A portrait of the artist as friend

The painted likeness of Lambert Lombard

Edward H. Wouk

Of all the Renaissance likenesses that have survived to the present day, the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* (fig. 1) of circa 1560 is unique in its warm, almost intimate presentation of an artist as subject.¹ Standing before a glowing yellow background with shirt collar open, the scholarly painter and theorist Lambert Lombard (1505/1506–1566) turns his head and his gaze to engage directly with the viewer. He holds a pair of spectacles in his left hand, pinching the bridge of the dark frames between his thumb and index finger. This motif suggests that we encounter Lombard in the act of reading or examining a work of art. He has removed his glasses and looks critically toward us, greeting us with a gesture that asks our purpose in confronting him.

Detail fig. 1

Scholars have interpreted Lombard's probing, direct gaze as evidence that the image is a self-portrait.² But there is little reason to believe that Lombard produced this vivid likeness of himself. An avid draftsman and designer of prints, Lombard painted little and openly professed his dislike of working in color and oils.³ What survives of his painted oeuvre hardly resembles the vigorous brushwork visible in this portrait.⁴ Instead, the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* appears to have been made by another Netherlandish artist of the mid-sixteenth century. Two of Lombard's successful friends, the portraitist Anthonis Mor and Frans Floris, the Antwerp painter who studied in Lombard's workshop, have recently been suggested as possible makers of this remarkable image.⁵ In my view the latter is more probable: many features of the best-preserved version of the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard*, now in Liège⁶ – including the daringly rough brushwork on the collar of the white shirt and the vivid application of patches of tone in the face – conform to the technique of Floris's closely observed portraits of the same period.⁷ Yet, the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* is also distinct from Floris's other likenesses in its serious yet disarmingly casual presentation of the sitter as an intimate acquaintance.

This essay shifts attention away from questions of attribution. Instead, it explores what light the remarkable *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* can throw on the roles that the emergence of a complex humanist conception of friendship, grounded in shared experiences and quests for knowledge, came to play in the deep and far-reaching changes in the status of the artist taking place at this critical juncture in the history of Netherlandish art. The insight that this is not a self-portrait but rather a portrait by a friend of Lombard – in all likelihood Floris – provides a critical point of departure for this purpose. It draws attention to the importance of this anomalous image for

Hfdst. 4

@ Edward H. Wouk, 2020 | <https://doi.org/10.1163/22145966-07001006>

This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

1

Frans Floris (?), *Portrait of Lambert*

Lombard, c. 1560, oil on panel, 77 x 64 cm,
Liège, Musée de l'art wallon (photo © KIK-
IRPA Brussels)

2

Anthonis Mor, *Jan van Scorel*, 1560, oil on panel, 56.5 x 56.5 cm, London, The Society of Antiquaries, inv. 338 (photo: Society of Antiquaries of London)

understanding the cultural ideals underpinning friendship in Lombard's circle. Early modern friendship was multifarious and encompassed historical bonds of family, the church, and patronage, as well as newer forms of what Pieter Burke calls 'private friendship' between individuals who are not related.⁸ This model of 'private friendship' builds upon ancient ideals of the shared pursuit of *virtu*, and it came to serve important functions in defining new social relations of mutual benefit during the tumultuous years leading up to the Dutch Revolt.⁹

Many Netherlandish painters of this period portrayed themselves in self-portraits, but few other artists were accorded the status of being portrayed by their pupils or friends. A notable exception is Anthonis Mor's dignified portrait of Lombard's contemporary, the learned Utrecht painter Jan van Scorel, signed and dated 1560 (fig. 2).¹⁰ This work is roughly contemporary with the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* and reflects the impulse to elevate Netherlandish artists as subjects worthy of portrayal that had its origins in Lombard's circle. Set against a dark background, the elderly Van Scorel dominates the round picture, wearing a cap as well as a sumptuous fur cloak that bespeaks his wealth and helps to frame his face dramatically. He appears behind a fictive parapet inscribed with his name, the date, and the signature of Mor, prominently identified as painter to the king of Spain. Mor is likely to have painted this image for Van Scorel's funerary monument in the Mariakerk in Utrecht before he left for Spain, uncertain if he would ever see his teacher and friend again.¹¹

Although the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* similarly focuses on the likeness of a highly respected master, there is little to suggest that it had an epitaphic function. The lack of any inscriptions or internal framing devices in the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* gives a more timeless appearance to the encounter it pictures while rendering the confrontation between sitter and beholder more direct. No physical barriers stand between the master and the object of his attention. The insight that a Lombard pupil produced this portrait makes it possible to appreciate the extent to which this work belongs to a concerted campaign by Lombard's disciples to construct a public image of their teacher as a means to envision a new ideal Netherlandish artist around the personhood of their charismatic pedagogue. The fact that the portrait exists in multiple versions of lesser quality further suggests that other Lombard pupils and friends may have copied this successful type, thereby constituting a network of beholders able to engage meaningfully with the likeness of their teacher.¹² In what follows, I will examine the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* in relation to other visual images of Lombard and in relation to the *Life of Lambert Lombard*, a contemporary intellectual biography of the artist written by another pupil, the artist and Latin secretary Dominicus Lampsonius. Lampsonius's text, published in 1565 by the numismatist and fellow Lombard-admirer Hubert Goltzius, is widely regarded as the first published biography of a Netherlandish artist.¹³ In a series of instructive anecdotes, this written portrait celebrates above all the master's erudition and his loving nature as friend.

