Spring 2021

Jan van Kessel I. Catalogs and Painting: Redefining the Role of Animals in Seventeenth-Century Fish Landscapes.

Ana Borlas-Ivern
San Jose State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses

Recommended Citation

Borlas-Ivern, Ana, "Jan van Kessel I. Catalogs and Painting: Redefining the Role of Animals in Seventeenth-Century Fish Landscapes." (2021). *Master's Theses*. 5175.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.9bux-8w9d>
https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses/5175

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Master's Theses and Graduate Research at SJSU ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of SJSU ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@sjsu.edu.

JAN VAN KESSEL I. CATALOGS AND PAINTING: REDEFINING THE ROLE OF
ANIMALS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FISH LANDSCAPES

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Art and Art History

San José State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Ana GS Borlas-Ivern

May 2021

© 2021

Ana GS Borlas-Ivern

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

The Designated Thesis Committee Approves the Thesis Titled

JAN VAN KESSEL I. CATALOGS AND PAINTING: REDEFINING THE ROLE OF
ANIMALS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FISH LANDSCAPES

by

Ana GS Borlas-Ivern

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF ART AND ART HISTORY

SAN JOSÉ STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2021

Dr. Anne Simonson	Department of Art and Art History
Dr. Christy Junkerman	Department of Art and Art History
Dr. Josine Smits	Department of Art and Art History

ABSTRACT

JAN VAN KESSEL I. CATALOGS AND PAINTING: REDEFINING THE ROLE OF ANIMALS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FISH LANDSCAPES

by Ana GS Borlas-Ivern

Images of animals were produced in abundance in the Low Countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Animals appeared in prints, the pages of natural history catalogs, and the backgrounds of paintings, eventually emerging in their own right as a primary subject in painting. This thesis begins by examining the economic circumstances that converged in sixteenth-century Antwerp to give way to this development. It then traces the legacy of the animal genre in the seventeenth century through five fish landscape paintings that Antwerp painter Jan van Kessel I (1626-1679) completed in the 1660s. This study argues that van Kessel redefined the traditional ways in which animals were depicted, adopting techniques from the seventeenth-century painting methods of presenting the human body. Furthermore, as van Kessel's animal paintings were done on small-format copper or wood panels and sold in multiples, this thesis investigates how van Kessel arranged his now disassembled serial paintings.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my committee for their advice and seeing me through this long but meaningful process. Thank you Dr. Anne Simonson for helping me refine my topic through many drafts; Dr. Christy Junkerman for stressing the importance of deliberate writing; and Dr. Josine Smits for her interest in my thesis. I am so appreciative for all the years of guidance.

Thank you to my parents, Mary Singh and George Borlas. I could not have gotten this far without your support and encouragement. My time at SJSU was so much richer with my friends, especially LST and Lauren Montana. Thank you both for your friendship.

And finally, I want to acknowledge the help of my husband, Ignacio Fernández Ivern. Thank you for your compassion and understanding throughout this process. You have generously given your time and effort in proofing, editing, and listening to my ideas, and for that I am grateful.

I dedicate my thesis to all animals, the ones I have known and loved, and the ones who I have not had the privilege of meeting.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	vii
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2 Literature Review.....	11
Chapter 3 Specialization of Subject Matter in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp.....	24
Chapter 4 The Development of the Fish-in-Landscape Type and The Use of Landscapes in Relation to the Depiction of Animals.....	41
Chapter 5 Jan van Kessel's Fish-in-Landscapes.....	69
Analysis of the Five Paintings.....	72
<i>Antwerp</i>	72
<i>Athene</i>	77
<i>Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays</i>	80
<i>Seascape with Barbel</i>	83
<i>Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice</i>	88
Conclusion.....	93
Bibliography.....	96

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	Jan van Kessel I. <i>Antwerp from Europe, Four Parts of the World</i> . 1664- 1666. Oil on copper.....	3, 73
Figure 2.	Jan van Kessel I. <i>Athene from Asia, Four Parts of the World</i> . 1664-1666. Oil on copper.....	3, 79
Figure 3.	Jan van Kessel I. <i>Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays</i> . c. 1661-1664. Oil on copper.....	4, 80
Figure 4.	Jan van Kessel I. <i>Seascape with Barbel</i> . 1661. Oil on copper.....	4, 84
Figure 5.	Jan van Kessel I. <i>Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice</i> . 1660-1665. Oil on oak panel.....	5, 89
Figure 6.	Pieter van der Heyden, engraving after a drawing by Pieter Bruegel I. <i>Big Fish Eat Little Fish</i> . 1556/7. Engraving.....	45
Figure 7.	The Museum of Ole Worm, Copenhagen. 1655. Engraving.....	49
Figure 8.	Adriaen Coenensz van Schilperoort. Page from <i>Visboeck</i> . 1577-1580. Hand painted.....	53
Figure 9.	Adriaen Collaert. Print from <i>Piscium Vivae Icones</i> . c. 1570-1580. Copperplate print.....	54
Figure 10.	Joris Hoefnagel. <i>Four Elements, Animalia Aquatilia et Conchiliata (Aqva)</i> , Plate XXXII. c. 1575-1582. Watercolor and gouache on vellum.....	56
Figure 11.	Jan Brueghel I. <i>Ceres and the Four Elements</i> . 1604. Oil on copper.....	58
Figure 12.	Jan Brueghel I. <i>Allegory of Water</i> . Late Sixteenth-Early Seventeenth Century. Oil on wood.....	58
Figure 13.	Willem Ormea. <i>Still Life with Fish</i> . 1638. Oil on panel.....	60
Figure 14.	Workshop of Joachim Patinir. <i>Landscape with the Temptation of St. Antony</i> . c. 1510-1520. Oil on panel.....	62
Figure 15.	Jan Brueghel I. <i>The Entry of Animals into Noah's Ark</i> . 1613. Oil on panel.....	63

Figure 16.	Jan Brueghel I. <i>Earthly Paradise</i> . 1607-1608. Oil on copper.....	64
Figure 17.	Joris Hoefnagel. <i>Four Elements, Animalia Aquatilia et Conchiliata (Aqva)</i> , Plate LIII. c. 1575-1582. Watercolor and gouache on vellum.....	66
Figure 18.	Pieter Bruegel I. <i>Fall of Icarus</i> . c. 1560. Oil on canvas.....	68
Figure 19.	Species Identification Diagram for <i>Antwerp</i> panel.....	74
Figure 20.	Frans Hogenberg, Simon Novellanus, Joris Hoefnagel, Cornelius Caymox. <i>Anverpia</i> from <i>Braun and Hogenberg's Civitates Orbis Terrarum</i> . 1572-1594. Hand-colored etching.....	77
Figure 21.	Species Identification Diagram for <i>Athene</i> panel.....	79
Figure 22.	Species Identification Diagram for <i>Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays</i>	81
Figure 23.	Species Identification Diagram for <i>Seascape with Barbel</i>	84
Figure 24.	Species Identification Diagram for <i>Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice</i>	90

Chapter 1

Introduction

The realms of natural history and painting were in dialog in the seventeenth century, producing a vast stock of animal imagery. Natural historians compiled all known species-- exotic, local, and even fantastical-- into animal catalogs. Painters began to specialize in subjects, and some of them dedicated the majority of their career to painting animals, an expertise previously unseen in Netherlandish art history. The interplay between art and natural history is clearly evident in the fish landscapes of Antwerp painter Jan van Kessel I (1626-1679). In the 1660s, he completed five small panels of fish laid out on a shore: *Antwerp* (1664-1666), *Athene* (1664-1666), *Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays* (c. 1661-1664), *Seascape with Barbel* (1661), and *Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice* (1660-1665) (Figures 1-5).¹ The display of the fish speaks to the discipline of

¹ General descriptive titles are given to van Kessel's fish paintings, many of which share similar names such as, "Fish on a Shore" or "Seashore with Fish." To avoid confusion, I refer to three of the paintings by the largest animal species in the paintings. The exceptions are the *Antwerp* and *Athene* panels.

Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays, also known as *Fish* (title from Art Resource), *Marina con Pesci* (Trans. *Marina with Fish*, title from the Uffizi Gallery's digital archives), *Meeresgetier am Strand* (Trans. *Marine Animals on a Beach*, title from Ertz, Klaus and Christa Nitze-Ertz. *Jan van Kessel der Altere 1626-1679; Jan van Kessel der Jungere 1654-1708; Jan van Kessel der 'Andere' ca. 1620- ca. 1661: kritische Kataloge der Gemalde*. Lingen: Luca Verlag, 2012. catalog number 289.)

Seascape with Barbel, also known as *Still Life with Fish and Sea Animals in a Coastal Landscape* (title from the Städel Museum digital collection), *Still Life with Fish and Marine Life on a Coastline* (title from Art Resource), *Fish on the Shore of an Estuary* (title from Helmus, Liesbeth M., ed. *Fish. Still life's by Dutch and Flemish Masters 1550-1700*. Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2004.), and *Kunstenlandschaft mit Meeresgetier* (Trans. *Artistic Landscape with Marine Animals*, title from Ertz and Nitze-Ertz. *Jan van Kessel der Altere 1626-1679*. Catalog number 268.)

natural history and their methods of presenting a specimen. However, while placed out of water, the fish are still strikingly rendered, full of expression and movement. Until the twenty-first century, art historians had categorized van Kessel as merely tangential to the Breughel painterly tradition.² More recent scholarship has pointed to the connection between van Kessel's work and the visual elements of both cabinets of curiosities and natural history catalogues. My research takes this further, positing that van Kessel built on those traditions by combining the techniques of natural history catalogues with painterly practices of displaying bodies, bridging the gap between his sixteenth-century predecessors and the tastes of the seventeenth-century art market.

Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice, also known as *Sea Fish on the Shore* (title from Helmus, Liesbeth M., ed. *Fish. Still life's by Dutch and Flemish Masters 1550-1700*. Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2004).

² Van Kessel's relation to the Brueghel family is explained in the first paragraph of the literature review. For more information on the Brueghel/Bruegel spelling, see footnote 9.

Figure 1. Jan van Kessel I. *Antwerp* from *Europe, Four Parts of the World*. 1664-1666. Oil on copper. 14.5 x 21 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich. Reprinted with permission from Art Resource.

Figure 2. *Athene* from *Asia, Four Parts of the World*. 1664-1666. Oil on copper. 14.5 x 21 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich. Reprinted with permission from Art Resource.

Figure 3. Jan van Kessel I. *Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays*. c. 1661-1664. Oil on copper. 18 x 28 cm. Uffizi Gallery Collection, Florence. Reprinted with permission from Art Resource.

Figure 4. Jan van Kessel I. *Seascape with Barbel*. 1661. Oil on copper. 20.1 x 30.1 cm. Städel Museum, Frankfurt. Reprinted with permission from Art Resource.

Figure 5. Jan van Kessel I. *Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice*. 1661. Oil on wood. 24 x 32.4 cm. Private Collection. Source: Sotheby's London. This image is in the public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jan_van_Kessel_de_Oude_-_Stilleven_met_schaal-en_schelpdieren.jpg

Van Kessel completed 726 known paintings dated between 1648 and 1678.³ He had considerable range in his subject matter, from human figures in allegories to portraits on larger canvases to the subjects of flora and fauna. He specialized in still lifes of flowers, fruits, and vegetables, garlands, insect specimen paintings, and animals in landscapes. His oeuvre mainly consisted of these animal paintings, of which there are over three hundred. Most of his works are small in scale, and are oil on either copper plates or wood panel.

³ The number 726 is taken from the Ertz and Nitze-Ertz *catalogue raisonné*. Nadia Baadj counts over five-hundred paintings in her data collection as of 2016. See Ertz, Klaus and Christa Nitze-Ertz. *Jan van Kessel der Altere 1626-1679; Jan van Kessel der Jungere 1654-1708; Jan van Kessel der 'Andere' ca. 1620- ca. 1661: kritische Kataloge der Gemalde*. Lingen: Luca Verlag, 2012; and Nadia Baadj, *Jan van Kessel I (1626-79) Crafting a Natural History of Art in Early Modern Antwerp* (Belgium: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2016), 23.

Van Kessel sold these paintings in groups known as serial paintings. The individual plates or panels were set in a wooden frame, similar in appearance to an art cabinet.⁴ Many of the sets have been disassembled and are displayed individually in museums, including the Städel Museum in Frankfurt, the Prado Museum in Madrid, the Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, the State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, and the Alte Pinakothek in Munich.

I discuss these five paintings both as individual paintings and as interconnected. One of the aims of this thesis is considering how van Kessel organized his serial paintings. Many of his paintings were once grouped, and we can look at van Kessel's individual panels and find evidence as to how they were originally combined. As he produced a number of fish landscapes, these five are chosen as typical examples of his compositions, and of how his paintings could have been displayed together. He repeated a number of species in his fish-in-landscapes: sturgeon, cuttlefish, thornback ray, cuttlefish, cod, barbel, and plaice. I will be focusing on the reoccurring patterns of the sturgeon, thornback ray, and cuttlefish, and their relationship within grouped painting sets. He implements an anatomical-views technique that is closely associated with illustration

⁴ Art cabinets, or *kunstkasten*, are wooden drawers for storing collections that had paintings adorning its facade. They originated, were manufactured, and exported in Antwerp. Baadj dedicates an entire chapter of her book to comparing the similarities between the physical characteristics of the Antwerp art cabinets and van Kessel's Four Parts of the World. See: Baadj, Nadia. "The Four Parts of the World: Pictures of/as Collections." *In Jan van Kessel I (1626-79) Crafting a Natural History of Art in Early Modern Antwerp*, 119-156. Belgium: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2016; and Baad, Nadia. "A world of materials in a cabinet without drawers: Reframing Jan van Kessel's 'Four parts of the world'." *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, Vol. 62. (2012): 202-237. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43883876>.

techniques found in natural history catalogs.⁵ This technique is evident in several of his fish landscapes, and I will be using *Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays* as the main example. The *Antwerp* and *Athene* panels are part of an intact group, and serve as an example of set pairings. The two panels are still assembled in their original series *The Four Parts of the World*, and are linked by their placement within their frames and by the manner of display of the sturgeon found in both paintings. Finally, *Seascape with Barbel* and *Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice* are two individual paintings that I speculate could have been serial pairings.

As van Kessel's fish landscapes are rooted in an early pictorial type designed to appeal to purchasers, I begin my inquiry in the art market of sixteenth-century Antwerp.⁶ Chapter two investigates the economic circumstances that gave way to a prolific period of animal painting. The city was a global commercial center, active in trade and prosperous in its luxury market.⁷ This was a richly productive and experimental period

⁵ Zoology as its own formal area of study arose in the eighteenth century and developed rapidly in the nineteenth century, namely with the development of evolutionary theory. The study of the animal kingdom can be traced back to antiquity, e.g. Aristotle's *History of Animals* and Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*. Research into the animal kingdom was continued in the Medieval period, albeit slower. Empiricism pushed the growth of natural history in the early modern period, where the study of animals was attached to the inquiry into nature.

⁶ Antwerp is a city in the southern Netherlands that was part of the Seventeen Provinces—a group of imperial states that existed from 1482 to 1581. During this time, the Seventeen Provinces were under the rule of Habsburg Spain. These Seventeen Provinces can be placed in modern-day Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg. After the secession of the seven northern provinces in 1581, the territories that remained under Spanish control became known as the Spanish Netherlands; this included Antwerp. The Habsburgs retained control of the Southern Netherlands until 1714.

⁷ Antwerp's trading industry was based on prime geographical position. The city is located on the Scheldt River estuary and is further inland than other North Sea ports, connecting it to central Europe. An estuary is the topographical transition from open sea

for Antwerp painters. The market attracted artists for work, encouraging an increase of art production. As a result of the high demand, working painters developed a specialization of subject matter. I therefore connect this economic surge to the flood of animal paintings created in the late sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. While the painting practices that artists and natural historians established during this period undoubtedly informed van Kessel's choice of subject matter, he worked after the collapse of the open art market.⁸ The buyers of art shifted, and van Kessel negotiated between a sixteenth-century painting practice and the taste of buyers in the seventeenth century. He conceived a painting formula that met the demands—his seascapes are foremost a traditional Netherlandish landscape, but they also possess an awareness of the contemporary trends in seventeenth-century aesthetics as related to natural history.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the discipline of natural history developed rapidly alongside the growth of empiricism, becoming a focal point of study

to the river; in this case, the North Sea feeds into the Scheldt River, giving ships an advantageous access in and out of this commercial route. Along with the Scheldt River, the Meuse and Rhine rivers conglomerate in the Duchy of Brabant, the County of Flanders, and the County of Holland, forming the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt Delta. The waterways connect and branch out east, which allow for navigable routes into central Europe, particularly into otherwise landlocked areas.

⁸ By the end of the sixteenth century, Antwerp's economic situation quickly deteriorated when the city was retaken by the Spanish and closed off from its primary outlet to the sea, the Scheldt River, for strategic reasons related to the Dutch Revolt. The closure hindered much of the trade in the city and many merchants and artisans moved elsewhere, causing a decline in commercial activity. The circulation of art was restructured, and luxuries were no longer in demand, making art production stagnant till the early seventeenth century with the sovereign reign of Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566-1633) and Albert VII of Austria (1559-1621) and their Catholic Counter-Reformation efforts. Studios were active again by the seventeenth century through the commissions of the Spanish government and Catholic church, as they rebuilt the churches fallen in the sackings of the 1570s and 1580s.

around which thinkers and the elite converged. The inquiry into nature sparked a collecting fervor amongst upper-class *burghers* of Antwerp, who commissioned plant and animal paintings for collections, as a way of showing that they were participating in this early scientific movement, consequently increasing their status. In chapter three, I trace the origins of the fish-in-landscape type through natural history catalogs, prints, and paintings—the visual mediums where fish were depicted. The exchange of visual information concerning animals flowed amongst these three fields. Through the commonality of fish landscapes, I consider how painting, prints, and natural history intertwined and how they converged or differed in terms of their aims.

In chapter four I examine van Kessel's five fish landscape paintings, going from analyses of the individual paintings to establishing broader connections among the five. My analysis investigates the techniques van Kessel employed to replicate the effect of an animal catalog in framed serial paintings. Further, I consider how van Kessel subverts the idea of his fish as specimens by employing a sense of characterization. The cod, barbel, and plaice are van Kessel's most expressive animals and will be discussed in each individual painting. He drew mostly from visual sources, e.g. studies from his predecessors, paintings, catalogs and books, and maps. His redefinition of animal figures lies in his approach to them as individualized figures. The fish possess an emotional aspect, as conveyed by their facial expressions, a characteristic of seventeenth-century human figures in painting. In this sense, the fish straddle the line between specimens for study and figures in a narrative. Van Kessel innovates the scientific approach to

illustrating animals by imbuing them with dramatic expression in their face and movement.

