>

63. Sievernich, *op. cit.*, p. 446, and Frübis, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

64. See the introductory commentary by Michael Sievernich SJ to the selected works by Bartolomé de Las Casas, ed. M. Delgado, Paderborn, Munich, Vienna and Zurich 1995, II, p. 29.

65. Camus, *op. cit.*, p. 27 (who was surprised that De Bry didn't integrate this report into his *America* series) and Sievernich, *op. cit.*, p. 453. Duviols, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–16 has indicated a mysterious set of watercolours at the William L. Clements Library of Ann Arbor, which, accompanied by a manuscript dated 1582, could have served (directly or indirectly) as a model for De Bry's 'Brevisima' illustrations (if they themselves are not discovered to be misdated copies after De Bry's engravings).

66. In the case of the dog scene (fig. 57), the suicide of the Indians (fig. 59) and the martyrdom of the monks (fig. 63), De Bry's Benzoni illustrations are even paralleled by several accounts by Las Casas in his *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*: see the translation ed. N. Griffin, Harmondsworth 1992, pp. 17 and 60 (dogs), p. 29f. (suicide) and p. 90 (monks).

67. Sievernich, *op. cit.*, p. 453 and I. Olivieri in her catalogue entry

in *Cristoforo Colombo*, II, p. 941. See also R. Carbia, *Historia de la leyenda negra hispanoamericana*, Buenos Aires 1943, who even claims – p. 81f. – that De Bry's publication marked the climax of the campaign of Dutch defamation against Spain. P. Chaunu, 'Las Casas et la première crise structurelle de la colonisation espagnole (1515–1523)', *Revue Historique*, CCXXIX, 1963, pp. 61–73 even thinks that this edition was inspired by the United Provinces to assure their clientele. Interestingly enough, Strauss, *op. cit.* (see note 36 above), II, p. 452, no. 261, suggested that, 'given the political situation at the time in the Low Countries', the dragon in Goltzius' *Cadmus* print (fig. 58) might symbolize Spain.

68. For this text see Sievernich, *op. cit.*, p. 150ff. Its moderate and even somewhat sympathetic tone is hardly compatible with the severe and critic attitude of De Bry himself who, for example in the preface to Book v from 1595, judges the Spaniards to be acting directly under the influence of the Devil.

69. Bartolomeo de Las Casas, *Disputa o controversia entre el Obispo y el doctor Ginés de Sepúlveda*, Barcelona 1646, translated here following a quotation by Frübis, *op. cit.*, p. 129.