The *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* conveys these two essential qualities in the ways in which it pictures a dialogic encounter between the nearly life-size artist and the viewer as pupil and friend. While an earlier printed portrait of Lombard, engraved by his brother-in-law and occasional collaborator Lambert Suavius, discussed below, stresses the artist's erudition at the expense of capturing a sense of his warmth, the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* achieves a new synthesis between intellect and friendship by portraying him as a sitter who appears to be both a learned humanist scholar and an intimately engaged interlocutor. There are likely at least two intersecting cultural models motivating these aspects of the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard*. One is based on a revival of ancient classical traditions, which understood friendship as a reflection of an alter ego or other self.¹⁴ The other force arises out of the values Lombard's contemporaries invested in the formal and ethical ideals of portraiture. In his famous study of Dutch group portraiture, Alois Riegl describes these ideals in terms of 'attentiveness', which he attributes to a coordination of psychological individuation that takes account of the beholder.¹⁵ This concept of 'attentiveness' is useful for characterizing what animates the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* and links the sitter and viewer in bonds of friendship that are both intimate and demanding. Transfixed before the panel by the focus of Lombard's gaze, the viewer stands in the position of the pupil who produced this image as homage to an equally attentive ideal teacher and friend.

An icon of the Netherlandish artist

One of the most unusual features of the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* is its warm ochre background.¹⁶ This effect has been created through the rough application of paint in some areas, interspersed with passages in which some of the ground of the prepared panel has been left visible. In comparison with the somber backgrounds of many contemporary portraits, the glowing field behind Lombard is striking. Its golden appearance recalls the long history of gold backgrounds in earlier Netherlandish art, particularly in icon-like images of Christ, the Virgin, or saints. The practice of painting such backgrounds had largely ceased before Lombard's time.¹⁷ Nevertheless, golden backgrounds still carried powerful associations with the representation of divine light and eternal space, of holy figures facing the viewer across an impenetrable boundary between earth and heaven.¹⁸ The continuing significance of these associations is evidenced by the ways in which images with gold or golden backgrounds continued to provoke powerful emotions.¹⁹ Contemporary responses ranged from reverence and awe to violent revulsion on the part of Protestant critics who were smashing such images with increasing frequency during Lombard's lifetime.²⁰

While some viewers may have perceived the background of Lombard's portrait as lustrous and even golden, it seems unlikely that Lombard would have wanted to be represented against a field resembling gold. According to Lampsonius, Lombard openly professed distaste for ostentatious displays of wealth in art and apparently renounced the offer of hefty salaries paid in gold.²¹ Leon Battista Alberti, one of the Italian theorists Lombard most admired, famously disapproved of painters' over-reliance on gold in their art.²² He advocated a value system based upon the skill of the artist rather than the quantity of precious materials used. In this respect, the yellow ground in the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* might be understood to emphasize intellect and skill, not wealth, as the indices of Lombard's honor and as the virtuous currency he exchanges with his pupils.

For those who knew Lombard and his practice well, however, this warm ground might have registered not as gold-like, but rather as evidence of an unfinished work.²³ From this perspective, the field behind the artist resembles the sort of vivid preparation of the panel's ground that generally preceded the laying in of colors in the Netherlandish workshop.²⁴ Such an unfinished background might suggest that the portrait is a pupil's work in progress, with Lombard's likeness taking form on a panel revealed to us in a state of perpetual incompleteness.²⁵ This effect implies the setting could be the confines of the studio – the intimate, closed space where the master, comfortable and at ease, greets his pupil with a spontaneous yet attentive address.

The pair of spectacles Lombard holds in his left hand underscores the context of the studio. Such spectacles, when represented so prominently, become a symbol for the intense focus of the artist and devotion to the minutiae of his craft, which he carries out with the assistance of an instrument of magnification that enhances the powers of the attentive eye and permits him to transcend the limitations of his innate faculty of perception.²⁶ In a self-portrait of 1558, for instance, the miniaturist Simon Bening portrayed himself holding a pair of spectacles that he used to paint

intricate, small works like the one resting on the easel before him (fig. 3).²⁷ A master engraver wears similar spectacles as he carves lines into a copper plate before two young assistants in Johannes Stradanus's *Sculptura in Aes* (fig. 4), an imaginative representation of the process of producing engravings that remains one of the best-known images in his *Nova reperta* cycle celebrating new discoveries in technology and the arts.²⁸ In both of these images, the importance of spectacles emphasizes the reduced physical dimensions and minute detail of the artwork being produced.

Lombard does not require spectacles to engage with the beholder of the portrait. With glasses set aside, his direct gaze characterizes his vision as insightful, stressing the intersubjectivity of the portrait over optical precision. In this respect, the spectacles in his hand assume a variety of symbolic functions.²⁹ Among others, spectacles can act as a sign of learnedness, visual

3

Simon Bening, *Self-portrait*, 1558, tempera and gold leaf on parchment, 85 x 57 mm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection (1975.1.2487) (photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art)

acuity, and even attentiveness. The spectacles thus become an index of the period concept of 'erudite eyes', which Lampsonius, drawing on Cicero and more recently Montaigne, developed in his *Life of Lambert Lombard* to signal Lombard's supreme sense of discernment and to thematize the singular combination of learning and skill in his work.³⁰ In a letter of 1590, Spanish scholar Benito Arias Montano applied this same epithet to the cartographer Abraham Ortelius, another friend of Lombard and Lampsonius. Following Lampsonius's example, Montano invoked the concept of 'erudite eyes' to refer to Ortelius's supreme sense of judgment in the arts.³¹

Ortelius surely would have appreciated receiving from Montano the very compliment Lampsonius had paid to Lombard in his seminal biography decades earlier. Ortelius had played a crucial role in bringing about the publication of Lampsonius's *Life of Lambert Lombard*, and Hubert Goltzius dedicated that biography to Ortelius in a lengthy preface. In that text, Goltzius vividly describes the publication of the biography as an act of friendship made possible by Ortelius, who first procured Lampsonius's manuscript copy of the *Life of Lambert Lombard* and believed that its sensitive account of Lombard's humanist approach to art was worthy of dissemination through the press.³²