The provenance of the five paintings is sparsely documented. *Seascape with Barbel* (1661) has been at the Städel Museum in Frankfurt since 1991. *Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice* (1660-1665) is in a private collection after being sold by Sotheby's in 2011. Prior to the auction, the painting was at the Palais des Beaux Arts in Brussels before arriving at the P. De Boer Art Gallery in Amsterdam for an undetermined amount of time. *Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays* (c. 1661-1664) is currently in the collection of the Uffizi Gallery, and was held in the Pitti Palace in Florence for some time. The painting was likely owned by Cosimo III de' Medici (1642-1723). The circumstances of his acquisition are unclear, but Cosimo did visit the Low Countries between 1667 and 1668. The painting seems to have had an uninterrupted place in the collection since the seventeenth century. While the other three paintings are individual panels separated from their original sets, the final two, *Antwerp* and *Athene*, are panels still in their original wood grid-framed series, the *Four Parts of the World*. Van Kessel painted two *Four Parts of the World* series: the Madrid series (1660) located in the Prado Museum and the Munich series (1664-1666) in the Alte Pinakothek. I will be looking at the *Antwerp* panel in *Europe* and the *Athene* panel in *Asia* from the Alte Pinakothek. The exact date the Alte Pinakothek acquired the series is unknown, but it is estimated to be in the nineteenth century, when it was moved from the Mannheim Gallery.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The course of van Kessel's career was undoubtedly shaped by his family's concentrated trade in painting, as both the paternal and maternal sides of his family included painters. His artistic lineage spans the course of three centuries, continuing after van Kessel's death. His great-grandfather, grandfather, father, and uncles are part of the Brueghel family from Antwerp who were pioneers of the Netherlandish genre painting tradition, specializing in animals, landscapes, and still lifes. Pieter Bruegel I (c. 1525-1569), a painter and printmaker who specialized in landscapes and town scenes, is considered the head of the Brueghel dynasty.⁹ He had two sons who were painters: Pieter Brueghel II (1564-1638), who capitalized on his father's success and well-known style, and Jan Brueghel I (1568-1625), who was a landscape, flower, and animal painter. Van Kessel's father was Hieronymus van Kessel (1538-1636), a portrait and animal painter, and his mother was Paschasia Brueghel, daughter of Jan Brueghel I.¹⁰ Hieronymus was registered as a master painter with the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke,¹¹ but worked as an

⁹ Pieter Bruegel I is also known as Pieter Bruegel the Elder. I choose the "I" and "II" format to describe "the Elder" and "the Younger." Spellings alternate between Bruegel and Brueghel. In 1616, Pieter II changed the spelling of his last name from "Bruegel" to "Brueghel" (and subsequently his signature). Pieter Bruegel I will be spelled as such, but when referring to the family, I will use "Brueghel." As van Kessel is more closely associated with Jan Brueghel I, I use his spelling.

¹⁰ Nadia Baadj, *Jan van Kessel I (1626-79) Crafting a Natural History of Art in Early Modern Antwerp* (Belgium: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2016), 46.

¹¹ F. Jos. Van Den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool* (Antwerpen: Buschmann, 1883), 1097-1098.

The Antwerp Guild of St. Luke was the largest and most prestigious guild in the Low Countries, which was established in the fourteenth century and existed till the eighteenth century.

accessory painter in the Jan Brueghel I workshop, specializing in animal and bird figures.¹² While guilds are associated with the professional organization of trades and the standardization of the production of goods, they oftentimes had social, religious, or political obligations for their members. A painter networking in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Antwerp was not limited to the guilds; connections were also secured through marriage, where pupils, apprentices, and even hired professional painters would sometimes marry into the workshop master's family through his daughters.¹³ Hieronymus' marriage to Paschasia secured his place within a stable workshop. Van Kessel began his training as a painter at the age of nine with Simon de Vos, but was also taught by his uncles, Jan Brueghel II (1601-1678), son of Jan Brueghel I, and David Teniers II (1610-1690).¹⁴ Van Kessel registered at the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke as a flower painter when he was 19 years old.¹⁵ These family connections have influenced the perception of van Kessel in art history.

¹² Nadia Baadj, "Monstrous Creatures and Diverse Strange Things" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2012), 46.

¹³ Natasja Peeters, "Marked for the Market? Continuity, Collaboration and the Mechanics of Artistic Production of History Painting in the Francken Workshops in Counter-Reformation Antwerp," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 50 (1999): 75, accessed January 3, 2021, <http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/43888640>.

¹⁴ Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, 1098-1099. The evidence for van Kessel working with Jan Brueghel II in his studio can be found in Brueghel's journal. Ertz and Nitze-Ertz, *Jan van Kessel der Altere*, 149. The entry is from 1646, and states that Van Kessel made copies of Jan Brueghel II's flower garland paintings. Baadj, "Monstrous Creatures," 42; Wheelock, *Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, 119.

David Teniers II was married to Anna Brueghel, daughter of Jan Brueghel I.

¹⁵ Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, 1098-1099.

The existing scholarship on van Kessel frequently involves the discussion of mimesis, or the representation of nature. Artists can create depictions of nature either by directly observing it or by referencing studies of it. As van Kessel extensively referenced the Brueghel stock of studies and motifs, much of his work derives from existing art. The discussion of art derived from either art or nature extends into the perception of van Kessel as a relatively minor artist in art history.

Van Kessel was included in three pre-twentieth-century artist biographies of Netherlandish origin, which categorize van Kessel's art in its relation to the Brueghel style. He appears in Cornelis de Bie's (1627-1711/1716) *Het Gulden Cabinet van de Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, or *The Golden Cabinet of the Noble Liberal Art of Painting*, published in 1661-1662; Jacob Campo Weyerman's (1677-1747) *De Levens-Beschryvingen der Nederlandsche Konst-Schilders en Konst-Schilderessen*, or *The Lives of Dutch Painters and Paintresses*, published in 1729; and the 1883 publication of *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilder-School*, or *History of the Antwerp Painting School* by Frans Jozef Peter van den Branden. All three reiterate van Kessel's stylistic similarity to Jan Brueghel I, his small-format panels, precise brushwork, and inclination for painting plants and animals. De Bie's passage, while short, lauds van Kessel's technical skill and the convincing lifelike qualities of his images, capable of fooling the human eye. Weyerman adds information on van Kessel's patrons, and mentions his painting abilities that appealed to art cabinet collectors of the period. Van den Branden cites both de Bie and the archives of the Guild of St. Luke, and includes more information on van Kessel's family relations and early life.

The scholarship in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has continued to compartmentalize van Kessel as an appendage to the Brueghel family line of painters, rejecting the idea that he may have contributed original content. Van Kessel makes short appearances in encyclopedias and specialized overview books of Flemish and Netherlandish art. The German encyclopedia of artists *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (1927), also referred to as *Thieme-Becker*, includes a section on Jan van Kessel I and the provenance of his known works at the time.¹⁶ Again, the passage begins with information on van Kessel's relations to a painter family, but goes on to include some information specific to his career—the identification of his signature, followed by a short catalogue raisonné of his known works at the time, accounting for over a hundred paintings. The author places their locations, gives an estimation of their dates, and titles them by description. Van Kessel is given some attention in Peter Sutton's *Age of Rubens*, published in 1994, and Arthur Wheelock Jr.'s *Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, published in 2005.¹⁷ These passages are brief, and provide general information on his blood relation to the Brueghel family, events of his life and his specialization in animal subjects, citing an example of his best known work—the *Four Parts of the World*.

¹⁶ Thieme, Begrundet von Ulrich and Felix Becker. *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Kunstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. Leipzig: Verlag Von E. A. Seeman, 1927. Van Kessel's portion was written by the art historian Kurt Zoege von Manteuffel (1881-1941).

¹⁷ Sutton, Peter C. *The Age of Rubens*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994; Wheelock, Arthur K. Jr., *Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

The overlooking of van Kessel in art history can be ascribed to his borrowed stock of motifs and to the ideas surrounding source material in the early to mid-twentieth century. In his seminal book, *Studies in Iconology. Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, Erwin Panofsky establishes a method of reading paintings based on the meaning behind forms.¹⁸ Panofsky's analysis of a painting requires knowledge of motifs as related to literary sources. Paintings with no known literary source, such as genre, landscape, or portrait paintings, have an altered form of analysis, omitting the identification of a linking chain of motifs alluding to a story. Panofsky's iconographical form of analysis dominated art history for much of the twentieth century, creating a predilection for narrative paintings, or at least paintings with an identifiable literary source. The art of the Italian Renaissance was highly valued under this mode, because it embodied dramatic moments in attributable human stories, aligning with classical antiquity and humanist pursuits. Van Kessel worked on small-format panels, and while felicitous for his period, larger panels and canvases were still reserved for grand subjects in the seventeenth century. He specialized in animal paintings, and built his career close to the aesthetic of Jan Brueghel I, whose vast catalog of designs and figures was widely available through studies, copies and prints. The value of originality in art history studies was reified later in the nineteenth century. The biases spanning across art history of multiple centuries-- small format paintings, art made from studies, and the preference of originality marks van Kessel's work as collaged and derivative.

¹⁸ Panofsky, Erwin. *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939.

The attitudes characterizing van Kessel as imitative are evident in the 1973 publication of the catalog *Jan Van Kessel D.A 1626-1679: Die Vier Erdeteile*, which accompanied an exhibition at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich featuring his *Four Parts of the World* series (1664-1666).¹⁹ The catalog's information on the series focuses on identifying the original sources of the composition, figures, and landscapes of his paintings, in effect typecasting van Kessel as derivative. The *Four Parts of the World* series includes labels of the continents and cities, and van Kessel takes liberties with the placement of animals in varying landscapes. Ulla Krempel deems the experimental mixing of locations and animals as incorrect. Similarly, Hugh Honour, in his book *A New Golden Land*, published in 1975, briefly addresses van Kessel's *Four Parts of the World* and furthers this idea of "misinformation" in his arrangement of animals and habitats.²⁰ Honour's overall objective is an examination of European conceptions of the Americas and his approach to van Kessel's series initially comes from a zoological perspective; however, Honour is less concerned with which painters and paintings van Kessel references, explaining the amalgamation of animals in fantastical creatures as part of the *wunderkammer* tradition that appealed to collectors of the period. This determination of van Kessel's synthesis of reused designs and figures as patchwork supersedes the possible interpretation of his work as creative license.

A shift in thinking about Netherlandish art came about in the 1980s, particularly with Svetlana Alpers' *The Art of Describing*, published in 1984, when she proposed that Dutch

¹⁹ Krempel, Ulla. *Jan Van Kessel D.A 1626-1679: Die Vier Erdeteile*. Munich: Alte Pinakothek, 1973.

²⁰ Honour, Hugh. *The New Golden Land*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1975.

art needs to be given its own system of discourse.²¹ Alpers changed the approach to Dutch and Flemish art, which art historians had considered less progressive than Italian art, seeing them instead as part of visual culture. Prior to Alpers' publication, Dutch and Flemish art had been viewed as privileging a masterful technique over the humanistic qualities of painting. Alpers reframes the reading of Dutch painting, linking images to seeing and self-representation. The descriptive pictorial mode of painting, or the verisimilitude aspect of Dutch art, can be understood as a way the Dutch saw themselves and the world around them, rather than an image created out of a literary precedent. Alpers' reevaluation of Dutch art opened a different path in scholarship, where images originating from the Low Countries did not have to be strictly tied to narrative and iconographical meaning; rather, images could be seen in their relation to other disciplines of study, like the developing sciences and optical technology, or investigated as objects with a status and role in society. Successive scholars in the art of the Low Countries considered Netherlandish art from a multitude of perspectives, the most relevant to van Kessel is the depiction of nature.

Van Kessel is briefly mentioned in relation to the genre of depicted collections in Zirka Zaremba Filipczak's *Picturing Art in Antwerp: 1550-1700*, published in 1987.²² Filipczak explains that from the time of Panofsky's essay on iconography, genre painting, landscapes, and portraits are viewed under verbal, proverbial, or emblematic sources;

²¹ Alpers, Svetlana. *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

²² Filipczak, Zirka Zaremba. *Picturing Art in Antwerp: 1550-1700*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.

removing the analysis stage to reading these paintings, as they likely have no specific literary source. She challenges the categorization of genre scenes being entirely straightforward, and instead more akin to allegorical or historical scenes. In her book, Filipczak examines the genre of gallery paintings, or depicted collections, and contests the idea of interpreting a genre scene solely as a representation of daily life. Genre paintings played with levels of reality, periodically incorporating imaginative elements. A depicted collection was not an exact representation of an owner with their collection, but might possess embellishments of historical dress or costumes. Filipczak posits that allegorical meaning can be extracted, which would have been understood by artists and their contemporaries. Some encyclopedic collections would have been commissioned by collectors, but many were readymade, sold on the art market, and purchased by *burghers* emulating the collecting practices of the nobility. Filipczak states that collections were status symbols because they denoted learned interests and the financial means to fund the collection. She positions van Kessel in an older form of painting—the area of encyclopedic collections. Filipczak does not clarify which specific van Kessel paintings fall under this group, but given her examples of Brueghel and Rubens’ *Five Senses* series (1617-1618), she is most likely referring to his center panels in his *Four Parts of the World* series. In my estimation, van Kessel’s center panels match the description of a depicted collection. Filipczak does not address the outer panels.

Two scholars, Marjorie Lee Hendrix and Arianne Faber Kolb, address the animal paintings and illustrations of Antwerp painters Joris Hoefnagel and Jan Breughel I, touching on the legitimacy of mimesis, and art derived from art, or paintings solely

referencing paintings or paper studies. Van Kessel is often compared to Hoefnagel and Jan Breughel I. In 1984, Hendrix completed her dissertation "Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Nature Painting," which examines Hoefnagel's Four Elements manuscript and his aim to capture nature in its likeness.²³ Hendrix looks at the development of the animal and floral genres in northern European painting, contesting the theory that these niche Baroque genres came out of Mannerism. She contextualizes floral and animal painting in terms of the artists' intention of mimesis, as opposed to emblematic meaning. The break from iconographical symbolism in painting in northern art studies was further advanced in the realm of animal figures in the Antwerp tradition. In 2000, Arianne Faber Kolb completed her dissertation "Cataloguing Nature in Art: Jan Brueghel the Elder's Paradise Landscapes," on Brueghel's paradise landscapes and their formulation either as his artistic decisions to render nature in close likeness, or as a response to his patrons' interests and scholarly culture.²⁴ Still in question is the preference for empirically observed animal depictions over what Kolb refers to as "inherited tradition," or the reuse of drawings. She addresses the contentious issue of art derived from nature versus the imitation of art, and how Brueghel negotiated between these two methods to construct a perception of nature during this period. Neither Hendrix nor Kolb address van Kessel in depth, but this change in scholarship is important in thinking of van Kessel's artistic tradition and his work in the animal genre.

²³ Hendrix, Marjorie Lee. "Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Nature Painting." PhD diss., Princeton University, 1984.

²⁴ Kolb, Arianne Faber. "Cataloguing Nature in Art: Jan Brueghel the Elder's Paradise Landscapes." PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2000.

The idea of van Kessel overlapping the Brueghel family is never fully discarded, but he gradually comes to be considered as having more depth in the field of visual culture. In 2005, Benjamin Schmidt published his book *Inventing Exoticism*, in which he reframes van Kessel's combination of recycled motifs beyond references to the Brueghel family designs, rooting van Kessel instead in the disciplines of natural history, prints and engraving, and specifically to cartography and visual geography.²⁵ He examines van Kessel's *Continents* or *Four Parts of the World* series as a reformatting of decorative maps. While Schmidt designates a portion of his analysis to identifying van Kessel's original source material, he does not do so disparagingly. Instead he explains the financial and artistic benefits of sourcing existing visual material, and relates the mixing of animals and settings in the *Four Parts of the World* series to the globalism and material culture prominent in Dutch and Flemish society of the time.

Two writers on van Kessel of the twenty-first century, Klaus and Christa Nitze-Ertz, wrote a combination catalogue raisonné for Jan van Kessel the Elder, Jan van Kessel the Younger, and Jan van Kessel “the Other,” titled *Jan van Kessel der Altere 1626-1679; Jan van Kessel der Jungere 1654-1708; Jan van Kessel der ‘Andere’ ca. 1620- ca. 1661: kritische Kataloge der Gemalde*, published in 2012.²⁶ The catalog is a comprehensive

²⁵ Schmidt, Benjamin. *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

²⁶ Ertz, Klaus and Christa Nitze-Ertz. *Jan van Kessel der Altere 1626-1679; Jan van Kessel der Jungere 1654-1708; Jan van Kessel der ‘Andere’ ca. 1620- ca. 1661: kritische Kataloge der Gemalde*. Lingen: Luca Verlag, 2012.

Ertz and Nitze-Ertz use “Jan van Kessel der Altere,” or Jan van Kessel the Elder. I use the title of Jan van Kessel I, simply referred to as “van Kessel” throughout my thesis.

formal analysis and lays out the known paintings of each artist, with the occasional attribution to original source material. Their method in structuring van Kessel's oeuvre stresses his specialty in animals and landscapes. Prefacing the database of paintings is textual information on each artist, and Jan van Kessel I is given the most attention, with biographical information along with a summation of his painting methods and painting types. His *Four Parts of the World* series begins both the textual sections and the catalogue raisonn, followed by information on his landscapes, animals-in-setting landscapes, fruit still lifes, flower paintings, cartouches, garlands, and *vanitas* and *historia*-type paintings.

Nadia Baadj, a central scholar on van Kessel, redefines his work in the purview of originality within the Brueghel brand aesthetic, rather than solely as an heir to a painterly tradition, by grounding him in the intersection of early science and art. The discussion of van Kessel's painting source material continues in Baadj's dissertation, "Monstrous Creatures and Diverse Strange Things," published in 2012, and subsequent book, *Jan van Kessel I (1626-79): Crafting a Natural History of Art in Early Modern Antwerp*, published in 2016. She takes an all-encompassing approach to van Kessel's paintings and techniques, identifying his working methods: his observations of live and dead animals and his reuse of figures from his predecessors. Baadj parses the perception of mimesis in the seventeenth century and the nuances of what depicting nature from life or from studies meant. Her approach to van Kessel's figures breaks away from determining the accuracy of their depiction and posits that van Kessel's paintings contended with the constructions of nature at the time. His work appealed to buyers, straddling the domains

of curiosities, creative license, and natural history. Van Kessel's combinatory mode of constructing nature in his paintings was part of the early modern methods of observing, analyzing, and understanding the inner workings and functions of nature. Contextualizing van Kessel in the areas of art and natural history legitimizes his work, and is a major adjustment from the previous scholars who categorized van Kessel as piecemeal.