4

Philips Galle after Johannes Stradanus (Jan van der Straet), *Sculptura in Aes* (*The workshop of an engraver*), c. 1600, engraving, 202 x 271 mm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.1823) (photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art)

5

Lambert Suavius, *Lambert Lombard*, c. 1551, and fragment of a letter with signature of Lambert Lombard, 'u willighe Lambertus / Lombard'; composite page in the *Album amicorum* of Abraham Ortelius, fol. 51r, Cambridge University Library, Pembroke College Collection, Ms. Lc. 2.113 (photo: Courtesy of Cambridge University Library, Pembroke College Collection)

Lombard as friend

Ortelius's admiration for Lombard is underscored by the fact that he decided to include an engraved portrait of the artist in his *album amicorum*, or friendship album (fig. 5).³³ As one of only 6 images Ortelius himself contributed to the album's 142 entries – 5 of which represented deceased men – the engraved portrait of Lombard clearly held great personal significance.³⁴ It functioned as both a memorial to a deceased friend and a lynchpin in the network of friendships his album would constitute.³⁵ Lombard had been dead for five years when Ortelius began to collect inscriptions as well as drawn and printed images of his friends in 1574.³⁶ At the time, printed portraits of painters were becoming widely available and were helping to stabilize the essential characteristics of Netherlandish artists.³⁷ Just two years earlier, Volcxken Diericx, widow of the publisher Hieronymus Cock, had issued a portrait of Lombard (fig. 6) as part of the *Pictorum aliquot celebrium praecipuae Germaniae inferioris effigies*, a cycle of 23 portraits of Netherlandish painters that her late husband had conceived in collaboration with

Lampsonius, author of the Latin inscriptions beneath each image.³⁸ In that cycle, Lombard resembles the sort of ancient statuary portraying Roman orators that he studied in many of his sketches.³⁹ The three-quarter portrait permits us to see an important detail that sets Lombard apart from the other painters in this cycle. Most artists in the *Effigies* hold brushes, palettes, or even books or expensive gloves, but Lombard folds his hands into his robes in a distinguished pose that Aeschines of Macedonia recommended as a sign of modesty in orators.⁴⁰

6

Johannes Wierix after Lambert Lombard,
Lambert Lombard, 1572, engraving,
203 x 123 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum,
Rijksprentenkabinet, RP-P-OB-67.048
(photo: Rijksmuseum)

Yet, when compiling his *album amicorum* Ortelius did not choose to include this image of Lombard as orator that was in wide circulation at the time. Instead, he decided to use the earlier printed portrait by Lambert Suavius, inscribed with the date 1551, which held great personal significance.⁴¹ This round engraving, which resembles a portrait medal, shows Lombard, aged 45, and was probably made from a lost self-portrait – in all likelihood a drawing.⁴² As far as we know, it is the earliest surviving likeness of Lombard. Initially it may have been conceived to form part of a small series of three exemplars of German, Italian, and Netherlandish art.⁴³ That series features Lombard alongside profile portraits of Albrecht Dürer (fig. 7), based on a medal by Hans Schwarz, and of Michelangelo (fig. 8), based on a medal by Leone Leoni that appears to be the source for the incorrect indication of the artist's age as 88.⁴⁴ But Hubert Goltzius gave the image of Lombard a new purpose when he chose to use this engraving to serve as the frontispiece (fig. 9) to his biography of Lombard, placing the print immediately before his dedication of the text to Ortelius.

Ortelius was a prolific writer of letters to friends and collected the correspondence he received as a tangible monument to his friendship network.⁴⁵ It is significant that in his *album amicorum* he placed this engraved portrait of Lombard above a fragment of a letter containing the painter's autograph and the concluding salutation, in Dutch, 'u Willigste' (your most willing).⁴⁶ This fragment of Lombard's writing – in all likelihood cut from a letter he had sent to Ortelius – compares with the artist's distinctive way of

7

Lambert Suavius, *Albrecht Dürer*, c. 1561, engraving, 99 mm diameter, London, British Museum, Department of Drawings and Prints, E.3.7 (photo: Trustees of the British Museum)

8

Lambert Suavius, *Michelangelo*, 1561, engraving, 100 mm diameter, London, British Museum, 1948,0724.2 (photo: Trustees of the British Museum)

9

Lambert Suavius, *Lambert Lombard*,
c. 1551, engraving, 98 mm diameter,
frontispiece to Dominicus Lampsonius,
Lamberti Lombardi... vita (Bruges, Hubert
Goltzius, 1565) (photo: Harvard College
Library)

signing his drawings with his name or initials.⁴⁷ In the context of the album, the juxtaposition of this unique specimen of the artist's hand with the reproduced portrait results in a visually compelling hybrid collage. It transforms Suavius's likeness of Lombard, who appears learned yet emotionally detached from the viewer, into a speaking portrait that articulates the artist's gracious disposition. Through this arrangement, Ortelius personalized the engraving and contextualized it as an image of enduring friendship between himself and the deceased yet eternally 'willing' Lombard.

As Ortelius knew, this mise-en-page had a conceptual and formal parallel on the frontispiece of Lampsonius's *Life of Lambert Lombard*. On that page, which immediately precedes the dedication to Ortelius, the Suavius portrait appears between two inscriptions. A Latin title above the portrait identifies the subject – *On the effigy of Lambert Lombard A.M.* – while a

Greek epigram below specifies the prototype as a self-portrait and compares this visual image with the written one it prefaces:

*The excellent Lombard himself has depicted his own form
The pen (γρᾶφις) of Lampsonius his manners and nature.*

Jean Puraye suggests that the initials *A.M.*, centered below the title, refer to Adolf von Meetkercke (or Mekerchus, 1528-1591), a diplomat and Hellenist from Bruges.⁴⁸ Like Goltzius and Ortelius, Van Meetkercke would have undoubtedly sensed an allusion in these lines to the humanist topos privileging the written word as a ‘better likeness’ than the visual portrait. The *locus classicus* for this topos in the graphic arts was Albrecht Dürer’s portrait of Erasmus (fig. 10). Erasmus himself criticized the print for its failure to capture his features to such a degree that it paradoxically fulfilled the Greek pronouncement Dürer had engraved near the sitter’s mouth: ‘The better image will his writings show’.⁴⁹ In Lombard’s case, it was his exemplary life – now set down by his pupil Lampsonius – that showed a ‘better’ image of his ‘manners and nature’ than what Suavius’s printed likeness of the artist, as an aloof and distant type, could convey on its own.⁵⁰

In this context, perceiving Lombard’s ‘better likeness’ hinges upon an absolute understanding of the meaning of the *Life of Lambert Lombard*, which only a student and friend is able to penetrate. Ortelius was precisely such a reader. When he added Suavius’s portrait to his friendship album and

10

Albrecht Dürer, *Portrait of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam*, 1526, engraving, 249 x 189 mm, London, British Museum, Department of Drawings and Prints, E,3,30 (photo: Trustees of the British Museum)

gave voice to Lombard's willing generosity, Ortelius transformed that image into a memorial to Lombard, a monument to their friendship, and a tangible reminder of the artist's fundamental importance to the community now assembled in the album's pages. In this way, Lombard lives on in the collection of dedications made for Ortelius by a network of friends that developed around the artist's example.

Ortelius's *album amicorum*, compiled in the wake of the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt, provides evidence for the friendships that were forged out of shared experiences and a common pursuit of knowledge.⁵¹ Many of the contributors to the album, including some of the artists and humanists who had studied with Lombard, or with his pupils, had fled violence in the region and gone into exile. Scholars have emphasized how this album and others like it envisioned a new form of friendship that did not depend on religious institutions, princely patronage, or even physical proximity.⁵² Ortelius's *album amicorum* brought together a community dispersed by war and emigration and separated by political and religious conflict. Contributors to the album may have held vastly divergent views on religion and politics, but they set aside their disagreements to participate in what Jason Harris describes as a collaborative project driven by an ethos of 'rational love', or a friendship among individuals who shared their knowledge and reputations in bonds that transcended sectarian or other ideological differences.⁵³

For the love of art

This mode of friendship was not new to the scattered relationships held together on the *album amicorum*'s pages. Even before iconoclasm tore through the region, painters were forced to rethink their profession under uncertain circumstances.⁵⁴ Hitherto conventional conceptions of patronage in terms of ecclesiastical and princely sponsorship were being displaced. Sacred images had become the focus of religion-based political unrest and violence. A leading contemporary alternative was painting for the expanding art market. But, around Lombard a distinctive, humanist motivation for art began to flourish. For Lampsonius, the ideal that enabled Lombard to work and thrive under these circumstances was love. He elevated love as a force that held together the culture of Lombard's studio, where bonds of affection and friendship drove a collective enterprise of learning that was capable, in his view, of changing the course of Netherlandish art.⁵⁵

Joanna Woodall has demonstrated that Lampsonius's description of love as a multifaceted motivation for Lombard's archetypal character connects his biography of the artist to potent rhetorical motifs that were current in his humanist circle on the eve of the Dutch Revolt.⁵⁶ Lampsonius repeatedly invokes love as the driving force behind Lombard's exceptional life and work, stressing contrasts between his motivations and the baser attractions of painting for money. According to Lampsonius's text, Lombard was a devoted husband who hastened his return from Rome after his patron died in order to be with his wife in Liège.⁵⁷ Lombard preferred to wait for patrons who took a genuine interest in him as a person and in his learned approach to art, instead of producing lower-quality works for sale

11

Anon. engraver after Lambert Lombard,
Caritas surrounded by eighteen putti,
 c. 1550, engraving, 296 x 362 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet,
 RP-P-1953-69 (photo: Rijksmuseum)

on the market. Lampsonius even relates Lombard's unprecedented veneration of antiquity – a central theme of the biography – to what he perceived to be the values of the classical past, when artists practiced their art 'not so much for material gain but for an honest pleasure'.⁵⁸ In addition to its role in these biographical tropes, love also emerges as a dominant motif in Lombard's art. Surviving among his graphic work are numerous representations of the iconography of *Caritas*, including an early print in which the statue-like embodiment of Christian love, dressed in a flowing chiton, appears surrounded by an overabundance of frolicking putti (fig. 11).⁵⁹ As other ennobling justifications for painting were destabilized by religious or political pressures, love and friendship provided a motivation for art that transcended personal differences without succumbing entirely to the forces of commercial interest.