Van Kessel was one of many working painters in a large population of artists and craftspeople in the Antwerp of the early modern period. His designation as a minor artist is challenged as the spectrum of artists deemed worthy of study in art history expands and becomes more inclusive, once the parameters of interest extend beyond the art pieces commissioned by the elite, church, and courts. With the research on genre scenes in the 1980s and Baadj's comprehensive work on van Kessel in the twenty-first century, the parameters of interest broaden to include a larger group of artists. Historians are rethinking how nature was constructed and understood by artists and natural historians, to where the line between art and natural history is less defined. How do van Kessel's fish-in-landscapes exemplify the connection between natural history and art? His relationship to natural history catalogs is so far unaddressed, and his animals-in-landscapes in particular are not given any attention in scholarship. In my examination of these paintings, I position him in the area of natural history and in the pictorial vocabulary of Antwerp painters Jan Brueghel I and Hoefnagel. While van Kessel certainly quotes these artists, he made his own contributions to art by building on this familiar repertoire. I place van Kessel further away from Brueghel's textual basis of depicting animals, and

closer to the displaying techniques of illustrations in natural history books and catalogues.

Chapter 3

Specialization of Subject Matter in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp

An animal painting is defined by the focus on animals as a stand-alone or primary subject, typically unaffiliated with a narrative. The term animal genre is primarily used to describe painting from the eighteenth century onwards, but many Netherlandish painters dedicated their careers to specializing in the depiction of animals before then. The animal genre can overlap with other genres. For example, the *Antwerp* panel could be considered a landscape, but with the presence of so many animals could also be considered an animal painting.²⁷ This type of labeling is complex, because a painting's genre cannot always be rigidly characterized. Additionally, the terms "animal genre" or "animal painter" are not found in the *liggeren* of the St. Luke's painters Guild in Antwerp, meaning that a painter could not register as this type of painter. Joris Hoefnagel (1542-1601), Frans Snyders (1579-1657), and Jan Fyt (1611-1661) all worked profusely in painting animals during their careers, but are registered as still life or genre painters. Jan van Kessel I, who painted over three-hundred animal paintings in his entire known body of work, was registered as a flower painter, but is known in history as a universal painter, practicing in a variety of subjects.²⁸ The aim of this chapter is not to challenge the titles of still life

²⁷ Another example is the painting *Entry of Animals into Noah's Ark* (1613) by Jan Brueghel I, which can be considered an animal painting, a landscape, or even a Biblical narrative, even though there are no humans in the frame and there is an abundance of animals. See figure 15.

²⁸ Van Kessel's early modern biographers emphasized his work in the subject matter of animals. Cornelis de Bie notes van Kessel's penchant and talent for painting animals. Cornelis de Bie, *Het gulden cabinet van de edel vry schilderconst* (Antwerp: Jan Meyssens, Juliaen van Montfort, 1662. DBNL, 2014), 409-410.

painter or genre painter, but to specify the types of still lifes or genre paintings. I use these labels: animal genre, animal painter, and animal painting for ease of description, and to point out a shift in popularity in regards to subject matter depiction.

In this chapter I chart the growth of the animal genre between the sixteenth and seventeenth century in Antwerp and its evolution alongside the city's economic climate. What were the circumstances that allowed for a proliferation of animal painters in seventeenth-century Antwerp? How did the economy contribute to this boom in animal paintings? The numerous animal paintings created during the period between 1550 and 1680 in Antwerp can be traced to the specialization market that emerged through global and regional trade.²⁹ How does this shift from animals as background or accessory figures to primary figures take place in the city?

Antwerp is a city located in the Low Countries, what is now the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg. The city and region had undergone a series of governmental changes prior to the sixteenth century, affecting both governing policies and geographical borders. Beginning in the medieval period, feudalism marked the social, economic, and political situation. These administrative fiefs of the Low Countries continued on in the early modern period, and were united under Philip the Good (1396-1467), Duke of Burgundy, in 1433, as the Burgundian Netherlands. The House of Valois-Burgundy expanded their land holdings in 1477 with the marriage of Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482) and Maximilian I (1459-1519), Holy Roman Emperor, of the House of Habsburg.

²⁹ In the medieval period, the whole Brabant region functioned on an agrarian economy. During the fifteenth century, the Brabant region grew in population and began to move from an agrarian economic system to an export/trading system.

The Low Countries' administrative fiefs were transformed into Imperial states. In 1482, with the death of Mary of Burgundy, the region was passed to her son Philip the Fair (1478-1506), of the House of Habsburg through his father. From 1482 to 1585, the Imperial States were known as the Seventeen Provinces or Habsburg Netherlands, and Antwerp was the capital of the Duchy of Brabant. Philip the Fair married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand II King of Aragon (1452-1516) and Queen Isabella I of Castile (1451-1504), in 1496. Philip and Joanna's son, Charles V (1500-1558), King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor, also known as Charles I of Spain, was Lord of the Netherlands and appointed a series of governors to oversee the region, beginning with Margaret of Austria (1480-1530) who held the governor's position twice. Charles' son, King Philip II of Spain (1527-1598), continued to appoint governors to the Low Countries.

Antwerp's economic Golden Age in the sixteenth century was built on its cloth industry.³⁰ An important aspect to the city's economy were the fairs, which initially came about in support of the cloth industry when supply and demand were low,³¹ and had been

³⁰ Antwerp's cloth industry began in the first half of the eleventh century. The English provided raw materials from their wool industry and exported it to cities in the Brabant region, one of which was Antwerp, for refinement into cloth. Trade was only interregional, particularly to and from England for wool and refinement. By the thirteenth century, maritime trade expanded to continental relations in Italy, north Germany, and north eastern France. By the first half of the fifteenth century, Antwerp's cloth industry dissolved but left behind a burgeoning trade industry.

Herman Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*. Vol. 2 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963): 18-19.

The thirteenth century trade with England also consisted of foodstuff—fish, oats, and salt, which was sold in Antwerp.

³¹ J.A. Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries 800-1800* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 45-46.

established for the purpose of buying and selling goods in 1320.³² The fair was held on religious festivals as a means to draw a large crowd of people in hopes of spurring on domestic consumption.³³ It was held twice a year—once during Whitsun, also known as Pentecost, and then again in October.³⁴ Throughout the fifteenth century, the Antwerp local fair was prolonged in duration, and by 1530 had fully taken on a permanent status as a trade center, largely because regional and foreign merchants resided in the city.³⁵

The decline of the cloth market did not cause great detriment to Antwerp. The city's place as a trade center expanded rapidly, spurred by its local fairs. Antwerp eventually established itself as a prominent center for the Brabant fairs, surpassing Flemish trade

The earliest mention of fairs in the Low Countries dates to 983 in Visé; with Ghent, Douai, and Saint-Omer holding fairs by the year 1000. The commercial activity in Antwerp continued on from the maritime activity of the thirteenth century, and by the first half of the fourteenth century gave forth the Brabant fairs. Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*. Vol. 2, 19.

³² Van Houtte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries 800-1800*, 105.

³³ Van Houtte, *An Economic History*, 46.

³⁴ Van Houtte, *An Economic History*, 105.

These bi-annual fairs were called *jaarmarkten* and lasted six weeks. As the fairs grew beyond domestic buyers, they were essential in Antwerp's developing economy as they aided in linking other European trading centers with the Duchy of Brabant. Filip Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market. Commercialization of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age*, (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2003), 16.

³⁵ Van Houtte, *An Economic History*, 178.

Until the second half of the fifteenth century, Antwerp heavily relied on the model of the export industry, an economic system where goods produced in one region are shipped to another region for future sale or trade. The traditional export industry for Antwerp was the cloth industry that existed and was expanded between the 11th-14th centuries.

Antwerp's road to its sixteenth-century economic Golden Age was by no means a steady upward trajectory. The centuries prior were marked with wars, political conflict, and constant changes in laws that contributed to the fluctuation of economic growth and abatement. For more on the interdecennial intricacies of Antwerp's economy, see: Van der Wee, Herman. *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*. Vol. 1-4. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963.

centers like Bruges and Ghent.³⁶ The city gained the interest of traders who were bringing spices back from world travels in the mid to late fifteenth century.³⁷ As a result of the Spanish discoveries in the Americas and the new Portuguese sea route to India, an influx of trade occurred between northern and southern Europe. When the Portuguese and Spanish were bringing back raw materials from their voyages to the Americas and Asia, they set up trading posts around Europe for export, and Antwerp was a primary point of exchange to the North. The Portuguese were importing spices, notably pepper and cinnamon, and sugarcane to be refined in Antwerp. The Spanish were bringing back gold among other American resources. Antwerp became a hub for trade, export, and for converting raw materials to tradable commodities. Antwerp's local and regional success made it a global trade center.

By the early-to-mid sixteenth century, the city had experienced an economic boom and was a global commercial capital. The port city is fortuitously situated in a prime geographical location—on the Scheldt River and further inland than other North Sea ports, connecting it to central Europe. Antwerp's estuary to the North Sea flows into the Scheldt River, giving ships an advantageous access in and out, creating a commercial route. The city's fame in the sixteenth century is immortalized by Lodovico Guicciardini

³⁶ Van der Wee, *Antwerp Market*, 77. The decline of Bruges as a commercial center was wrought with political and maritime constraints. For more, see: Van der Wee, Herman. "The Fairs of Brabant grow out of Bruges' Tutelage." In *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy Vol. 2*, 73-80. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963.

³⁷ Merchants from Bruges moved to Antwerp and brought their trade houses and business with them. Antwerp became a hub for trade, export, and for converting raw materials to tradable commodities. P. Geyl, *The Revolt in the Netherlands (1555-1609)* (London: Williams and Norgate Ltd, 1932), 42.

(1521-1589), a Florentine writer and merchant who resided in Antwerp and wrote *Description of the Low Countries*, published in 1567. He describes Antwerp as a city of surplus and sumptuousness, where its citizens have all they need with room for self-indulgent activities and foods. He dedicates an entire section to Antwerp's wealth in the sixteenth century, emphasizing the city's markets and fairs, and the spice trade of the early sixteenth century made possible by Spanish and Portuguese voyages.

The success of the local fairs and global trade industry stimulated the luxury market of the sixteenth century, a niche market that produced specialized goods. Local craftspeople could sell here, and paintings were one of the many products offered.³⁸ The close alignment between specialization and the arts enabled progress in other areas, such as tapestry, weaving, embroidery, wood carving, coffers, and leather and fur goods.³⁹ The

³⁸ Antwerp's luxury market attracted craftspeople from smaller Flemish and Brabantine towns who moved to larger cities. This influx of craftspeople contributed to the growth of the Antwerp luxury market. Crafts guilds also contributed to the growth of the luxury market. In 1445, they were given political rights concerning the administrative processes of the city, ultimately curtailing a renewal of the exports industry. Efforts instead went to developing the city as a commercial center and to its fairs. Once Antwerp's cloth industry collapsed in the first half of the fifteenth century, the fairs kept the city from serious decline, seen in the smaller, surrounding towns. Van der Wee, *Antwerp Market* Vol. 2, 44.

The reason for the larger cities' resistance to this economic malaise was that they were not entirely dependent on the traditional export industry and much less damaged by the decline of the agrarian economy. The success of the traditional export industry however, allowed for growth in other areas, notably the finishing industry of English cloth (dyeing and refinement) and the herring industry.

For more information on the migration of the Netherlandish people from 1400-1670 in the Low Countries, see: Van Houtte, J. A. "Population" in *An Economic History of the Low Countries 800-1800*, 123-139. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977.

³⁹ Van der Wee, *Antwerp Market* Vol. 2, 71. Many of the finishing industries founded in the fifteenth century were also expanded on, e.g. dying of textiles and the glazing of pottery were further developed. The Low Countries in general, and Antwerp in particular, became known for their highly specialized technique in a variety of industries.

local market expanded to regional commerce, with the products being moved to other fairs in the Brabant region.⁴⁰ Antwerp's fair quickly garnered widespread interest and the specialization market met with international perspectives.⁴¹ As described by the German painter and designer Albrecht Durer (1471-1528) in his writings upon visiting Antwerp in 1520, the city was abundantly wealthy with hundreds of painters, including Quentin Massys and Joachim Patinir, who invited him to dine at sumptuous meals. He enumerates tradespeople and their unions in a processional assembly dressed in their best attire and arranged according to rank. He further explains various craftspeople's roles in preparing the city for a visit by Charles V, and he describes the elaborate architecture and painting. Brabantine industries had access to the whole of Western Europe as consumers via the port city of Antwerp, further expanding the specialization market.⁴²

The sale and export of Antwerp's paintings was a distinct characteristic of its economy between the years 1501 and 1568, and from this demand emerged a group of painters who contributed to the style known as Antwerp Mannerism, a painting style noted for its recurring themes and repetition of designs.⁴³ The city drew large numbers of artists, masters and apprentices alike, restructuring the production practices of a painter's

⁴⁰ Van der Wee, *Antwerp Market* Vol. 2, 71.

⁴¹ Van der Wee, *Antwerp Market* Vol. 2, 132.

Antwerp had undergone a boom in commercial activity brought on by international trade. Around 1500, Antwerp became a major port for international trade; first came continental trading routes, then maritime routes across the Atlantic Ocean. The international trade spurred a major growth in Antwerp's industries in the 1530s and 1540s. See Van der Wee, *Antwerp Market* Vol. 2, 186.

⁴² Van der Wee, *Antwerp Market* Vol. 2, 187.

⁴³ Antwerp Mannerism is a term to describe the concentrated production of paintings, typically religious narratives, which possessed features of ornate costumes, theatrical figures, and eclectic and elaborate architecture.

workshop.⁴⁴ An early form of mass production was established, where the master of a workshop employed apprentices or journeymen in a division of labor.⁴⁵ The process to produce a painting accelerated and the demand for ready-made paintings was met by the numerous painters whose identity remain fairly anonymous amongst scholars today.⁴⁶ The need for a quick and prolific output was the main force attracting these artists who came to the city—they could make a living in one of the many workshops as an accessory painter of religious narratives.⁴⁷ These painters were required for background or accessory parts of a painting including the landscapes, architecture, and animals. These accessory painters are also known as *staffage* painters.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Vermeulen cites the *liggeren*, which are the archives of the St. Luke's Guild of Painters. Between the years of 1460 to 1540, the number of masters and apprentices registered went from 45 to 324. Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market*, 18.

⁴⁵ Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market*, 18-19. He refers to this as a proto-industrial workshop.

⁴⁶ Konraad Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm: Experiments in Decorum 1566-1585*. (New Haven: Mercatofonds, 2012), 15.

According to Vermeulen, the works of the Antwerp Mannerists were invariably made for export. Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market*, 29.

⁴⁷ Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm*, 16.

⁴⁸ Arianne Faber Kolb, "Cataloguing Nature in Art: Jan Brueghel the Elder's Paradise Landscapes." (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2000), 97.

The practice of workshop accessory painters has its history in the collaborative nature of Antwerp painting, where it was a common and celebrated practice.

A staffage painter, or "staffigist," is a painter in his own right who painted small elements for a larger scene, such as background figures (human or animal). The word comes from the Flemish verb for embellishing or furnishing a space—*stofferen*.

For more on collaboration painting in Antwerp see: Honig, Elizabeth Alice. "Values in Display and the Aesthetic of Judgement." In *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*, 170-212. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

I believe that the proliferation of animal paintings in Antwerp in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries stemmed from the production practices of the Antwerp Mannerist workshop. While the entire composition of a painting in a workshop was designed by the master, the backgrounds or minor figures were designated to other registered painters.⁴⁹ These artists became specialized in their designated areas of painting, such as landscapes or animal figures. When the Antwerp painting market eventually diminished, the artists brought their specialization subjects to the foreground of the frame. Commercialization was the impetus to the animal genre. The division of labor in contemporary workshops honed an accessory painter's subject matter into a personal specialty. Van Kessel's father, Hieronymus van Kessel (1538-1636), was a master painter with the Antwerp guild of St. Luke, and later worked as an accessory and *staffage* painter in the Jan Brueghel I workshop, with a specialty in animal and bird figures.⁵⁰ Van Kessel, although part of a later century, continued these practices—secular, experimental, and specialized.

An aspect of the Antwerp economy that encouraged the growth of the animal genre was the *schilderspand*, a permanent gallery for the sale of paintings. Painting as part of the luxury market grew further in 1540 when the *schilderspand* was established.⁵¹ The

⁴⁹ Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm*, 16.

⁵⁰ Baadj, "Monstrous Creatures and Diverse Strange Things," 46.

⁵¹ Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp: 1550-1700*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 21.

The *schilderspand* was the first space in Europe intended for the specific use of selling paintings. The physical showrooms for paintings were flexible-- spaces included new buildings, existing houses, commercial exchanges, cloisters, or courtyards. Before this, painters had sold their paintings themselves out of their studios or booths set up for sales at the fair. Additionally, there were two other *pand* markets. The largest one was operated by the Cathedral of Our Lady between 1468-1560, and the Dominican *pand*, which

buyers of paintings broadened to anyone who visited, but painters sold mostly to merchants who were in the business of resale, hence the international recognition of the city's painters.⁵² The *pand* and *schilderspand* made available to its buyers a wide range of quality, high-end and inexpensive ready-mades alike, appealing to a broad group of buyers.⁵³ The works of the Antwerp Mannerists were regularly made for export, and this was through purchase by foreign merchants working in Antwerp. Churches, monasteries, and hospitals, among other institutions, purchased art on-speculation, but the nature of the gallery encouraged bulk buying where merchants could purchase wholesale, accounting for them being the largest buyers of painting in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁵⁴ The flexibility of on-speculation painting allowed for more control of subject matter for artists: "No longer did artists need to rely upon employment by the court, or commissions for works destined for churches, convents, or hospitals; instead they had to produce works which would attract the eye and open the purse of some willing buyer."⁵⁵

consisted of three halls and existed from 1445-1553. Ewing, "Marketing Art in Antwerp," 558-559; Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market*, 21.

The custom of painters as their own dealers continued until 1565, when the entire enterprise was managed by one person—Bartholomeus de Momper. See Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp*, 21.

⁵² Ewing, "Marketing Art in Antwerp," 579.

⁵³ The *pand* differed from the *schilderspand*, as it sold a variety of crafts, such as tapestries, sculptures, books, and prints.

⁵⁴ Ewing, "Marketing Art in Antwerp," 580.

The packing, handling, and shipping of paintings was a process dealt with as professionally as the creation of the painting. Valuable paintings were stored in a box, or *caisse*, and were given ample cushioning for the long journey on water and land. More inexpensive paintings on canvas were rolled up and stored numerous in barrels. See Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market*, 122.

⁵⁵ Elizabeth Alice Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 14.

As will be discussed in chapter three, *The Development of the Fish-in-Landscape*, the enthusiasm of natural history was shared with the visual arts. Painting, like the economy, responded to outside stimuli. The subject matter of painting was informed by the demands of the consumer. The mercantile nature of Antwerp meant that the city became a space of communication among merchants from various parts of Europe; this situation benefitted artists and art dealers who were privy to what kinds of art foreign consumers were interested in.⁵⁶ The art market in Antwerp adjusted for this new class of art buyers, allowing them to possess works that suited their own tastes, forcing a competitive market rich with creative painters.⁵⁷ Painters shaped their output to appeal to these buyers. This competitive market encouraged experimentation, where Antwerp artists were versed in a variety of styles, and simultaneously took paths towards specialized subject matter.⁵⁸ These accessory painters were the antecedent for the animal painters of the seventeenth century.

Antwerp art buyers came from a wide variety of social groups in the early sixteenth century, but in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, the market shifted to a specific group of people—*burghers*, what today would be the upper-middle class.⁵⁹ What caused this change was a series of political events involving Spain and the Seventeen Provinces. Antwerp's economy was not steady in its progression, but oscillations reached their peak

⁵⁶ Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market*, 121.

⁵⁷ Honig, "Painting and the Market," 4.

⁵⁸ Honig, "Painting and the Market," 4.

⁵⁹ Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp*, 21.

Filipczak discusses the art buyers of the seventeenth century and disputes the claims that the majority of art was purchased by aristocrats, arguing that the majority of buyers were *burghers*. *Burghers* made up the majority of *liefhebbers*, or art lovers and collectors.

instability during the 1570s and 1580s, when Antwerp underwent a series of catastrophic events resulting in a closure of the Scheldt River and a subsequent decline of Antwerp's place as a trading powerhouse and of its luxury market. Alongside its growing economy in the early half of the sixteenth century, other developments took place within the city and the Netherlandish region: the growth and spread of Protestant ideas and the Protestant Reformation, retaliation by the Spanish Monarchy in Counter-Reformation efforts, and the societal and governmental tensions that came along with them.⁶⁰ The religious conflict culminated in struggles of political separation of the Seventeen Provinces from the Spanish Monarchy, and the beginning of the 80 Years War (1566-1609).

Antwerp, with its active port and high population of non-Catholics, became a center for Protestant ideas. The city was progressive, and appealed to radicals and political figureheads who opposed Spanish rule and wanted governmental autonomy.⁶¹ From 1573 to 1585, the city was considered the capital of the revolt. By the mid-sixteenth century,

⁶⁰ In 1517, German theologian and priest Martin Luther published his 95 Theses, ideas that criticized the Catholic Church and its practices. These ideas rapidly took a strong hold throughout Europe and spurred on the Protestant Reformation. The Catholic Church responded beginning with the Council of Trent (1545-1564), a series of ecumenical assemblies. These assemblies denounced Protestant practices and clarified church doctrines. A large endeavor was reconversion, which came in the form of aggressive political measures, namely the Spanish Inquisition. The Counter-Reformation also attempted to address financial corruption, established seminaries and foundational training for priests, and published theological writings defending church practices.

⁶¹ Nuances exist in the opinions of the Netherlandish people, and the Seventeen Provinces were not united against Spain. For more on the 80 Years War, see: Grierson, Edward. *The Fatal Inheritance. Philip II and the Spanish Netherlands*. New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1969; Geyl, P. *The Revolt in the Netherlands (1555-1609)*. London: Williams and Norgate Ltd, 1932; Parker, Geoffrey. *The Dutch Revolt*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.

the Catholic Church and the Spanish Monarchy implemented forceful Counter-Reformation efforts in the region to eradicate heresy, quash the spread of Protestantism, and regain control of the region.⁶² After multiple raids and a nearly two-year long siege, the city ultimately surrendered to the Spanish military in 1585.⁶³

The surrender had been negotiated under the terms of the *reconciliation*, signed on August 17, 1585, stating that the Calvinists were allowed a four-year period to leave. Additionally, the Spanish kept the city cut off from the Scheldt River as a means to control who and what entered and exited.⁶⁴ All imports and exports came to a halt for a period of two years, devastating the Antwerpian trade center. These two factors caused a mass exodus of merchants, craftspeople, and artists, who moved to the northern

⁶² The 80 Years War was fought in the battlegrounds by mercenaries, as neither the Netherlandish people who wanted autonomy nor Spain had the people to fight on principle alone. Spain had struggled financially and its mercenary troops mutinied due to unpaid dues. In 1571 the city chosen for mutiny was Antwerp, as no other place at the time held enough capital to atone for owed pay for sixty thousand soldiers, a total which amounted to more than the King's revenue for that year. Notwithstanding all the economic changes in Antwerp, the city was still able to pay, but the raid left a damaging mark on its population and economy. Further, on November 4th, 1576, roughly 5,000 mutineers pillaged Antwerp, an event historically referred to as the Spanish Fury or Rape of Antwerp, as over one thousand houses were destroyed and over eight thousand citizens were killed.

⁶³ In 1578, Alexander Farnese (1545-1592) was selected as the governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and planned to take four large cities who were in revolt in the Netherlandish region, Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, and Antwerp, by means of cutting them off from any food or trade source. The capturing of Antwerp through brute force would not have worked, as Charles V had built a fortified wall around its perimeter. Antwerp also had the advantage of geographical placement; it was guarded by the Scheldt River, and could only be captured through naval infiltration. Alexander Farnese and his engineers designed a bridge, spanning a length unseen in history, to block the narrowest point in the Scheldt. The purpose was to halt any supplies brought in from Zeeland, pressing a surrender.

⁶⁴ Grierson, *The Fatal Inheritance*, 208; Van der Wee, *Antwerp Market* Vol. 2, 273.

provinces.⁶⁵ The population of Antwerp dropped from 80,000 in 1585 to 42,000 in 1589.⁶⁶

While exports continued in Antwerp, the economy never fully regained its glory from before 1585.⁶⁷ The aftermath of the Fall of Antwerp resulted in a massive decline in commercial activity, thus affecting the luxury and art markets.⁶⁸ While magistrates issued ordinances for the rebuilding of the guild's altars in attempt to boost demand for art and work for these artists and craftspeople, the arts industry dwindled to a fraction of its former glory.⁶⁹ The closure of the Scheldt River, although devastating for a period for Antwerp's part in international trade, was not permanent. In 1587, Spain permitted

⁶⁵ Van der Wee, *Antwerp Market*, Vol. 2, 273.

Northern provinces of the Low Countries were the preferred destination, but people also moved to the Rhineland, and to a lesser extent France, England, and Spain.

⁶⁶ Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market*, 109.

The terms of the reconciliation included a fee charged to Antwerp to cover the costs of the siege along with the placement of Spanish garrisons around the city.

Vermeulen states that both Protestant and Catholic merchants left the city during this four-year period. Additionally, the levy of reconciliation (400,000 guilders) left the government in no position to assist the luxury market.

⁶⁷ Van der Wee, *Antwerp Market*, Vol. 2, 274.

⁶⁸ The repercussions of the siege of Antwerp affected the demand for paintings negatively. There were fewer people who were purchasing art, as many merchants left and the city's population had been cut nearly in half. On speculation work including painting, stonecutting, masonry, and carpentry, was not in high demand after 1585. Painters and craftspeople were paid modestly for their technical work rather than their experimental inventiveness.

⁶⁹ Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market*, 113; and Van der Wee, *Antwerp Market*, Vol. 2, 273-274.

During the sixteenth-century religious conflicts in Europe, many churches, cathedrals, and chapels were destroyed. The *beeldenstorm*, or image-breaking in Antwerp took place on August 18th, 1566. Calvinist members, known as the Beggars, sacked the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp along with thirty other Catholic churches in the city. For two weeks after, the Netherlandish region experienced the destruction of scores of churches and chapels in all Catholic towns and cities.

merchants passage on the Scheldt River, and a controlled version of trading restarted in the city, causing the port to regain some form of commercial activity.⁷⁰ The economy regained some semblance of its luxury export market, supported by the relations between Spain and foreign lands.⁷¹

The decline of trade and the decrease in population restructured how art was produced and purchased in Antwerp.⁷² While many artists left after 1585, a number still remained in Antwerp. These artists struggled during the period directly after the Fall of Antwerp, as the domestic demand for art decreased and was instead replaced by the need to buy necessities.⁷³ Magistrates issued ordinances for the rebuilding of the guild's altars in an attempt to boost demand for art and work for these artists and craftspeople.⁷⁴ The funding for painting came from the local government and the church. The *schilderspand* was at a low in terms of the booths occupied at this time, and by 1603, following a period of reduced opening times to six months of the year, it had shut its doors completely.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Van der Wee, *Antwerp Market*, Vol. 2, 274.

The first merchants allowed into Antwerp for trade in May 1587 were from Zeeland and Holland.

⁷¹ *Infanta* Isabella of Spain (1566-1633) and Archduke Albert of Austria (1559-1621) were given sovereignty of the Southern Netherlands in 1599. The trading posts of the Spanish Crown during the reign of Philip II gave Antwerp markets in India, the East Indies, and Brazil. The luxury market helped stabilize the economy in the Southern Netherlands after the Fall of Antwerp.

⁷² Negotiations for surrender were settled on the terms of the *reconciliation*, which was signed on August 17, 1585. The Calvinists were allowed a four-year period to leave, without public devotion within that time period.

⁷³ Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market*, 111.

While the art market struggled, Antwerp's population began to increase in the 1590s, and the general economy began to stabilize. Trade opened up again with the northern Netherlandish regions and Antwerp began exports to the Iberian Peninsula.

⁷⁴ Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market*, 113.

⁷⁵ Vermeulen, *Painting for the Market*, 118.

The late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century was a time of transition for the art market. The decline of the market appears to contradict the prolific career of Antwerp painter Peter Paul Rubens. However, art was created and circulated in the nuances between these apparent extremes. While the output of paintings was nowhere near the mass production of the Antwerp Mannerism painters of the previous century, the first four decades of the seventeenth century saw a renewed creative charge.⁷⁶ The closure of the *schilderband*, and the exodus of artists and merchants from the southern Netherlands to the northern regions between 1585-1589 shifted the place of painting in Antwerp, and a different kind of art consumer emerged.⁷⁷ The demand for readymade paintings decreased, and art purchasing reverted back to commissioned paintings. Patronage did not, however, revert solely to the church or nobility, and instead relied mostly on buyers not associated with the mercantile industry.⁷⁸ Private buyers, with the old money of Antwerp, were alive and well, and the practice of collecting paintings emerged as a prominent mode of consuming art.⁷⁹ With enough money to commission paintings, the *burgher* class emerged as primary backers of art production in Antwerp.

Burghers in seventeenth-century Antwerp attempted to elevate their status by emulating noble class activities. What was required of the nobility was clearly outlined, and went beyond financial achievement, into art patronage and collecting.⁸⁰ Curiosity,

⁷⁶ Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp*, 47.

⁷⁷ Mariet Westermann, "After Iconography and Iconoclasm: Current Research in Netherlandish Art, 1566-1700." *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 2 (June 2002): 355-356.

⁷⁸ Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp*, 53.

⁷⁹ Geyl, *Revolt in the Netherlands*, 276. Geyl describes the upper-class population of sixteenth-century pre-mercantile Antwerp as old established wealth.

⁸⁰ Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp*, 50-54.

intellect, and the pursuit of understanding the workings of the universe were valued among the upper echelons of European society. Collecting was an exclusive activity, reserved for those in privileged positions who were educated in humanist thought and wealthy enough to afford it. Humanists of the period sought to revive the teachings and interests of classical antiquity, natural history among them. In turn, the discipline of natural history provided a framework for understanding the world.⁸¹ The animal genre moved in the direction of scientific inquiry, and the intersection of natural history and art is well documented in prints, paintings, and natural history catalogs in which animal subjects were considerably studied.

Filipczak refers to gentleman's handbooks, e.g. Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, published in 1528, for ennoblement qualifications. Along with wealth, collecting and patronage of art were required.

⁸¹ Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 15-16.

Chapter 4

The Development of the Fish-in-Landscape Type and The Use of Landscapes in Relation to the Depiction of Animals

While van Kessel adopts the style of the Antwerp accessory painters of the sixteenth century, his fish-in-landscapes combine the artistic practices of Antwerp's seventeenth-century art production: depicted collections, natural history, and the scientific naturalism method of recording animals.⁸² No longer are animals merely background figures, but they instead become subjects worthy of scholarly attention through the study of nature. Separating van Kessel's fish in landscapes from his other animals in landscapes is the manner of presentation. The animals in van Kessel's serial-formatted animals-in-landscape paintings are placed in a landscape environment exhibiting their distinct movements, i.e. birds flying or perching or quadrupeds walking or running.⁸³ He correlates animal and setting in his other animals-in-landscape paintings, but his fish are presented out of their natural element of water and instead carefully arranged on land. In this chapter I will chart the fish-in-landscape type, its development alongside natural history, and how van Kessel's take on the type differs from those of his contemporaries.

As will be discussed in this chapter, animal images circulated through prints, books, and painting circles, with similar visual descriptions of animals being recycled; for that

⁸² Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp*, 50-55.

Depicted collections, specifically gallery paintings, are a practice specific to Antwerp. According to Filipczak, this type of painting did not exist anywhere outside of Antwerp.

⁸³ Many of van Kessel's serial format paintings have been disassembled, an example of an intact animals-in-landscapes series is his *Four Parts of the World* (1664-1666) in the Alte Pinakothek Museum in Munich.

reason, it is difficult to trace van Kessel's fish landscape's exact original sources. The fish-in-landscape type can be traced through several strains of visual precedents: moralizing prints of the sixteenth century, specifically *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* by Pieter Bruegel I (Figure 6), the natural history methods of animal depictions, and allegory paintings. The first beached fish type appears in sixteenth-century prints in the Low Countries, and by the early seventeenth century, a handful of Netherlandish painters practice the genre.

During the sixteenth century, the Low Countries, along with the rest of Western Europe, experienced a religious conflict that permeated the social and political structures --the Protestant Reformation. The development of the printing press and the widespread use of prints in the fifteenth century aided in the growth of Protestantism. The rapid spread of Protestant field preachings was partially due to prints and their role in shaping the public opinion or otherwise bringing attention to Reform ideas.⁸⁴ In the Low Countries, prints were produced in large amounts and given out at field preachings or circulated surreptitiously, as many artists working at this tumultuous time held strong opinions about the persecution of heretics, the Spanish government, or the Catholic Church.⁸⁵ The subject matter of these prints was often satirical, contained images with a short caption, and were used to bring to light the injustices of the time.

⁸⁴ Without the benefit of architectural structures like a church, tens of thousands of people gathered in the countryside, and even in the city of Antwerp, to listen to Protestant doctrine in informal outdoor sermons known as field preachings or hedge sermons.

⁸⁵ Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm*, 60-62.

Pieter Bruegel I was a painter, printmaker, and great-grandfather to van Kessel whose elusive artistic style befitted the time of religious turmoil and political uncertainty, as seen in the example of his print *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* (Figure 6).⁸⁶ Edicts were issued regarding subject matter throughout the sixteenth century, which imposed limitations against improper figures, or anything but orthodox Catholic narratives.⁸⁷ As such, Bruegel's print is intentionally ambiguous, and includes fantastical elements like hybrid creatures. A main scene of a large beached fish with smaller fish spilling out of its mouth and belly, and a similar view repeated in the background of an islet with another large fish on land. Bruegel combines land and sea in a coastal setting with a townscape on the horizon, where animal figures are a prominent part of the print: the largest fish occupies the majority of the frame, and the smaller fish make up the majority of the figures. His fish being on land is explained through a fishing village setting, where the fish represent a fisherman's catch. Fish as a commodity food product is indicated by the gutting processes repeated several times throughout the print. The animals function as a didactic tool, a familiar mode to Medieval proverbs and fables, and can be interpreted in terms of iconography. Accompanying the image is a proverb in Latin and Dutch reading, "Look son, I have long known that the big fish eat the small." Bruegel includes human figures in the print, e.g., in the fisherman with a knife between his teeth in the foreground, holding a

⁸⁶ The engraving was based on a drawing by Pieter Bruegel I, and published by Hieronymus Cock. Bruegel takes a humorous and fantastical approach to this visual aphorism akin to Hieronymus Bosch; thus the signature on the bottom left corner. For more on the Bruegel-Bosch connection regarding this print, see: Barrett, Kerry. "Boschian Bruegel, Brughelian Bosch: Hieronymus Cock's Production of "Bosch" Prints," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, Vol. 5 Issue 2 (Summer 2013): 1-13.

⁸⁷ Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm*, 66.

sliced fish and pulling out another fish within it; the sequence of size is marked three times, underlining the idea of something larger consuming something smaller. The inclusion of people signals that the meaning does not refer just to eating, but to the act of metaphorically consuming another being, establishing a power dynamic and layering of control. The print references inequality on a larger scale, likely the religious intolerance of the Catholic Church and the violent measures they took to suppress Protestant ideas, and the struggle of the Low Countries for political independence from the Spanish Monarchy.

Bruegel's print, an early display of fish out of water, recalls the pictorial vernacular of the Medieval tradition of animal imagery, particularly the print's whimsical qualities akin to drollery, bestiaries, and the fantastical inventiveness of Hieronymus Bosch (c.1450-1516).⁸⁸ Where Bosch appropriated the visual traditions of hybrids and animals to wooden panels as a means of expressing moral satire, Bruegel continues the practice in print. Bruegel visual curiosities in *Big Fish Eat Little fish*, are didactic and critical of the times.

⁸⁸ Drollery is a type of manuscript illustration. Found in the margins of pages, the images are small and imaginative, often depicting animals or hybrid animals.