But above all else, in Lampsonius's account, the greatest demonstration of Lombard's love was his devotion to teaching and to the establishment of a school that provided instruction to improve both the lives of young painters and the Netherlandish tradition in which they worked. Lampsonius recounts that Lombard, acting as both teacher and friend, selflessly shared designs with pupils to better their art even when some of his pupils abused this generosity or failed to work to his standards.⁶⁰ This was one clear manifestation of how the entwined concepts of love and friendship set Lombard's studio apart from earlier Netherlandish workshops, which generally trained young artists to paint by instruction and example, usually in return for a fee.⁶¹ Instead, painters who came to Lombard were for the most part already established masters. They traveled to his studio to learn from his scholarly approach to using a sophisticated treatment of the human body in designing complex compositions that visualized subjects of historical importance. In one of his remarkable drawings, Lombard offers a glimpse into this studio. *The family of 'Master' Lambert Lombard* (fig. 12), which exists in an original in London and in at least one drawn copy in Liège, represents an exceptional intermingling of home and studio little known before Rembrandt.⁶² Lombard stands before the open hearth, raising his hand in a teaching pose. A seated pupil, identifiable by his hat, contemplates the lesson. He raises his right hand and index finger toward his cheek in a gesture associated with thinking, while he clutches a sketchbook in his left. In addition to this attentive disciple, Lombard's wife and children of various ages surround him. They listen to his teaching while playing with one another and with the family pets. This image conveys Lombard's authority, but its emphasis on context gives a new interpretation to the artist's intellectual stature. The drawing stresses intimacy, love, and friendship even as it delivers a humorous view on how Lombard chose to represent his approach to pedagogy.

All these images provide insights into the remarkable appearance of the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard*. The painter who produced this exceptional work knew and belonged to the context of Lombard's circle of friends. He is likely to have been one of the accomplished painters who came to Lombard to learn his novel treatment of the body and of composition in painting historical narrative, as well as to gain insight into the vast humanist learning and deep personal love motivating his project. Suavius's print-

12

Lambert Lombard, *The family of 'Master' Lambert Lombard*, inscribed '*la famille de maître Lambert*', c. 1555, pen and brown ink with brown wash, 146 x 178 mm, London, British Museum, Department of Drawings and Prints, 1953.0103.3 (photo: Trustees of the British Museum)

ed portrait of Lombard, and later the portrait in the *Effigies* cycle, presents the artist as a disconnected intellectual. Only through contextualization – whether in Lampsonius's *Life of Lambert Lombard* or Ortelius's *album amicorum* – could such a portrait carry the dual ideal of friendship as a reflection of self and an attentive social bond. The painted *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* reconciles these two facets. It shows an artist who is both scholarly and personable, both erudite and attentive – in other words, an archetype of the ideal of humanist friendship. The portrait conjures up a setting, probably the studio, in which the master moves about freely, with his collar and outer garment unfastened. Lombard appears almost nonchalant, suggesting his comfort with a situation in which he pauses to be portrayed. The *Portrait of Lambert Lombard* envisions a moment in which the portraitist finds in Lombard a friend who is both intimate and demanding. It pictures an offering of knowledge and friendship and, in turn, makes demands of us, the beholders. This reciprocal exchange of 'attentiveness' hinges on period-relevant conceptions of friendship as a new social ideal and model for artistic practice embodied in the *Portrait of Lambert Lombard*.

Notes

I would like to thank John Gagné, Ann-Sophie Lehmann and Joanna Woodall for feedback on earlier drafts of this text.