Figure 6. Pieter van der Heyden, engraving after a drawing by Pieter Bruegel I. *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*. c. 1557. Engraving. Image placed in the public domain by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY.
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/338694>

The use of animal iconography in early modern paintings can be traced back to Medieval literature. Exempla texts such as animal fables assigned characteristics to animals based on the informational texts on nature written in antiquity.⁸⁹ Bestiaries were the exempla texts most influential for the development of animal symbolism in western

⁸⁹ Simona Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art*. (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2008), 7.

Ancient writings, like Aristotle's zoological works or Pliny's treatises on natural history, were appropriated as allegorical and moralistic devices in educating followers of Christianity.

culture. These were compendiums of all known animals, both real and imaginary. Bestiaries attached each creature to a human moral quality, either a vice or virtue, accompanied by a Biblical passage or story as an example. Animal fables were commonly used by preachers to teach morals and ethics in a tangible and palpable form to the general public and incoming clergy. Animal iconography has an association and close alignment in meaning with Christian morality and values. A proponent of the use of animal fables in Christian proselytizing was the Franciscan order. The connection made between animals and humans in literature impacts the visual metaphors of the following centuries. The assignment of meaning to animals fluctuated in these sermons, where they would take positive or negative human qualities depending on the story.⁹⁰

While painting animals in Antwerp was catalyzed by the sixteenth-century luxury market, particularly through the specialization of skills for readymade painting production, the interest surrounding animals evolved further in the seventeenth century through collecting and natural history. Animals were at an intersection between painting and artistic illustration and the study of nature.⁹¹ Early modern forms of collecting began in sixteenth-century Italy where the discovery of antiquities encouraged an investigation of the past.⁹² Collecting expanded into a desire to study objects worthy of scientific

⁹⁰ Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols*, 8-12.

⁹¹ Kolb, "Cataloguing Nature in Art," 84-85.

⁹² Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 1.

Renaissance naturalists began accumulating objects for study. Aristotle and Pliny's treatises on natural history served as a source of knowledge and as a catalyst for these naturalists and humanists who embraced the idea of "studying nature as a material object rather than a textual subject". Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 153.

inquiry, enabling the growth of fields like medicine and natural history.⁹³ Spaces filled with collections arose throughout Europe: cabinets of curiosities, museums, libraries, grottos, gardens, and galleries of art.⁹⁴ Collections became more specialized, with themes uniting the objects. Animals appeared in a variety of settings, where they functioned as objects of study, symbols of power, or wonders of nature.

In addition to physical objects, collections manifested in visual forms where animals were cataloged and categorized as part of the process of documenting and studying nature. Scientific illustrations of specimens were an integral part of natural history research, and both plants and animals were recorded, ultimately being ordered into the natural history catalog.⁹⁵ This type of tome was the first of its kind that depicted animals with a sense of objectivity and less consideration for a moralizing message.⁹⁶ Animals from natural history catalogs were often presented against a decontextualized background, with the lack of setting focalizing the animal as a subject of study. As illustrators used animals who were either dead or alive, the aliveness of the animals in these images varied. When this method is translated into painting, artists mimic the

⁹³ Natural history had not been a separate discipline in the humanities, but signs of its evolution were appearing in specified studies and lectureships in institutions.

⁹⁴ These spaces for holding objects did not come to existence at once. One of the purposes of a museum is for the display of an object, but the collecting and curating of objects came before, in smaller areas like art cabinets, cabinets of curiosities, or rooms where paintings were stored.

⁹⁵ Marjorie Lee Hendrix, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Nature Painting" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1984), 136. Hendrix ties natural history illustrations directly to naturalists, who either painted or illustrated themselves or hired artists. A specimen is a plant, animal, or mineral that is an example of a whole species or type.

⁹⁶ Kolb, "Cataloguing Nature in Art," 85.

realness of the animal as if it were in a shadow box, as first seen in Albrecht Durer's *Stag Beetle*, c. 1505. The style became known as scientific naturalism, and it is closely associated to the works of Joris Hoefnagel.⁹⁷ His paintings consisted of insects displayed as specimens, rather than as staffage or characters in a narrative or landscape. Similar to a shadow box or display case, the picture plane takes on the role of a glass plate and the frame acts as a casing whereby the panel surface seems to hold the contents. These paintings lack the formatting seen in narratives or landscapes.

Depicted collections are a large part of van Kessel's work, as the animals themselves are presented as objects in a collection. The foreground space of his fish landscapes is where he demonstrated his awareness of contemporary trends of collecting and *kunstkamers*, also known as cabinets of curiosities (See Figure 7).⁹⁸ Van Kessel presents an encyclopedic plethora of animals that would have appealed to seventeenth-century *liefhebbers*, or amateur collectors, who were interested in collecting and curiosities. Cabinets of curiosities were comprised of pictures, books, stones, metals, plants, and animals, items worthy of inquiry but also worthy of collection because they fit the categories of rare, novel, or extravagant. Van Kessel paints an abundance of marine creatures and shells, which were a popular component in art cabinets.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Ertz and Nitze-Ertz, *Jan van Kessel der Altere*, 119-120.

⁹⁸ Cabinets of curiosities were not necessarily furniture. The collecting and curating of objects came in the forms of art cabinets or rooms. These spaces gave way to museums. For more on the beginnings of collections and museums, see: Paula Findlen, "Laboratories of Nature" in *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

⁹⁹ For the Antwerp *burgher*, it was important to publicly display his interest in art collecting and commissioning, as it signaled taste and knowledge of worldly topics. For more on the collecting practices of Antwerp in the seventeenth century and how

Figure 7. The Museum of Ole Worm, Copenhagen. 1655. 25.4 x 35.6 cm. Engraving. Credit: Wellcome Collection. Used with permission under the Creative Commons 4.0 International License. <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/cjsqdcpy>

A resurgence in documenting animals in visual form came about during the period between the early fifteenth and late sixteenth centuries of frequent travels to the New World. Natural history catalogs aided in managing new information, as circumnavigation prompted the discovery and research of foreign species.¹⁰⁰ Merchants brought these new animals back to Europe, arousing an interest in foreign *naturalia*. The trans-Atlantic

collections were depicted in painting, see chapter: Filipczak, Zirka Zaremba. “The Social Status of Depicted and Actual Collectors.” In *Picturing Art in Antwerp: 1550-1700*, 51-57. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.

¹⁰⁰ Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 3.

expeditions were an impetus of progress for natural historians, and gave artists new material to work with.¹⁰¹

The topic of art derived from art, versus art derived from nature is particularly significant when discussing the prolific animal cataloging period between 1550 and 1580. Both ancient texts on animals and new texts from voyages of discovery were in circulation, and they were being systemized into books printed and published during the mid-sixteenth century all around Europe.¹⁰² These books were used by scholars as references for their own books. The best known example is from the Swiss scholar and natural historian Conrad Gessner (1516-1565), who created the widely circulated *Historiae Animalium*, published between 1551 and 1558. The encyclopedia was an extensive four volume text on the classification of animals that included anatomical, medicinal, culinary, agricultural, religious and philological data, along with humanistic texts like mythological literature. Gessner's choice to compile all known information on

¹⁰¹ Kolb, "Cataloguing Nature in Art," 58-59.

Marrigje Rikken, "Exotic Animal Painting by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Roelant Savery," in *Zoology in Early Modern Culture. Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education*, (Boston: Brill Publishers, 2014), 400. The practice of importing animals began before the sixteenth century, dating back to Spanish and Portuguese voyages circumventing the world in the fifteenth century.

¹⁰² Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 3.

Illustrations and other visual depictions of animals served as an accompaniment to informational text. The most prevalent method of studying nature at this time was still through the literary tradition, with images acting as a support. Enenkel warns against viewing early modern zoology as moving through a linear trajectory from texts like Pliny or Aristotle to empirical observation. Scholars like Conrad Gesner and Ulisse Aldrovandi incorporated both methods. See: Enenkel, Karl A. E. "The Species and Beyond: Classification and the Place of Hybrids in Early Modern Zoology." In *Zoology in Early Modern Culture. Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education*, edited by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 1-12. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2014.

animals, placing natural history research alongside folktale and myth, allows for a comprehensive view of animals.¹⁰³ For textual information, Gessner cites classical sources such as Pliny and Aristotle, and Medieval writers, primarily Albertus Magnus.¹⁰⁴ His animal illustrations were drawn *ad vivum* and *ad sceleton*; he carefully cites images taken from maps, woodcuts, and other printed illustrated books.¹⁰⁵ Gessner's great endeavor in collecting information on all animals, including imaginary hybrid creatures, was helped along by friends and acquaintances, artists included.¹⁰⁶ Visual information flowed freely between natural historians and artists, together facilitating the production of scientific knowledge.¹⁰⁷ Painting and prints and natural history illustrations shared similar goals and approaches in their inquiries into nature, although this is not to suggest that differences were not present.

Three Netherlandish designers and artists are notable in their representations of fish-in-landscapes: Adriaen Coenen, Adriaen Collaert, and Joris Hoefnagel. Adriaen Coenen (1514-1587), a Netherlandish fisherman and fish auctioneer, created his *Visboek* between 1577 and 1580, a handwritten and hand-illustrated 410 page manuscript consisting of

¹⁰³ Several scholars have made the distinction between bestiaries and allegorical emblematic literature and empirical studies of animals. Cohen describes this compilation of both types of knowledge as a transition period. Cohen, *Animals as Disguised*, 24.

¹⁰⁴ Cohen, *Animals as Disguised*, 30.

¹⁰⁵ Illustrations made from living beings are *ad vivum*, and those made from observing dried specimens are *ad sceleton*. Source material Gessner cites come from Guillaume Rondelet's *Libri de Piscibus Marinis* (1554), Pierre Belon's *De Aquatilibus* (1553), and Hippolyto Salviani's *Aquatilium Animalium Historiae Liber Primus* (1554). For more on Gessner's sources, see: Kusukawa, S. "The Sources of Gessner's Pictures for the *Historia Animalium*." *Annals of Science* 67, no. 3 (July 2010): 303–28. doi:10.1080/00033790.2010.488899.

¹⁰⁶ Kusukawa, "Sources of Gessner's Pictures," 303–328.

¹⁰⁷ Baadj, *Crafting a Natural History*, 20.

information on bodies of water, fishing grounds, and marine animals.¹⁰⁸ Unlike Gessner, Coenen was self-taught in painting, but he emulated printed manuscripts in his use of cartouches and borders, which are present on nearly every page. He draws from a variety of sources and artists, one of whom was the Swedish writer Olaus Magnus (1490-1557), whose book *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* was published in 1555.¹⁰⁹ While *Visboek* was illustrated by hand and not printed or published, it was recorded in the minutes of the Leiden courts in 1583 and was displayed the annual fairs and festivals of the same year. Several of Coenen's fish are painted in the style of specimens, against a blank background, while others are painted in a landscape. One of the best known images from his *Visboek* is a monumental beached whale on a coast with human figures surrounding it and a town seascape background (Figure 8). The painting was inspired by a print, which referenced an actual beached whale on the Scheldt River, a popular motif at the time.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Kolb, "Cataloguing Nature in Art, 64.

¹⁰⁹ "Adriaen Coenan's Fish Book (1580)," The Public Domain Review, accessed November 2020, <https://publicdomainreview.org/collection/adriaen-coenen-s-fish-book-1580>.

¹¹⁰ "Adriaen Conan's Visboek," KB National Library of the Netherlands, accessed November 2020, <https://www.kb.nl/en/themes/middle-ages/adriaen-coenens-visboek>.

Figure 8. Adriaen Coenensz van Schilperoort (1514-1587). A page from *Visboeck*. 1577-1579. Hand painted. Used with permission from *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, National Library of the Netherlands.

The subject of the fish landscape is found in the *oeuvre* of Antwerp designer, engraver and publisher Adriaen Collaert (1560-1618). He published a series of ten copperplate prints titled *Piscium Vivae Icones* (Figure 9) sometime between 1570 and 1580.¹¹¹ These prints were circulated as visual decor and, to some extent, identification guides.¹¹² The pictorial format of the plates consists of fish displayed out of water on the foreground shore, with a background including land and water.

¹¹¹ The exact publication date of the series is unknown, but scholars have estimated that Collaert published the series when he registered with St. Luke's Guild in Antwerp in 1580. Hendrix calculates the series was published somewhere between 1573 and 1577. See Hendrix, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements," 49.

Piscium Vivae Icones was created along with the animal print series, *Animalium Quadrupedum* and *Avium Vivae Icones*.

¹¹² Liesbeth M. Helmus, ed. *Fish. Still Lives by Dutch and Flemish Masters 1550-1700*. (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2004), 170.

Figure 9. Adriaen Collaert. Plate from *Piscium Vivae Icones*. c. 1570-1580. Copperplate print. Image from The British Museum, used with permission under the Creative Commons Attribution Non-Commercial Share Alike 4.0 International License. <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/997785001>

Antwerp painter and designer Joris Hoefnagel (1542-1600/1601) created a manuscript of a wide variety of animals titled the *Four Elements*, published between 1575 and 1582.¹¹³ The *Four Elements* had components of an encyclopedic catalog, but prioritized artistry over textual information.¹¹⁴ The manuscript was made up of four oblong albums consisting of 277 miniatures of watercolor on vellum; it contained encyclopedic information on animals including names, descriptions of their place of origin along with

¹¹³ Kolb, "Cataloguing Nature in Art," 85.

Hoefnagel drew from a variety of sources, and was not known to have illustrated *ad vivum*. Hoefnagel used Conrad Gesner's (1516-1565) illustrations as models. (148) The terms in which Hoefnagel created the manuscript is unclear. Many scholars believe that it was commissioned by Emperor Rudolf II of Prague (1552-1612), but Lee Hendrix rebuffs this claim in her dissertation because Hoefnagel began the considerable undertaking in Antwerp. The manuscript later came into Emperor Rudolf II's possession by 1604, per Karel van Mander's account.

¹¹⁴ Hendrix, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements," 28.

visual examples of them in a landscape, Biblical quotes, and references from classical sources.¹¹⁵ The arrangement of the manuscript was analogous to an emblem book: two-page folios with the verso consisting of an image in an oval shape with text, and the recto of text alone.¹¹⁶ In the four volumes, Hoefnagel juxtaposed the four elements: fire, earth, water and air, with “human wonders” or *animalia rationalia* and insects, quadrupeds and reptiles, marine animals and shells, and winged animals and amphibians corresponding to each element respectively.¹¹⁷

The third volume of Hoefnagel’s *Four Elements, Animalia Aqvatilia et Conchiliata*, also known as the *Aqva* plates, is specific to marine animals. Hoefnagel’s approach to depicting animals in a landscape deviates from the common natural history illustrations where animals are presented against a decontextualized background. Instead, he chooses an outdoor setting to provide visual information which a decontextualized background in a natural history illustration lacks. Throughout the *Aqva* plates, a general compositional formula is employed for the landscape: the oblong frame is divided laterally with the horizon line, where the top third is sky and the bottom half is either entirely water or a mix of water and land (See Figure 10). Like van Kessel’s fish-in-landscape type, the animals are placed in the lower half of the composition. Presented is a wide variety of

¹¹⁵ Hendrix, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements," 4-6; Kolb, "Cataloguing Nature in Art," 86-88.

¹¹⁶ Hendrix, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements," 6.

¹¹⁷ Hendrix, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements," 4-9.

The four elements were widely depicted in sixteenth-century Netherlandish art, particularly in prints. In Antwerp, designers and publishers specialized in the four elements, four continents, and four seasons—all categorizing methods of understanding nature. Examples can be seen in the works of designers Adriaen Collaert (c. 1560-1618) and Maerten de Vos (1532-1603).

marine life, including fish, sea mammals, shells, coral and crustaceans both in the water and out of water on land.

Figure 10. Joris Hoefnagel. *Four Elements, Animalia Aqvatilia et Conchiliata (Aqva)*, Plate XXXII. c. 1575-1582. Watercolor and gouache on vellum. 14.3 x 18.4 cm. Open access image through the National Gallery of Art, USA.

<https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.69850.html>

Natural history catalogs were circulated between natural historians and artists; this can be seen in the paintings of Jan Brueghel I, whose allegory of elements and paradise landscapes paralleled Hoefnagel's *Four Elements* system of categorization.¹¹⁸ The

¹¹⁸ Kolb traces Jan Brueghel I's travels to the publication of the *Four Elements*, and argues that Brueghel would have had to have seen the manuscript and menagerie owned by Emperor Rudolph, given the similarities in species he depicts in numerous studies. See subchapters: "The Imperial and Artistic Context," pp. 134-149; and "Brueghel's Series of the Four Elements and Borromeo," pp. 149-165.

Rikken, "Exotic Animal Painting by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Roelant Savery," in *Zoology in Early Modern Culture. Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education*, (Boston: Brill Publishers, 2014), 411-412.

classification of animals in catalogs, and the approach of painters like Brueghel to these cataloging methods, was pertinent in the development of the fish-in-landscape genre. An example can be seen in Brueghel's paintings *Ceres and the Four Elements* (1604) (Figure 11). He revisited the four elements theme throughout his career, and always chose a landscape where fish were placed in a stream or creek, depicting the element of water. Painters continued experimenting within this type and began to separate their allegories of elements into individual scenes. Brueghel's *Allegory of Water* (late sixteenth-early seventeenth century) (Figure 12) is dedicated entirely to the element of water, with a plethora of fish and water fowl placed in a landscape setting. The scene is placed inland, with a shallow flow of water where the fish are immobilized on their sides, rather than fully submerged. While fish and water fowl make up a larger portion of the frame, the focus is still on the human figures and the personification of allegory. This separation of elements into specifically devoted scenes marks a movement toward fish as primary subjects, beyond the role of background accessories. Artists went beyond the idea of fish as standing for water, and placed them in a variety of settings: as food in kitchen scenes or still lifes, as commodities being sold in markets or stalls, or on seashores. The specialization of fish paintings began in Antwerp encouraged by the open market, and many Netherlandish artists built their careers as specialists of animal painting in different settings within established workshops, contributing to the development of fish sub-genres.

Rikken cites Brueghel's *Earthly Paradise* and *Entry of Animals into Noah's Ark*. See figures 15 and 16.
Helmus, *Fish*, 16.

Figure 11. Jan Brueghel I. *Ceres and the Four Elements*. 1604. Oil on copper. 42 x 71 cm. *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien*. Reprinted with permission from Art Resource.

Figure 12. Jan Brueghel I. *Allegory of Water*. Late Sixteenth-Early Seventeenth Century. Oil on wood. 46 x 83 cm. *Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, France*. Reprinted with permission from Art Resource.

The fish-in-landscape genre developed in Netherlandish painting in the seventeenth century, and was practiced exclusively in the Netherlandish region. Fish landscapes were painted both on commission and for the art market. As Protestant merchants and artists

moved from Antwerp to the north during the later decades of the sixteenth century, the themes artists painted moved along with them, and the fish-in-landscape genre came to be practiced frequently in the northern regions. Fish-in-landscapes were popular in the northern parts of the Netherlandish region during the Dutch Golden Age. Evidence for *fishscape* commissions is found in the oeuvres of Utrecht painters Marcus Ormea (active before 1611-1636) and Willem Ormea (active 1634-1673), making them the earliest known painters of the fish-in-landscape type, although there are earlier prints of the type by other artists (See Figure 13).¹¹⁹ Pieter van Schaeyenborgh (active 1635-1657) was an animal painter, born in Antwerp and practiced in Alkmaar, North Holland, who specialized in fish landscapes. Both Willem Ormea and Pieter van Schaeyenborgh worked steadily in the genre throughout their careers, but there were animal/flower painters, like Matthias Withoos (1627-1703), from Hoorn, in North Holland, who only dabbled in the fish-in-landscape genre.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Helmus, *Fish*, 269 & 279.

Marcus Ormea's painting of *Fish on a beach, with the Miraculous draft of fishes* (c. 1625-1630) is 117 cm x 168.5 cm, and incredibly detailed. With its large size, it is assumed that this painting was done for a specific client, on commission, rather than for the art market.

¹²⁰ Helmus, *Fish*, 319.

The best known painting of Withoos in the fish landscape genre is *Fish on the quay of the Grashaven in Hoorn*, c. 1675, which shows a group of fish on the ground and in baskets in the foreground, with a body of water, boats, and a townscape in the background. Withoos mainly practiced in forest landscapes with insect paintings, a niche category of the animal genre focused on undergrowth in the woodlands.

Figure 13. Willem Ormea. *Still Life with Fish*. 1638. Oil on panel. 54.5 x 92 cm. *Rijksmuseum*, Amsterdam. Image placed in the public domain by the *Rijksmuseum*. <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.4885>

Van Kessel painted a wide range of animal subjects, including animals in landscapes, and was one of the few fish landscape painters practicing in Antwerp in the seventeenth century. This niche genre was not popular in the Southern Netherlands, because animals were adapted to a variety of settings by then. The direction of animal paintings in the seventeenth century paralleled that of human figures, with animals being portrayed with intense animation and a sense of drama. Frans Snyders, an Antwerp animal painter of the seventeenth century, used landscapes as background, favoring foreground animals in motion or dramatically displayed on a table top. Fish were not often chosen for this type of animal display. Along with specifically depicting fish in landscapes, van Kessel mixed classes of animals, placing fish among mammals, birds or reptiles.

As van Kessel's fish are presented in a landscape setting, we must consider how his animals functioned in landscapes. In his fish landscapes, Van Kessel preferred geographically transitional areas between land and water, such as shores or coastal regions. He also employed a specific compositional formula. The frame is divided in half by a horizon line, with the upper half composed of sky and the lower half of the coastal region including the majority of the animals. The setting is apt to the depiction, as van Kessel is able to show animals both in water and out of it.

Within the long tradition of landscapes painted in the Low Countries, animals gradually became acceptable as main subjects rather than accessories to human activities. Early Netherlandish Antwerp painter Joachim Patinir (c.1480–1524) established the composition of the world landscape (See Figure 14)—a portrayal of the outdoors, distinctive in its use of the panorama and high horizon line, that allowed complete views of the foreground, middle ground, and background, showing elements of mountaintops to sea level in one frame.¹²¹ Following suit, Antwerp painters like Pieter Bruegel I participated in the world landscape. Animals were secondary to the landscape; they were background accessories or *staffage* figures that were given little attention to detail, dwarfed by the topographical elements.

¹²¹ Like many other Netherlandish painters of the period, Patinir collaborated in his paintings. He designed and painted the topographical elements in his landscapes but the figures were often done by another painter.

Figure 14. Workshop of Joachim Patinir. *Landscape with the Temptation of St Antony*. c. 1510-1520. Oil on panel. 29.5 × 57 cm. *Rijksmuseum*, Amsterdam. Image placed in the public domain by the *Rijksmuseum*.
<http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.9643>

Jan Brueghel I is credited with the creation of the paradise landscape which differed from the world landscape in that it focused less on the vast perspective of land, was scaled down, and emphasized a plethora of animals. Narratives like *Entry of Animals into Noah's Ark* (Figure 15) and the *Earthly Paradise*, (Figure 16) along with allegories of elements, were used to combine landscapes and animal paintings, and displayed the beauty and diversity of nature.¹²² Animals were depicted alive and in motion, becoming the most prominent figures in the painting. The humans in these narratives are secondary subjects, and in some cases are almost unnoticeable. The landscape provided a setting in

¹²² Brueghel occasionally painted animals in a non-narrative scenes, such as specimen painting. An example is his *Mouse, Rose, Caterpillar, and Butterfly*, ca. 1605 that he sent to Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564-1631). The support he uses is a *rametto*, or a small copper plate. Elizabeth Alice Honig, *Jan Brueghel and the Senses of Scale*. (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), 1-2.

which the animal is depicted in movement and while displaying its characteristic behavior.¹²³

Figure 15. Jan Brueghel I. *The Entry of Animals into Noah's Ark*. 1613. Oil on panel. 54.6 × 83.8 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Photo: Author.

¹²³ Kolb, "Cataloguing Nature in Art," 54.

Figure 16. Jan Brueghel. *Earthly Paradise*. 1607-1608. Oil on copper. 45 x 65 cm. Louvre Museum, Paris. Reprinted with permission from Art Resource.

In Hoefnagel's *Four Elements*, specifically his *Aqua* plates, landscapes are less detailed, shifting the dynamic between figure and setting, and directing the attention to the figures. Where the paradise landscapes created more cohesion between animal figures and landscape, Hoefnagel's fish are not wholly interactive with their setting, resulting in an overlay or superimposition of animals on top of the landscape, where the figures are pressed against the picture plane. This method provides a clear dorsal view of the rays and plaice. Hendrix describes this as ornamental design, and deems this as Hoefnagel's intentional approach to creating fish that float on top of the water.¹²⁴ He adopts many methods of natural history catalogs, by including the lateral, ventral, or dorsal views of an animal, but at the same time uses the landscape as a way to indicate the aliveness of his

¹²⁴ Hendrix, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements," 134, 143-144.

animals in contrast to the natural history method of portraying animals as specimens.¹²⁵

The *Aqva* plates include backgrounds of both land and water, and Hoefnagel dedicates each topographical element to a certain way of displaying animals, creating a logical connection between lateral and dorsal views of alive fish in water, and ventral views of dead fish on land. An example of this is *Plate XXXII*, where two plaice and one thornback ray are dorsally displayed on the surface of the water; to show the opposite view of the ray, one is placed ventrally on the shore (See Figure 10). In a natural history illustration, the varying views of an animal could be placed anywhere on the blank background, but Hoefnagel uses the above-surface landscape to present animals ventrally; this invokes the idea of a dead or dying animal, corresponding with a ventral view of the animal.

When Hoefnagel incorporates both land and sea in one plate, the setting can be read either as a sea bed or as a seashore. The landscape switches perspective within a single frame, between a lateral and an aerial view of that landscape. *Plate LIII* (Figure 17) is a combination of land and sea, and the land can be interpreted as the ocean floor, identifiable by the bottom-dwelling starfish and the growth of coral. Hoefnagel adapts the landscape composition when he transforms it into a shoreline or river bank setting, as seen in *Plate XXXII*. Hoefnagel assigns several animals to each frame, oftentimes presenting a variety of fish species together.

¹²⁵ Hendrix, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements," 143.

Figure 17. Joris Hoefnagel. *Four Elements, Animalia Aquatilia et Cochiliata (Aqva)*, Plate LIII. c. 1575-1582. Watercolor and gouache on vellum. 14.3 x 18.4 cm. Open access image through the National Gallery of Art, USA.

<https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.69873.html>

Van Kessel uses landscapes as a means to display his animals in and out of water, similarly to Hoefnagel's *Aqva* plates and Collaert's prints, but he incorporates more detail from the tradition of Netherlandish landscape painting. Van Kessel treats the animals as figures synchronous with their environment, creating harmony between animal and setting. Hoefnagel's landscapes were general indicators of place of habitat without much detail, i.e. a horizon line where the lower half is blue indicating a body of water for marine animals. Van Kessel employs a compositional formula for his animal-in-landscape paintings, where the horizon line divides the frame, the middle ground is a

body of water, and the foreground is a coastal or shore element. The scale is not monumental, unlike the world landscape, but is comparable to the intimate proportions of Brueghel's paradise landscapes.

The majority of van Kessel's animals lie in the foreground and the background consists of architectural or topographical elements, a familiar composition to other fish-in-landscape painters. Van Kessel's five paintings reflect his use of closed and open compositions, both of which are found in his animal landscapes in general. *Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays* (Figure 3) and *Seascape with Barbel* (Figure 4) are framed by foliage and rock elements in a closed composition, familiar to the heavy vegetation of Brueghel's paradise landscapes. The baroque practice of a curtain framing a scene translates to the sea cliffs that frame van Kessel's landscapes. *Antwerp* (Figure 1) and *Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice* (Figure 5) recall the world landscape composition, e.g. Workshop of Joachim Patinir's *Landscape with the Temptation of St. Antony* (Figure 14) or Pieter Bruegel I's *Fall of Icarus* (Figure 18), where the foreground is elevated, overlooking the middle ground or foreground. The result is a drop between foreground and middle ground. Van Kessel, however, reduces the exaggerated angle, resulting in a composition that is both open and intimate.

Figure 18. Pieter Bruegel I. *Fall of Icarus*. c. 1560. Oil on canvas. 73.5 cm × 112 cm. Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels. Reprinted with permission from Art Resource.

The disciplines of natural history and painting were in dialog in the development of the fish landscape genre. Fish as a primary subject moved back and forth between the pages of catalogs and the canvasses of paintings. Van Kessel was aware of the trends in collecting and of the natural history illustration practices for the animal genre. He combined the Netherlandish tradition of landscapes with the techniques compositional approaches of scientific illustration.

Chapter 5

Jan van Kessel's Fish-in-Landscapes

Van Kessel worked in the fish landscape genre extensively in the 1650s and 1660s, nearly one hundred years after the first fish prints and books were published.¹²⁶ His redefinition of the animal figure lies in his characterization, where the fish are not just objects for study or part of collections, but hold a sense of life as expressed in their faces and bodies. Animals were used in natural history catalogs and books to understand the fundamentals of nature. Van Kessel inverts the idea of generality inherent in specimen displays by using traditional specimen displaying techniques alongside techniques that give them an aspect of individuation. His representations of animals stood between the realm of objects and the realm of beings. In this chapter, through an analysis of the five fish-in-landscape paintings, I will explain how van Kessel depicts his fish, and how his mode of presentation factors into how he assembled his serial paintings.

The relationship between van Kessel's fish-in-landscape paintings and natural history lies in his display methods of the animal bodies, and how he adapts techniques of natural history illustrations into painting. As briefly discussed in chapter two, natural history catalogs presented animals with respect to anatomical positioning in their illustrations. Fish and other animals in early catalogs such as *Historiae Animalium* are commonly depicted on their median plane, also known as a profile view, where the spine of the animal parallels the picture plane with a clear view of its anterior and posterior ends. Van Kessel uses the median plane to show either the lateral (side), dorsal (upper/top), or

¹²⁶ During this time, van Kessel completed roughly sixty fish-in-landscape paintings.

ventral (bottom/belly) view. Van Kessel's five paintings are scenes of fish taken out of their natural element of water and presented as washed up on a coastal shore. He depicts several marine species consistently in clear anatomical positioning: the thornback ray, cuttlefish, barbel, and cod— species found in the five paintings. He did not, however, display all of these species in an individual panel together. The placement of these animals varies in order to achieve an organic arrangement of them as beached fish on a shore, while making clear the multiple views of their bodies in the individual painting. The technique is one appropriated from scientific illustrations, showing multiple views of a single animal for the purposes of study and visual preservation. The learned buyer, interested in animal studies and natural history, would have understood and appreciated the reference to specimen depictions.

The multiple views of his fish in the five paintings go beyond individual panels into the broader serial format of van Kessel's grouped paintings. The arrangements of his fish maintain a level of organization within the individual panel and its incorporated series. Van Kessel was partial to small-format oil paintings, on either wooden panels or copperplates, which he grouped together as a collection. His animal paintings, from decontextualized insect paintings to animals in landscapes, were assembled together in a wooden frame intended to be sold in multiples.¹²⁷ While many of these serial paintings have been disassembled with single plates in museums or private collections, there are indications in van Kessel's presentation of animal bodies as to how he might have

¹²⁷ Baadj, *Crafting a Natural History*, 158.

originally arranged them.¹²⁸ Where some panels contain multiple views of one species, others often have just one view per species that match opposing views in a separate panel, as will be discussed in the *Seascape with Barbel* and *Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice* subsection below. The conjecture is that van Kessel thoughtfully designed the series before painting with the intention of assembling them as a group. The serial paintings and matching panels can be interpreted as a catalog of animals.

Counter to fish as natural history specimens is van Kessel's emphasis on his animals as animated figures.¹²⁹ Van Kessel deviates from the traditional observation-based representations of animals in natural history catalogs. He paints animals that are taxonomically identifiable, but also are characterized as individual figures in their expressions. The multiple-views technique serves, naturally, to display different views of the animal, but van Kessel uses this as a means to imbue emotion. The evocation of emotions would have been a logical choice for van Kessel in his portrayal of his animals. The beingness of his fish aligns with the seventeenth-century Baroque fascination with expression, emotion, body, and anatomy. Emotions were explored as a part of early modern philosophies and were labeled as passions of the soul. These passions can be identified in a number of emotions, comprising a fluctuating state of mind experienced by humans. The belief was that the human body bespeaks the inner workings of the mind,

¹²⁸ An exception is his *Four Parts of the World* (1664-1666) at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, Germany, which is one of the known complete series by van Kessel.

¹²⁹ Hendrix notes that Hoefnagel, in his *Aqva* plates, presents his fish as living. Hoefnagel uses land and water as a means of dictating the aliveness to his animals. He, however, renders his animals as "ornamental," or less weighted and pushed up against the picture plane. Hendrix, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements," 34-54, 134, 143.

and that the body and soul are connected through passions. If a painting could convey intense feelings like fear, rage, or love, it was considered effective art.¹³⁰ The objective was an outward display of emotion in the face that could affect the viewer immediately, without requiring outside knowledge of the subject matter. Through the out-of-water placement, van Kessel experiments with levels of aliveness through the postures and expressions of his subjects. They struggle, move, and vocalize on their sides, backs, and bellies. They do not merely lie lifeless on the shore as specimens, but this characterization technique challenges their status as specimens.

Analysis of the Five Paintings

Antwerp from Europe, Four Parts of the World

The *Antwerp* panel is one of the two paintings that is still attached to its serial frame—the *Four Parts of the World*. The panel is in one of the four wooden grid frames, each with sixteen smaller oil on copper paintings surrounding one large center plate. Each frame represents the four continents known at the time: Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. The largest center plate illustrates a scene with humans and the surrounding smaller plates, labeled by city, represent animals and landscapes specific to its respective continent. *Antwerp* is located in the *Europe* frame, third plate across from the top-left corner. The painting displays a total of twenty-five North Sea native fish and crustaceans, excluding shells (See Figures 1, repeated below, and 19). Van Kessel omits the additions of fantastical animals and places his animal figures in a recognizable landscape. He

¹³⁰ Gary Schwartz, “Emotions. Pain and pleasure in Dutch painting of the Golden Age,” (Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum, 2014), 11.

presents his most commonly used animals—two thornback rays, one cod, two plaice, and one garpike.

Figure 1, repeated. Jan van Kessel I. *Antwerp from Europe, Four Parts of the World*. 1664-1666. Oil on copper. 14.5 x 21 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich. Reprinted with permission from Art Resource.

Figure 19. Species Identification Diagram for *Antwerp* panel. Reference Figure 1 above.

The assumption, upon seeing the fish out of water, would be that they are dead, but van Kessel imbues them with characteristics indicative of life and awareness.¹³¹ The practice of combining live animals with dead animals in painting was common in the southern provinces; Frans Snyders, a prolific animal painter from Antwerp, often portrayed dead animals in hunting or game scenes with the addition of live animals as a smaller but dramatic counterpoint.¹³² Van Kessel, meanwhile, merges these ideas into one animal. In *Antwerp* (1664-1666), he synthesizes the scientific descriptive technique with

¹³¹ Dead animals appeared in game, hunting, market, and kitchen scenes in large numbers in the Low Countries during the seventeenth century. During this time, animal consciousness was highly debated in philosophical circles. Scholars have recently looked at these two phenomena in relation to each other. For more, see: Cohen, Sarah. "Life and Death in the Northern European Game Piece." In *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, ed. Karl A.E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 603-639. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2007.

¹³² For more on the works of Frans Snyders and his approach to dead animals, see: Wolloch, Nathaniel. "Dead Animals and the Beast-Machine: Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish paintings of Dead Animals, as Anti-Cartesian statements." *Art History* 22 no. 5 (December 1999): 705-727.

artistic license, by dramatizing the shape of the fish's mouths and the position of its body, producing a more animated and communicative figure. Netherlandish artists in the seventeenth century were attentive in their presentation of the body, distancing their figures from idealization and moving toward a lifelikeness that the viewer could easily relate to.¹³³ Artists would use facial expressions and bodily gestures on human figures to outwardly display the emotions of the human mind, but van Kessel applies this idea to his fish, specifically to the cod, located center-right. He humanizes the appearance of these fish. The cod is placed on the underside of its body (lying on its pelvic and anal fins), upright and unaffected by gravity; making it the most conspicuous figure in the painting.¹³⁴ Cod have subterminal mouths, where their upper jaws extend over their lower jaw. Van Kessel amplifies this physical characteristic, stretching its mouth wide open mimicking vocalization. The thornback ray to the right of the cod echoes the expression, and the two create a balance in dialogue, furthering the effect of talking. The act of speaking moves the fish away from passive objects into the territory of active figures with capabilities of action and intent. The result is a recognition when the viewer looks at the fish, who are intimately expressive and emotional.

The *Antwerp* panel depicts a clear landscape of a river coast; van Kessel pulls the foreground landscape out to parallel the background landscape with the water in the middle, indicating a channel outlined by land. The landscape is a clear representation of the port of Antwerp on the Scheldt River with identifiable churches and cathedrals of the

¹³³ Schwartz, "Emotions. Pain and pleasure," 14.