- 1 C. Oger in cat. Liège 2006, 335-338, no. 2, attributing the painting to Anthonis Mor. While dating varied in earlier literature, dendrochronological analysis has established 1562 as an approximate *terminus post quem* for the version in Liège.
- 2 The argument is summarized in cat. Liège 1966, 44-46, no. 111. While the attribution of the painting to Lombard was rejected by Denhaene 1990, 2, it has been upheld in Van der Stighelen 2015, 40-41. Goldschmidt 1919, 211, believed the version in Kassel to be in Lombard's hand and considered the one in Liège to be a copy.
- 3 Lampsonius 1565, 33; trans. in Wouk 2021, forthcoming: 'he always took more pleasure in being known for his monochrome colors and his drawing, rather than for adding colors afterwards, manifesting the natural inclination common to the most excellent artists who more eagerly strive after distinction in invention and in outlines – and a more carefully restrained, universal goodness – than allures of colors'. Little if any of Lombard's autograph painted oeuvre survives. The cycle of canvases *Virtuous women* for the Abbey of Herkenrode (now Hasselt, Church of Saint-Amand) were painted by assistants working from Lombard's designs, while attribution of the Altarpiece of Saint Denis (now Musée de l'art wallon), once considered an early work by the artist, remains uncertain; see Denhaene 1987 and Denhaene 2006b, with earlier literature.
- 4 Denhaene 1987.
- 5 For the attribution to Mor, see note 1, above. The attribution to Floris has been suggested by Dacos 1965, 71-75, and most recently by Wouk 2018, 47-50.
- 6 See cat. Liège 2006, 335-338.
- 7 Wouk 2018, 253-255.
- 8 Burke 1999.
- 9 Kooijmans 1997, 7-22; see also Keller 2010.
- 10 Woodall 2007, 62-66; cat. Brussels 2015, no. 32.
- 11 Woodall 2007, 66-67.
- 12 Seven versions are recorded; see Van Hall 1963, 190-191.
- 13 Lampsonius 1565; Hubaux & Puraye 1949; Nativel 2018; Wouk 2021, forthcoming.
- 14 Eden 2001, esp. 83-108; Lochman & López 2011, esp. 3-9.
- 15 Riegl 1999. See also Olin 1989, esp. 287-290.
- 16 Other variants emulate this ground although with less subtle effect; see, for example, the panel in Kassel, cat. Liège 1966, 45, no. 111.
- 17 Hamburger 2000, 51.
- 18 Kim 2019.
- 19 Dunlop 2009, 472-476.
- 20 See, most recently, Jonckheere 2012, 199-221, with earlier literature.
- 21 Lampsonius 1565, 24-25.
- 22 Kim 2019, 219-220, with further references.
- 23 Van der Stighelen 2015. Later artists, including Rembrandt, used the ground as a dominant compositional element, but in the mid-16th century this was rare; see Suthor 2013, with earlier literature.
- 24 Dunkerton *et al.* 1999, 217-218; Stols-Witlox 2017, esp. 96-97.
- 25 Despite recent interest in unfinished works of art, the concept of the '*non finito*' has not been fully explored in the context of Netherlandish art. An interesting comparison might be drawn to the *Portrait of Michelangelo*, known in several versions including one in New York, now attributed to Daniele da Volterra; see cat. New York 2016, esp. 282.
- 26 Ilardi 2006, appendix 3.
- 27 Cat. Brussels 2015, no. 6; Ilardi 2006, 298.
- 28 Leesberg 2008, vol. 3, 15, no. 341, with earlier literature.
- 29 Van der Stighelen 2015, 41.
- 30 Lampsonius 1565, 12, '*oculisque eruditus*'. The quotation is from Cicero, *Paradoxa*, 5.38.2 (*sint, nam nos quoque oculos eruditos habemus*).
- 31 Hessels 1887, 427-429, no. 177. See Meganck 2017, esp. 1-3. See also Nativel 2018, 82, n. 23, noting the currency of the phrase in the *Essays* of Montaigne.
- 32 Lampsonius 1565, 3-4. Goltzius cites friendship as his primary motivation for publishing the work, even ranking it above the all-important aim of conveying a precise means of painting: 'I do so in the first place in order to declare my reverence for Lombard by some public testimony, on account of his kindness towards me, so that I might acknowledge very willingly that I was assisted not inconsiderably by, and profited greatly from, his teaching and instruction in the art of painting, at a time when I had given myself over to his instruction. Secondly, and above all, I do so out of a certain precise method of painting well and accurately that is expressed and disseminated in this biography with a perfection reflecting the utmost perfection intrinsic to Lombard's works themselves'. Trans. from Wouk 2021, forthcoming.
- 33 On this album, see Puraye 1969, Harris 2005a, Harris 2005b, and Woodall 2017. The portrait of Lombard appears on fol. 50r.
- 34 Depuydt 1998, 119-120.
- 35 Wilson 2012.
- 36 Denhaene 2010.
- 37 Van Hall 1963. This phenomenon is examined, primarily from an Italian perspective, in Loh 2015.
- 38 Puraye 1956; Meiers 2006; Porras & Woodall 2015.
- 39 See Denhaene 2006a.
- 40 Denhaene 2012.
- 41 De Hoop Scheffer & Keyes 1984, 186, no. 76. On the historiographical confusion between Lambert Lombard and Lambert Suavius, and the occasional conflation of their identities in scholarly literature, see Denhaene 1980. The date on the engraving appears to be the year in which the original likeness was recorded but is not necessarily the year in which the engraving was made..
- 42 The prototype for the Suavius print has not been found. The prototype for the posthumous portrait of Lombard in Cock's *Effigies* cycle may be a drawing now in Düsseldorf, Kunstpalast; see G. Denhaene in cat. Liège 2006, 343, no. 7.
- 43 Pfisterer 2018, 111-113.
- 44 The prints are attributed to Suavius in De Hoop Scheffer & Keyes 1984, 185, no. 75 (Dürer) and 187, no. 78 (Michelangelo). For alternative attributions to Wierix, see Mauquoy Hendrickx 1982-1983, vol. 1, no. 1876 (Lombard), no. 1799 (Dürer), and no. 1876 (Michelangelo). The visual coherence of this set of three prints is respected in many collections in which they are mounted together, e.g., in the British Museum. For Wierix's signed copy of the Dürer portrait, see Van Ruyven-Zeman & Leesberg 2004, vol. 10, 232, no. 2079. The same authors reject the portrait of Michelangelo from the Wierix oeuvre and re-attribute it to Suavius; Van Ruyven-Zeman & Leesberg 2004, vol. 11, 234, no. R54. The age inscribed on Michelangelo's portrait is false but holds symbolic value, as argued in relation to Leone Leoni's portrait, struck in 1561, the same date appearing on Suavius's portrait of him; see Steinmann 1913, 52-53; Schumacher 2004. The portrait of Dürer is based on Melchior Lorck's earlier likeness of the artist but also reflects knowledge of Hans Schwarz's portrait medal, with its raised edge and inscription; see G. Bartrum in cat. London 2002, no. 15. On the iconography of the Dürer portrait, see Stack 2008.

- 45 Hessels 1887; Meganck 2017, 16-17. Ortelius's nephew Jacob Colius, who inherited the letters, apparently planned to publish them but never did so, and the collection was disbursed.
- 46 Puraye 1969, fol. 50; cat. Liège 2006, 81-82.
- 47 Hühn 1970, 28-29.
- 48 Puraye 1950, 60-61, following the suggestion of Alphonse Roersch (Roersch 1964-1975, 663). Goltzius published Meetkercke's treatise on the pronunciation of the Greek language, *De veteri et recta pronuntiatione linguae graecae*, in the same year as the *Lamberti Lombardi vita*; see cat. Bruges 1983, 153-155. Another less probable suggestion is that the verses were composed by the humanist and medallist Antoine Morillon; see Crawford 1998, 98-99.
- 49 The classic study remains Hayum 1985; see also Parshall 2003, 30-33, and Silver 2003, esp. 6-9. The phrase had already appeared in Quentin Matsys's portrait medal of Erasmus, dated 1519.
- 50 At a later date the print was re-engraved, and the artist was given a heavy fur robe, carved over the orator's robes still visible beneath. This addition visualizes Lombard's nobility in a way that clashes with the earlier state of the print, which stressed his learning and modesty over more conventional attributes of social and material standing. An impression of this restrike is in the British Museum (inv. 0.6.200).
- 51 Woodall 2017; Bass 2019, esp. 83-108.
- 52 Most recently, Müller 2016, Meganck 2017, and Bass 2019.
- 53 Harris 2005b, esp. 318.
- 54 Freedberg 1988, 69-84; Stoichita 1997.
- 55 Lampsonius 1565.
- 56 Woodall 1996, 217-218; also, Woodall 2017 and Melion 2012.
- 57 Lampsonius 1565, 25.
- 58 Lampsonius 1565, 18.
- 59 A. Diels in cat. Liège 2006, 444-445, no. 95, with earlier literature.
- 60 Lampsonius 1565, 34.
- 61 Wood 2005.
- 62 Denhaene 1990, no. 26; Wouk 2018, 112-114.