¹³⁴ Schwartz, "Emotions. Pain and Pleasure," 11-14.

city.¹³⁵ Scholars have cited van Kessel's interpretation of the river as sourced from Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, an atlas of the cities of the world, which was published between 1572 and 1617.¹³⁶ Joris Hoefnagel designed the *Anverpia* map in 1572 (Figure 20). The background bears minor resemblance to the map. The bustling port alludes to a different period, before the river was closed by the Spanish Habsburgs after the Fall of Antwerp in 1585. The townscape shows newer churches, those which had been built in the early seventeenth century.¹³⁷ Van Kessel includes churches on the harbor, some of which are no longer found in present-day Antwerp. He takes liberty in arranging the churches closer together and visible from the riverbanks, providing a panoramic view of buildings.

¹³⁵ Ertz and Nitze-Ertz, *Jan van Kessel der Altere*, 165.

¹³⁶ Ertz and Nitze-Ertz, *Jan van Kessel der Altere*, 165.

The atlas consists of prints in seven volumes, published between 1572 and 1617 in Antwerp and Cologne. Honour cites the publishing of the Antwerp map as 1570. *The New Golden Land*, 85.

¹³⁷ Ertz and Nitze-Ertz, *Jan van Kessel der Altere*, 165.

The furthest left tower is the St. Walburga Church, also known as the *Burchtkerk*, which was built in the early seventeenth century and demolished in 1817. This church was built on the banks of the Scheldt River.

Figure 20. Frans Hogenberg, Simon Novellanus, Joris Hoefnagel, Cornelius Caymox. *Anverpia* from Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. 1572-1594. Hand-colored etching. Image placed in the public domain by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/666202>.

Athene from Asia, Four Parts of the World

The *Athene* painting contains sixteen marine animals in the foreground, all of which are native to the North Sea. Rather than a metropolitan landscape, van Kessel chooses to represent the city of Athens in landscape through a mountain peak and twisting river, similar to *Battle of Alexander at Issus* (1529) by Albrecht Altdorfer (c. 1480-1538). The foreground is elevated above sea level, and the background view is wide and far-reaching, conveying the effect of a *weltlandschaft*, or world landscape (See Figure 14).

Along with the use of North Sea species, the *Antwerp* and *Athene* panels correlate in terms of their place within their frame and the display technique of the sturgeon. *Athene* is located in the *Asia* frame, and like *Antwerp*, it is the third plate across from the top-left

corner. The sturgeon is the largest figure in both the *Antwerp* and *Athene* panels (See Figures 2, repeated below, and 21).¹³⁸ The sturgeon in the *Antwerp* panel is presented on its right with its head, or anterior end, closer to the foreground and its tail trailing further back. The *Athene* panel is a mirror view of the sturgeon, with its left side on display. The cod is present in both paintings. *Athene* contains two cod lying on their sides in a ventral display, with their anterior ends facing each other. *Antwerp* contains one cod, displayed upright.

¹³⁸ Italian writer Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589) in his *Description of the Low Countries*, mentions the sturgeon from the Meuse River. Along with their size and weight, he briefly describes their spawning season and where they are shipped for export, notably England. Lodovico Guicciardini, *The Description of the Low Countreys and of the Prouinces Thereof, Gathered into an Epitome out of the Historie of Lodouico Guiccardini*, trans. Thomas Danett. (Imprinted at London: By Peter Short for Thomas Chard, 1593), 6-7.

Figure 2, repeated. *Athene* from *Asia, Four Parts of the World*. 1664-1666. Oil on copper. 14.5 x 21 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich. Reprinted with permission from Art Resource.

Figure 21. Species Identification Diagram for *Athene* panel. Reference Figure 2 above.

Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays

Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays is an example of van Kessel's more active fish-in-landscape paintings (Figure 3, repeated below). Fifty-two animals are set within an elaborate and lush landscape (See Figure 22). The primary figures in this painting are three thornback rays and the Eurasian River Otter, both species which are commonly found around the world including the North Sea and Atlantic Ocean. The barbel, cod, and tub gurnard are background figures. Less conspicuous is another otter in the left foreground, hidden in the foliage and only visible by its head with a fish in its mouth. The main otter stands over a group of smaller bony fish, and snarls to the right at a ray on its back, causing a commotion on the left and center foreground.

Figure 3, repeated. Jan van Kessel I. *Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays*. c. 1661-1664. Oil on copper. 18 x 28 cm. Uffizi Gallery Collection, Florence. Reprinted with permission from Art Resource.

Figure 22. Species Identification Diagram for *Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays*. Reference Figure 3 above.

While van Kessel stays attentive to the trends of collecting by having an assortment of animals, they are not presented as objects. The marine creatures in *Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays* are painted with a sense of liveliness and emotion that separates them from their illustrative animal predecessors in natural history catalogs, paradise landscapes, or allegories of elements. This conception of animals starkly contrasts the manner in which they are on display as objects in a collection. The positioning and expressions of the rays, otters, and sea lion allow for an intense exchange of glances and a flow of agitation among them. The two rays on the left have their mouths emphasized, conveying a sense of expression or dialog. The cod and tub gurnards to the right foreground act as helpless witnesses. The left middle ground echoes a similar

scene with a gray seal attacking and stepping on a ray. The impression is that the fish are clumsy and out of their element. The fish are presented above the surface and on their sides and backs. The center cluster of tub gurnard, plaice, and cod lay on top of one another, not unlike piles of fish in fish market paintings, but their awareness counters this. This can be seen in how the herring, the whiting, and the whiting to the left of the plaice are all on their bellies upright.¹³⁹

Van Kessel makes explicit the painting's relationship to natural history illustrations, as his presentation of the three thornback rays recall thornback rays in animal catalogs.¹⁴⁰ Thornback rays were common in animal catalogs, and were depicted as early as 1558 in the first edition of Guillaume Rondelet's *L'histoire Entier des Poissons*. In this catalog, the thornback ray was displayed ventrally and dorsally, providing a full view of the animal. Van Kessel's illustration source, however, was likely Hoefnagel's *Plate XXXII* of the *Aqva* volume (Figure 10). In Hoefnagel's plate, two plaice fish and two rays are all flat against the picture plane and superimposed onto the landscape in what scholar Lee Hendrix refers to as ornamental design.¹⁴¹ Each ray is shown in opposing views: the ventral view on land, and the dorsal view of the ray on the surface of the water. The full anatomical presentation of the rays follows the tradition of animal illustrations in natural history catalogs in regards to body orientation. In *Seascape with Otter and Three*

¹³⁹ Guicciardini describes the diet and dwelling areas of herring in the North Sea, specifically in the Scotland coasts. He notes the fishing season for this fish as mid-September to October, and details how fishermen catch, store, salt, and price them. Guicciardini, *The Description of the Low Countreys*, 11-12.

¹⁴⁰ Helmus *Fish*, 350-351.

¹⁴¹ Hendrix, "Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements," 34-54, 134, 143.

Thornback Rays, van Kessel utilizes the coastal landscape to show three different views of rays: the ventral view on land, hybrid dorsal-ventral view in the area between water and land, and a dorsal view in the water. The multiple views allow for details on either side of the ray. The side-by-side comparison of the ray calls attention to the species' countershading. The middle ray is in motion, lifting its upper body off the ground. The positioning of the three rays brings a dynamism to the whole painting, and their arrangement as a set recalls a continuous narrative.

Seascape with Barbel

In *Seascape with Barbel*, van Kessel depicts forty-five animals, excluding shells, of both foreign and local origin (See Figures 4, repeated below, and 23).¹⁴² The largest figures and primary subjects are depicted with the most detail: the two barbels, one lumpfish, and one rudd in the center. The surrounding fish are tub gurnard, northern pike, cuttlefish, and cod. All these species are local and commonly found in the fish markets of Antwerp, and are native to the North Sea and northern Atlantic Ocean. Among the foreign species are the Eastern Box turtle and crocodile; these species are native to North America and Africa respectively.

¹⁴² Guiccardini enumerates the many fish that come from the North Sea and Scheldt River. He differentiates that the barbel is native to the Scheldt River. Guiccardini, *The Description of the Low Countreys*, 7-8.

Figure 4, repeated. Jan van Kessel I. *Seascape with Barbel*. 1661. Oil on copper. 20.1 x 30.1 cm. Städel Museum, Frankfurt. Reprinted with permission from Art Resource.

Figure 23. Species Identification Diagram for *Seascape with Barbel*. Reference Figure 4 above.

Van Kessel provides multiple views of the barbel, lobsters, and turtles. The foreground barbels, rudd, and lumpfish are more artificially positioned than the rest of the fish in the background. These figures are scaled up in size, and are not positioned as organically washed up on the shore; instead, the fish are laid on top of one another, resembling things in a still life. Van Kessel intentionally does this to display the spine of the right facing barbel and the underside of the left-facing barbel. The display of the ventral laid fish calls attention to countershading, a coloration phenomenon that occurs in animals, which was not labeled in scientific research until the nineteenth century.¹⁴³ The viewer is given two distinct views of this species which are detailed enough for identification.

While the majority of the animals are identifiable species, van Kessel interjects several fantastical animals in the background in *curieux* fashion. Collections for *kunstkammers* included a variety of objects, with collectors favoring curiosities, or *curieux*, a category describing the rare, novel, or bizarre.¹⁴⁴ Preternatural specimens were an element of fascination in the collecting world because they represented idiosyncrasies in nature. Variations, like the odd growth of a lemon or a deformed animal, were

¹⁴³ Countershading is a coloration characteristic that occurs in some insect, mammal, bird, reptile, and marine species, where the upper side of the body is darker than its underside. See Behrens, Roy R. "Revisiting Abbott Thayer: Non-Scientific Reflections about Camouflage in Art, War and Zoology." *Philosophical Transactions: Biological Sciences* 364, no. 1516 (2009): 497-501.

¹⁴⁴ Janice Neri, *The Insect and the Image*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2011), 91.

prominent in cabinets of curiosities and even in animal illustrations.¹⁴⁵ Naturalists paid attention to these errors of nature, and these oddities were where the inner workings of nature were revealed.¹⁴⁶ These wonders can be seen in the encyclopedic collections of Conrad Gessner and Ulisse Aldrovandi. Cornelis de Bie, when writing *Het Gulden Cabinet*, specifies Van Kessel's penchant for depicting "monstrous creatures." This element of his *fishscapes* sets him apart from other fish painters who remained relatively close to naturalism and close descriptive techniques. Van Kessel's fantastical creatures are often hybrids of two different types of animals. In this period where nature was closely examined and studied, hybrid animals were a point of interest. Van Kessel's hybrids also hark back to Medieval bestiaries, drollery, and the works of Bosch and Bruegel. Van Kessel translated this idea in his less scientific and more fantastical depictions of animals. His fish-in-landscapes contain these monstrosities or hybrid creatures, paralleling the interests of curiosity collectors. He adds strange combinatory creatures: the flying fish in the sky with wings similar to the tub gurnard's fins, a monstrous whale in the left middle ground, and three flying fish. A crocodile emerges from the sea in dramatic action, seemingly in response to a long-necked animal. Van Kessel has taken significant liberties with this reptile and it can only be vaguely identified by its shape, rather than distinguished as a specific species.

¹⁴⁵ An example of this is Ulisse Aldrovandi's collection that included a dragon, both a physical specimen and an illustration, which he described in detail through text. Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 18-22.

¹⁴⁶ Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 22.

Seascape with Barbel is notable in its resemblance to Pieter Bruegel I's *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* print (See Figures 4 and 6). The print shows a main scene of a large beached fish with smaller fish spilling out of its mouth and belly; these fish also have eaten even smaller fish. Bruegel emphasizes the size of the fish's mouth as a cavern containing smaller fish, and van Kessel quotes the shape of the mouth in his center barbel. Where Bruegel stressed the act of fishing, a human act, van Kessel removes human figures entirely, and the focal point of the painting becomes the fish, their expressions, and the emotions they evoke. Gutting processes appear several times in the print and underline fish functioning as objects of consumption, but van Kessel does away with this practice and keeps his fish whole.

Van Kessel counters the accuracy method of specimen painting in exaggerating the mouths of the barbel and cod to mimic human speaking or vocalization. Again, van Kessel alters the appearance of the fish, making them resemble human faces. The cod is depicted as having equal-sized mandibles, similar to a human jaw. The cod's mouth is overemphasized and looking left towards the center group. The top-laying barbel has its mouth open, seemingly in dialog.

Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice

Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice contains twenty-five animals local fish found in the North Sea (See Figures 5, repeated below, and 24). The cuttlefish, catfish, and plaice are the largest figures in the painting, and these species only appear once. The composition of this painting, along with that of the *Antwerp* panel, differs from that of *Seascape with Barbel* and *Seascape with Otter and three Thornback Rays*. The main figures are elevated on a cliff or precipice overlooking the shore, rather than placed at sea level. To an extent, this plays a role in how the fish are placed in the landscape. While the majority of the animals in all five paintings are out of water, having the sea close to the animals imbues a sense of liveliness, e.g. the dorsal thornback ray in *Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays*. The cuttlefish presented face-down and dead is congruent with this idea.

Figure 5, repeated. Jan van Kessel I. *Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice*. 1661. Oil on wood. 24 x 32.4 cm. Private Collection. Source: Sotheby's London. This image is in the public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jan_van_Kessel_de_Oude_-_Stilleven_met_schaal-en_schelpdieren.jpg

Figure 24. Species Identification Diagram for *Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice*. Reference Figure 5 above.

Van Kessel's fish-in-landscapes indicate that he designed his serial paintings with consideration of which species to include, and the anatomical presentation of the fish alludes to the methods in which he organized his serials. The cuttlefish is distinct in shape, with its twisting and overlapping arms and tentacles; the countershading of the dorsal cuttlefish contrasts the darker shades of the cuttlefish in *Seascape with Barbel*. While van Kessel displays the same animals, this painting shows the dorsal view of the cuttlefish, complimenting the ventral view of the same species in a separate painting.¹⁴⁷ The species and views match, similar to the multi-views of the thornback rays in *Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays*. This type of presentation suggests a

¹⁴⁷ Van Kessel's *Four Parts of the World*, Lisbon panel in the *Europe* frame, is an example of both the ventral and dorsal views of the cuttlefish.

method of serial organization, where multiple views of one animal could have been divided amongst individual paintings.

The concept that the “object stares back” in art history and material culture is not new, and has been applied to genres like still lifes.¹⁴⁸ James Elkins, in his book *The Object Stares Back: On the Nature of Seeing*, posits that objects have the ability to capture the attention of a viewer.¹⁴⁹ Van Kessel’s fish are laid out on the shore, seemingly dying; calling to mind a *vanitas* symbolism. He renders his fish as expressive beings, and part of their lifeforce is conveyed in their actively looking out from the panel or plate. Rather than being mere accepters of gaze, similar to an object, the fish take on an active role, capable of seeking out a viewer’s gaze. The humanization of the fish’s facial expression attracts the eyes of the viewer, bringing them into the painting. Each of the five fish landscapes contain at least one of these figures. Van Kessel imparts striking facial expressions in the eyes of the *Athene* and *Antwerp* sturgeon; the catfish, cod, and rightmost whiting in *Seascape with Cuttlefish and Plaice*; the middle ray in *Seascape with Otter and Three Thornback Rays*; and the two barbels in *Seascape with Barbel* (see Figures 1-5, 19-24). Their eyes are not simply open and glazed over, but they actively stare out in an intentional gaze.

¹⁴⁸ Hochstrasser explores objects in still lifes and their ability to gaze back at the viewer. Hochstrasser, Julie. “Stil-Staende Dingen. Picturing objects in the Dutch Golden Age.” In *Early Modern Things. Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800*, edited by Paula Findlen, pp.105-124. London: Routledge, 2013.

¹⁴⁹ Elkins, James. *The Object Stares Back: On the Nature of Seeing*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.

Van Kessel's redefinition of the animal form lies in his use of oppositions. His fish negotiate between living and dying, object and being. By owning one of the fish landscapes, a collector possesses an abundance of animal species; the idea of ownership is evident as the animals are laid out not unlike specimens in a cabinet of curiosities. The effect of a collection is further emphasized when the individual paintings are grouped. The animals are shown in multiple views, akin to an animal catalog, giving the collector an opportunity for identification of specific species. Van Kessel makes clear that these animals are objects, but simultaneously approaches the fish as individual figures, differentiating them amongst each other. The assumption of fish out of water is that they are dead, but he imbues characteristics indicative of life and awareness. He deliberately plays between the realms of object and being.

Conclusion

Animal scenes, like genre scenes in general, speak to the lives of humans in history. Fish were studied by a variety of people, as evidenced by the case of Adriaen Coenen, a fisherman turned artist. Fish were also a necessity, in terms of their material value for humans. They functioned as food, as commodities and as means to make a living. In the five fish landscapes discussed in this thesis, Jan van Kessel I includes sturgeon, cod, herring, and barbel—fish that were easily found in fish markets at the time. In his book *Description of the Low Countries*, Guicciardini goes into detail about the feeding grounds, mating and spawning seasons, and diets of both sturgeon and herring. The pervasive reach of animals in Antwerp society is evident in the proliferation of animal paintings in the seventeenth century.

Initially approached in painting as mere accessories to human stories, the subject of animals was given serious attention in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Low Countries. Antwerp's prosperous economy in the sixteenth century led to artist specialization in painting, anticipating the emergence of animals as a popular genre in the seventeenth century. The rippling effects of the Antwerp Mannerists made a lasting impact decades after the closure of the city's art market. Artists produced a vast amount of animal paintings in the seventeenth century, with animals presented in a variety of settings. These paintings were purchased by everyday middle class buyers along with *burghers*. The depiction of animal imagery was not limited to painting, but also seen in early science and documenting animals for study. The fish landscape was a niche genre,

formed at the junction of the popularity of animals as a subject in painting, the interest surrounding natural history, and the Netherlandish tradition of landscapes.

The subject of beached fish was produced in prints and paintings before van Kessel, but he conceives of a new form of displaying these animals. His fish landscapes blur the line between portraying animals as objects in a collection, or as beings full of liveliness. Van Kessel presents his fish spread out on a shore, emphasizing abundance and variety, harking to the exhibition techniques of collector's cabinets or cabinets of curiosities. In his serial format, his technique in grouping his paintings is notable, particularly in its relationship to natural history catalogs. The fish, however, are individualized. He adopts techniques from seventeenth-century presentations of human figures where the body outwardly displayed the emotions of the human mind. Van Kessel applies this idea to his animals, where their bodies are expressive and gestural.