Bibliography

Bass 2019

M. Bass, *Insect artifice. Nature and art in the Dutch Revolt*, Princeton 2019.

Cat. Bruges 1983

Cat. Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum, *Hubertus Goltzius en Brugge, 1583-1983* (W. Le Loop, ed.), Bruges 1983.

Cat. Brussels 2015

Cat. Brussels, Bozar, *Portraits de la Renaissance aux Pays-Bas* (T.-H. Borchert & K. Jonckheere, eds.), Brussels 2015.

Burke 1999

P. Burke, 'Humanism and friendship in sixteenth-century Europe', in: J. Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship in medieval Europe*, Stroud 1999, 262-274.

Crawford 1998

M.H. Crawford, 'Antoine Morillon, antiquarian and medallist', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 61 (1998), 93-110.

Dacos 1965

N. Dacos, 'À propos de quelques croquis du Codex d'Arenberg et des portraits attribués à Lambert Lombard', *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 13 (1965), 71-82.

Denhaene 1980

G. Denhaene, 'Lambert Lombard et la peinture de la Renaissance dans la littérature artistique', in: N. Dacos (ed.), *Relations artistiques entre les Pays-Bas et l'Italie à la Renaissance. Études dédiées à Suzanne Sulzberger*, Brussels & Rome 1980, 101-121.

Denhaene 1987

G. Denhaene, 'Lambert Lombard. Oeuvres peintes', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 57 (1987), 16-71.

Denhaene 1990

G. Denhaene, *Lambert Lombard. Renaissance et humanisme à Liège*, Antwerp 1990.

Denhaene 2006a

G. Denhaene, 'Études formelles', in: cat. Liège 2006, 67-78.

Denhaene 2006b

G. Denhaene, 'Les panneaux peints de la prédelle. Lambert Lombard?', in: cat. Liège 2006, 143-151.

Denhaene 2010

G. Denhaene, 'Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598), collectionneur de portraits gravés', in: G. Denhaene (ed.), *La gravure de la Renaissance dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux / De Renaissance Prentenkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*, Brussels 2010, 29-46 (*Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique*, 89).

Denhaene 2012

G. Denhaene, 'Le portrait de notre ancien billet de cent francs remis à neuf', *Science Connection* 36 (2012), 30-33.

Depuydt 1998

J. Depuydt, 'Le cercle d'amis et de correspondants autour d'Abraham Ortelius', in: R. Karrow (ed.), *Abraham Ortelius, 1527-1589. Cartographe et humaniste*, Turnhout 1998, 117-140.

Dunkerton et al. 1999

J. Dunkerton, S. Foister & N. Penny, *Dürer to Veronese. Sixteenth-century painting in the National Gallery*, London 1999.

Dunlop 2009

A. Dunlop, 'Materials, origins and the nature of early Italian painting', in: J. Anderson (ed.), *Crossing cultures. Conflict, migration and convergence*, Carlton 2009, 472-476.

Eden 2001

K. Eden, *Friends hold all things in common. Tradition, intellectual property, and the Adages of Erasmus*, New Haven 2001.

Freedberg 1988

D. Freedberg, 'Iconoclasm and painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1566-1609' (diss., Oxford University, 1972), New York 1988.

Goldschmidt 1919

A. Goldschmidt, 'Lambert Lombard', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 40 (1919), 206-240.

Goltzius 1557

H. Goltzius, *Vivae omnium fere imperatorum imagines*, Bruges 1557.

Van Hall 1963

H. van Hall, *Portretten van Nederlandse Beeldende Kunstenaars*, Amsterdam 1963.

Hamburger 2000

J. Hamburger, 'Seeing and believing. The suspicion of sight and the authentication of vision in late medieval art and devotion', in: K. Krüger & A. Nova (eds.), *Imagination und Wirklichkeit. Zum Verhältnis von mentalen und realen Bildern in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit*, Mainz 2000, 47-69.

Harris 2005a

J. Harris, 'Het *Album amicorum* van Abraham Ortelius. Codicologie en versameling', *De Gulden Passer* 83 (2005), 117-135.

Harris 2005b

J. Harris, 'The practice of community. Humanist friendship during the Dutch Revolt', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 47 (2005), 299-325.

Hayum 1985

A. Hayum, 'Dürer's portrait of Erasmus and the *Ars Typographorum*', *Renaissance Quarterly* 34 (1985), 650-687.

Hessels 1887

J.H. Hessels (ed.), *Abraham Ortelii et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum epistulae*, Cambridge 1887.

De Hoop Scheffer & Keyes 1984

D. De Hoop Scheffer & G. Keyes, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings & woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 28 (K. Boon, ed.), Blaricum 1984.

Hubaux & Puraye 1949

J. Hubaux & J. Puraye, 'Dominique Lampson. *Lamberti Lombardi... Vita*, traduction et notes', *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 18 (1949), 53-77.

Hühn 1970

E. Hühn, *Lambert Lombard als Zeichner*, Münster 1970 (diss. University of Münster, Münster)

Ilardi 2006

V. Ilardi, *Renaissance vision from spectacles to telescopes*, Philadelphia 2006.

Jonckheere 2012

K. Jonckheere, *Antwerp art after iconoclasm. Experiments in Decorum*, New Haven 2012.

Keller 2010

V. Keller, 'Painted friends. Political interest and the transformation of international learned sociability', in: M. Sandridge & A. Classen (eds.), *Friendship in the Middle Ages and early modern times. Explorations of a fundamental ethical discourse*, Berlin 2010, 674-705.