While van Kessel has been deemed a relatively minor artist, a close examination of his work revealed another manner in which natural history and painting intertwined. His work is situated within an established pictorial language centered in the Antwerp art tradition, and simultaneously influenced by early science. His reuse of the Brueghel motifs provides a basis on which to speculate about the ways in which borrowed art motifs were refashioned for a new audience.

The investigations of this thesis uncover only a piece of how van Kessel designed his animal serial paintings. Van Kessel worked extensively in the animals-in-landscapes genre, and he often incorporated multiple classes of animal in his serial paintings. Given more time, I believe a study of van Kessel's animal landscapes—birds, quadrupeds,

reptiles, and fish included—would uncover more patterns in how he designed the organization of the individual panels into groups. One could reconstruct how the now dismantled paintings were once arranged.

Bibliography

- “Adriaen Coenan’s Fish Book (1580).” The Public Domain Review. Accessed November 2020. <https://publicdomainreview.org/collection/adriaen-coenen-s-fish-book-1580>.
- “Adriaen Conan’s Visboek.” KB National Library of the Netherlands. Accessed November 2020. <https://www.kb.nl/en/themes/middle-ages/adriaen-coenens-visboek>.
- Alpers, Svetlana. *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Baadj, Nadia. *Jan van Kessel I (1626-79) Crafting a Natural History of Art in Early Modern Antwerp*. Belgium: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2016.
- Baadj, Nadia. “Monstrous Creatures and Diverse Strange Things.” PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2012.
- Baadj, Nadia. “A World of Materials in a Cabinet Without Drawers: Reframing Jan van Kessel’s ‘Four Parts of the World’.” *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, Vol. 62. (2012): 202-237. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43883876>.
- Barrett, Kerry. “Boschian Bruegel, Brughelien Bosch: Hieronymus Cock’s Production of “Bosch” Prints.” *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, Vol. 5 Issue 2 (Summer 2013): 1-13. <https://doi.org/10.5092/jhna.2013.5.2.3>.
- Beaujon, Anthony. *The History of Dutch Sea Fisheries: Their Progress, Decline and Revival, Especially in Connection with the Legislation of Fisheries in Earlier and Later Times*. London: William Clowes and Sons, 1884.
- Berger, Harry. *Caterpillars. Reflections on Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still Life Painting*. New York: Fordham University, 2011.
- Berger, John. *About Looking*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.
- Bie, Cornelis de. *Het Gulden Cabinet van de Edel Vry Schilderconst.* Antwerp: Jan Meyssens, Juliaen van Montfort, 1662. DBNL, 2014.
- Bie, Cornelis de. *Het Gulden Cabinet*, 1662. Translated by Nadia Baadj, in *Crafting a Natural History of Art in Early Modern Antwerp*, 189-193. Belgium: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2016.

- Bontea, Adriana. "Montaigne's 'On Physiognomy'." *Renaissance Studies* 22. no. 1. (2008): 41-62.
<http://libaccess.sjlibrary.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/24417347>.
- Brauen, Fred. "Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680)," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 43 No.(1982): 129-134.
<http://libaccess.sjlibrary.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/2709164>.
- Cheney, Liana De Girolami. "The Oyster in Dutch Genre Painting: Moral or Erotic Symbolism." *Artibus et Historiae* 8, no. 15 (1987): 135-158.
<https://doi-org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/10.2307/1483275>
- Cheng, Sandra. "The Cult of the Monstrous: Caricature, Physiognomy, and Monsters in Early Modern Italy." *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 1, no. 2. (2012): 197-231.
<http://libaccess.sjlibrary.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5325/preternature.1.2.0197>.
- Craig, Kenneth M. "Pieter Aertsen and 'The Meat Stall'." *Oud Holland* 96, no. 1. (1982): 1-15.
<http://libaccess.sjlibrary.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/42711079>.
- Crew, Phyllis Mack. *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544-1569*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Cohen, Sarah. "Life and Death in the Northern European Game Piece." In *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, edited by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 603-639 Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2007.
- Cohen, Simona. "Animal Imagery in Renaissance Art." *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (Spring 2014): 164-180.
<http://libaccess.sjlibrary.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/676155>.
- Cohen, Simona. *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art*. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2008.
- Anne D'Alleva, *Methods & Theories of Art History*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2016.
- Daston, Lorrain. "Curiosity in Early Modern Science." *Word & Image*, Vol. 11. (1995): 391-404.

- De Clippel, Karolien, and Michael Hoyle. "Two Sides of the Same Coin? Genre Painting in the North and South During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 32, no. 1 (2006): 17-34.
- Derrida, Jacques. "The Animal That Therefore I Am." *Critical Inquiry*, (Winter 2002): 369-418.
- Helmus, Liesbeth M., ed. *Fish. Still life's by Dutch and Flemish Masters 1550-1700*. Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2004.
- Egmond, Florike. "Curious Fish: Connections Between Some Sixteenth-Century Watercolours and Prints" in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, edited by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 245-272. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2007.
- Elkins, James. *The Object Stares Back: On the Nature of Seeing*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.
- Enenkel, Karl A. E. "The Species and Beyond: Classification and the Place of Hybrids in Early Modern Zoology." In *Zoology in Early Modern Culture. Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education*, edited by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 1-12. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2014.
- Erickson, Paul A. "Phrenology and Physical Anthropology: The George Comb Connection." *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 18, No.1. (1977): 92-93.
- Ertz, Klaus and Christa Nitze-Ertz. *Jan van Kessel der Altere 1626-1679; Jan van Kessel der Jungere 1654-1708; Jan van Kessel der 'Andere' ca. 1620- ca. 1661: kritische Kataloge der Gemalde*. Lingen: Luca Verlag, 2012.
- Ervynck, Anton, Wim Van Neer and Marnix Pieters. "How the North was Won (and Lost Again). Historical and Archaeological Data on the Exploitation of the North Atlantic by the Flemish Fishery." In *Atlantic Connections and Adaptations*, edited by R. A. Housley and G. Coles, 230-239. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004.
- Ewing, Dan. "Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady's Pand." *The Art Bulletin*, 72, no. 4 (Dec., 1990): 558-584.
<http://libaccess.sjlibrary.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/3045762>
- Filipeczak, Zirka Zaremba. *Picturing Art in Antwerp: 1550-1700*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.

- Findlen, Paula. *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Findlen, Paula. "Science, History, and Erudition: Athanasius Kircher's Museum at the Collegio Romano." in *The Great Art of Knowing. The Baroque Encyclopedia of Athanasius Kircher*, edited by Daniel Stolzenberg. Stanford: Stanford University Libraries, 2001.
- Findlen, Paula., ed. *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Findlen, Paula. *Early Modern Things*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Fletcher, John. "Athanasius Kircher and the Distribution of His Books," *The Library*, Vol. s5-XXIII, Issue 2. (1968): 108-117.
- Freedberg, David. "Art after Iconoclasm. Painting in the Netherlands between 1566 and 1585." In *Art After Iconoclasm. Painting in the Netherlands between 1566 and 1585*, edited by Koenraad Jonckheere and Ruben Suykerbuyk, 21-49. Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2012.
- Gaddi, Sergio, & Lurie, Doron J. *La Dinastia Brueghel*. Milan: Cinisello Balsamo, 2012.
- Geyl, P. *The Revolt in the Netherlands (1555-1609)*. London: Williams and Norgate Ltd, 1932.
- Gombrich, E. H. "On Physiognomic Perception," *Daedalus* 89, no. 1. (1960): 228-241.
- Grierson, Edward. *The Fatal Inheritance. Philip II and the Spanish Netherlands*. New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1969.
- Griffiths, Antony. "The Print Collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo," *Print Quarterly*, Vol. 6 No. 1 (1989): 2-10.
- Grimm, Harold J. *The Reformation Era 1500-1650*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954.
- Gombrich, E. H. *The Story of Art*. New York: Phaidon Publishers, 1950.
- Guicciardini, Lodovico. *The Description of the Low Countreys and of the Prouinces Thereof, Gathered into an Epitome out of the Historie of Lodouico Guiccardini*. Translated by Thomas Danett. Early English Books Online; 1475-1640; 1069:01. Imprinted at London: By Peter Short for Thomas Chard, 1593.

- Harrison, Peter. "The Virtues of Animals in Seventeenth-Century Thought." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 3 (1998): 463-484.
<http://libaccess.sjlibrary.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/3653897>
- Hehenberger, Susanne. "Dehumanised Sinners and their Instruments of Sin: Men and Animals." In *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, edited by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 381-415. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2007.
- Hendrix, Marjorie Lee. "Joris Hoefnagel and the Four Elements: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Nature Painting." PhD diss., Princeton University, 1984.
- Hendriks, Sophia. "Identification of Herring Species (Clupeidae) in Conrad Gessner's Ichthyological Works: A Case Study on Taxonomy, Nomenclature, and Animal Depiction in the Sixteenth Century." In *Early Modern Culture. Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education*, 149-171. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2014.
- Hermans, Theo, and Reinier Salverda, eds. *From Revolt to Riches: Culture and History of the Low Countries, 1500–1700*. London: UCL Press, 2017. Accessed January 3, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1n2tvhw>.
- Hoffman, Richard C. "A Sixteenth-Century Exemplar and Source." *Oxford University Press on behalf of Forest History Society and American Society for Environmental History*, no. 4 (Oct. 2005): 702-704.
<http://libaccess.sjlibrary.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/3986158>.
- Ho, Angela Ka Yan. "Rethinking Repetition: Constructing Value in Dutch Genre Painting 1650s to 1670s." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2007.
- Hochstrasser, Julie Berger. *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Hochstrasser, Julie. "Stil-Staende Dingen. Picturing Objects in the Dutch Golden Age." In *Early Modern Things. Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800*, edited by Paula Findlen, 105-124. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Honig, Elizabeth Alice. "Painting and the Market: Pictures of Display and Exchange from Aertsen to Snyder." PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1992.
- , *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

- , "Paradise Regained: Rubens, Jan Brueghel, and the Sociability of Visual Thought." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 55 (2004): 270-301. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://libaccess.sjlibrary.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/24706556>.
- , *Jan Brueghel and the Senses of Scale*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016.
- Honour, Hugh. *The New Golden Land*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1975.
- Hornstein, Katie. "From Museum to Menagerie: Theodore Gericault and the Leonine Subject." *The Art Bulletin* 101, no. 1 (March 2019): 26-47.
- Hurn, Samantha. "What's in a Name? Anthrozoology, Human-animal Studies, Animal Studies Or...?" *Anthropology Today* 26, no. 3 (2010): 27-28. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/40650040>.
- Jonckheere, Konraad. *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm: Experiments in Decorum 1566-1585*. New Haven: Mercatofonds, 2012.
- Jorink, Eric, and Bart Ramakers. "Undivided Territory: 'Art' and 'Science' in the Early Modern Netherlands." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 61 (2011): 6-32. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/43884966>.
- Kolb, Arianne Faber. "Cataloguing Nature in Art: Jan Brueghel the Elder's Paradise Landscapes." PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2000.
- Komanecy, Michael. *Copper as Canvas. Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper. 1575-1775*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Krempel, Ulla. *Jan Van Kessel D.A 1626-1679: Die Vier Erdeteile*. Munich: Alte Pinakothek, 1973.
- Kusukawa, S. "The Sources of Gessner's Pictures for the Historia Animalium." *Annals of Science* 67, no. 3 (July 2010): 303-28. doi:10.1080/00033790.2010.488899.
- Lauresseyns, W. "Jan van Kessel de Oude." In *Bruegel: Een Dynastie van Schilders*, 313-328. Brussels: Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, 1980.
- Levine, David A. "Bande Academique." In *Rome Italy Renaissance, Essays Honoring Irving Lavin*, edited by Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, 207-219. New York: Italica Press, Inc., 1990.

- Leonard, Karin. "Shell Collecting. On 17th-Century Conchology, Curiosity Cabinets and Still Life Painting." In *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, edited by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 177-213. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2007.
- Marr, Alexander. "Knowing Images." *Renaissance Quarterly* 69, no. 3. (2016): 1000-1013.
<http://libaccess.sjlibrary.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/26559925>
- McTighe, Sheila. "Foods and the Body in Italian Genre Paintings, about 1580: Campi, Passarotti, Carracci." *The Art Bulletin* 86, no. 2 (2004): 301-23. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://libaccess.sjlibrary.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/3177419>
- Motley, John Lothrop. *The Rise of the Dutch Republic—Complete. (1555-66)*. New York: Wallachia Publishers, 1877.
- Neri, Janice. *The Insect and the Image*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2011.
- Norton, Marcy. "Going to the Birds: Animals as Things and Beings in Early Modernity." In *Early Modern Things. Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800*, edited by Paula Findlen, 53-83. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. "Objectification." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 24, no. 4 (1995): 249-291. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/2961930>.
- Ogilvie, Brian W. "Attending to Insects: Francis Willughby and John Ray." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 66, no. 4. (2012): 357-372. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/41723321>.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, Vol. 1. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Parker, Geoffrey. *The Dutch Revolt*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.
- Pearce, Susan M. *On Collecting. An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

- Peeters, Natasja. "Marked for the Market? Continuity, Collaboration and the Mechanics of Artistic Production of History Painting in the Francken Workshops in Counter-Reformation Antwerp." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 50 (1999): 58-79. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/43888640>.
- Perez de Tudela, Almudena and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend. "Renaissance Menageries. Exotic Animals and Pets at the Habsburg Courts in Iberia and Central Europe." In *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, edited by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 419-447. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2007.
- Pomian, Krzysztof. *Collectors and Curiosities. Paris and Venice, 1500-1800*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- Poseq, Avigdor W. G. "The Physiognomy of Bernini's Elephant." *Notes in the History of Art* 22, no. 3. (2003): 35-46. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/23206724>.
- Price, J. L. *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Price, J. L. *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic During the 17th Century*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974.
- Rikken, Marringje. "Exotic Animal Painting by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Roelant Savery." In *Zoology in Early Modern Culture. Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education*, edited by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 401-433. Boston: Brill Publishers, 2014.
- Rowland, Ingrid D. "Poetry and Prophecy in the Encyclopedic System of Athanasius Kircher." *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 11, no. 2. (2005): 509-517. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/24334091>.
- Rublack, Ulinka, and Pamela Selwyn. "Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions." *History Workshop Journal*, no. 53 (2002): 1-16. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/4289771>.
- Schmidt, Benjamin. *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

- Schmidt, Benjamin. "Exotic Pleasures, Geography, Material Arts, and the 'Agreeable' World." In *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World*, 227-324. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/j.ctt13x1ncw.9>.
- Schwartz, Gary. *Emotions. Pain and Pleasure in Dutch Painting of the Golden Age*. Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum, 2014.
- Schwenger, Peter. "Red Cannas, Sardine Cans, and the Gaze of the Objects." *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal* 35, no. 3 (2002): 55-71. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/44029952>.
- Shaw, David Gary. "A Way with Animals." *History and Theory* 52, no. 4. (December 2013): 1-12. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/24542955>.
- Shaw, David Gary. "The Torturer's Horse: Agency and Animals in History." *History and Theory* 52, no. 4. (2013): 146-167. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/24542963>.
- Spicer, Joaneath A. "The Role of Printmaking in Utrecht during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century." *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 105-132. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/20169145>.
- Stechow, Wolfgang. *Northern Renaissance Art 1400-1600: Sources and Documents*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966.
- Sterling, Charles. *La Nature Morte. De L'Antiquite a Nos Jours*. Paris: Editions Pierre Tisne, 1952.
- Strasser, Bruno J. "Collecting Nature: Practices, Styles, and Narratives." *Osiris* 27, no. 1. (2010): 303- 340. Accessed January 3, 2021. doi:10.1086/667832.
- Sullivan, Margaret A. "Aertsen's Kitchen and Market Scenes: Audience and Innovation in Northern Art." *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 2. (1999): 236-266. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://libaccess.sjlibrary.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/3050691>
- Sutton, Peter C. *The Age of Rubens*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

- Teixeira, Dante Martins. *The 'Allegory of the Continents' by Jan van Kessel 'the Elder': A Seventeenth Century View of the Fauna in the Four Corners of the Earth*. Petropolis: Index, 2002.
- Terlinden, Ch. "The History of the Scheldt." *History, New Series* 4, no. 15. (January 1920): 185-197. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/24399696>.
- Thieme, Begrundet von Ulrich and Felix Becker. *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Kunstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. Leipzig: Verlag Von E. A. Seeman, 1927.
- Timofeeva, Oxana. *The History of Animals. A Philosophy*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018.
- Tummers, Anna and Koenraad Jonckheere. *Art Market and Connoisseurship. A Closer Look at Paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens, and their Contemporaries*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008.
- Branden, F. Jos. Van Den, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*. Antwerpen: Buschmann, 1883.
- Van der Wee, Herman. *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy. Vol. 1-4*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963.
- Van Houtte, J. A. *An Economic History of the Low Countries 800-1800*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977.
- Van Strate, Roelof. "Panofsky and Iconoclass." *Artibus et Historiae* 7, no. 13 (1986): 165-181. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://libaccess.sjlibrary.org/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/1483254>.
- Vermeylen, Filip. *Painting for the Market. Commercialization of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2003.
- Wadum, Jørgen. "Antwerp Copper Plates." In *Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper, 1575-1775*, 93-116. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Westermann, Mariët. "After Iconography and Iconoclasm: Current Research in Netherlandish Art, 1566-1700." *The Art Bulletin (New York, N.Y.)* 84, no. 2 (2002): 351-72.

- Weyerman, Jacob Campo. *De levens-beschryvingen*, 1729-1769. Translated by Nadia Baadj, in *Crafting a Natural History of Art in Early Modern Antwerp*, 208-210. Belgium: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2016.
- Wheeler, William Morton. "The Physiognomy of Insects." *The Quarterly Review of Biology* 2, no. 1. (1927):1-36. Accessed January 3, 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/stable/2808305>.
- Wheelock, Arthur K. Jr., *Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Wilson, Charles. *The Dutch Republic and the Civilisation of the Seventeenth Century*. New York: World University Library, 1968.
- Woollet, Anne T, and Ariane van Suchtelen. *Rubens and Brueghel: A Working Friendship*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006.
- Wolloch, Nathaniel. "Dead Animals and the Beast-Machine: Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Paintings of Dead Animals, as Anti-Cartesian Statements." *Art History* 22 no. 5 (December 1999): 705-727.