Kim 2019

D. Kim, 'Points on a field. Gentile da Fabriano and gold ground', *Journal of Early Modern History* 23 (2019), 191-226.

Kooijmans 1997

L. Kooijmans, *Vriendschap. En de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 1997.

Lampsonius 1565

D. Lampsonius, *Lamberti Lombard apud Eburones Pictoris celeberrimi Vita*, Bruges (Hubert Goltzius) 1565.

Leesberg 2008

M. Leesberg (comp.), *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, 1450-1700*, Johannes Stradanus, H. Leeflang (ed.), Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2008, 3 vols.

Cat. Liège 1966

Cat. Liège, Musée de l'art wallon, *Lambert Lombard et son temps*, Liège 1966.

Cat. Liège 2006

Cat. Liège, Musée de l'art wallon, *Lambert Lombard. Peintre de la Renaissance, Liège, 1505/06-1566. Essais interdisciplinaires et catalogue de l'exposition* (G. Denhaene, ed.), Brussels 2006.

Lochman & López 2011

D. Lochman & M. López, 'The emergence of discourses. Early modern friendship', in: D. Lochman, M. López & L. Hutson (eds.), *Discourses and representations of friendship in early modern Europe, 1500-1700*, Farnham 2011, 1-26.

Loh 2015

M. Loh, *Still lives. Death, desire and the portrait of the old master*, Princeton 2015.

Cat. London 2002

Cat. London, British Museum, *Albrecht Dürer and his legacy* (G. Bartrum, ed.), London 2002.

Mauquoy Hendrickx 1982-1983

M. Mauquoy Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix conservées au Cabinet des estampes de la Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er}*, Brussels 1982-1983, 3 vols.

Meganck 2017

T. Meganck, *Erudite eyes. Friendship, art and erudition in the network of Abraham Ortelius*, Leiden 2017.

Meiers 2006

S. Meiers, 'Portraits in print. Hieronymus Cock, Dominicus Lampsonius, and *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies*', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 66 (2006), 1-16.

Melion 2012

W. Melion, 'Venus/Venius. On the artistic identity of Otto van Veen and his doctrine of the image', in: S. McKeown (ed.), *Otto Vaenius and his emblem books*, Glasgow 2012, 1-53.

Müller 2016

J. Müller, *Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt: The Narrated Diaspora, 1550-1750*, Leiden, 2016.

Nativel 2018

C. Nativel, *Vie de Lambert Lombard (1565). Introduction, édition et traduction de Colette Nativel*, Geneva 2018.

Cat. New York 2016

Cat. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Unfinished. Thoughts left visible* (B. Kelly & A. Bayer, eds.), New York 2016.

Olin 1989

M. Olin, 'Forms of respect. Alois Riegl's concept of attentiveness', *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989), 285-299.

Parshall 2003

P. Parshall, 'Portrait prints and codes of identity in the Renaissance. Hendrik Goltzius, Justus Lipsius, and Michel de Montaigne', *Word and Image* 19 (2003), 22-37.

Pfisterer 2018

U. Pfisterer, 'Kat. 8. Lambert Suavius, Drei "Papiermedaillen" auf Michelangelo, Dürer und Lambert Lombard', in: A. Döring, F. Hefe & U. Pfisterer (eds.), *Platz im Pantheon! Künstler in gedruckten Porträtserien bis 1800*, Passau 2018, 111-113 (*Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München*, 45).

Porras & Woodall 2015

S. Porras & J. Woodall, *Picturing the Netherlandish canon*, London 2015.

Puraye 1950

J. Puraye, *Dominique Lampson, humaniste, 1522-1599*, Bruges 1950.

Puraye 1956

J. Puraye, *Les effigies des peintres célèbres des Pays-Bas*, Liège 1956.

Puraye 1969

J. Puraye, *Album amicorum Abraham Ortelius*, Amsterdam 1969.

Riegl 1999

A. Riegl, *The group portraiture of Holland (Das holländische Gruppenporträt, 1902)* (E. Kain & D. Britt, trans.; W. Kemp, intro.), Los Angeles 1999.

Roersch 1964-1975

A. Roersch, 'Lampsonius, Dominicus', in: M.-T. Lenger (ed.), *Bibliotheca Belgica*, vol. 3, Brussels 1964-1975, 662-667.

Van Ruyven-Zeman & Leesberg 2004

Z. Van Ruyven-Zeman & M. Leesberg (comps.), *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, 1450-1700, The Wierix family*, J. van der Stock & M. Leesberg (eds.), Rotterdam 2004, 11 vols.

Schumacher 2004

A. Schumacher, 'Leone Leonis Michelangelo-Medaille. Porträt und Glaubensbekenntnis des alten Buonarroti', in: G. Satzinger (ed.), *Die Renaissance-Medaille in Italien und Deutschland*, Münster 2004, 169-194.

Silver 2003

L. Silver, 'The face is the familiar. German Renaissance portrait multiples in prints and medals', *Word and Image* 19 (2003), 6-21.

Stack 2008

J. Stack, 'Albrecht Dürer's curls. Melchior Lorck's 1550 engraved portrait and its relationship to Dürer's self-fashioned public image', *Muse* 42 (2008), 43-76.

Steinmann 1913

E. Steinmann, *Die Porträtdarstellungen des Michelangelo*, Leipzig, 1913.

Van der Stighelen 2015

K. Van der Stighelen, "Forced fashioning". Aspects de la différenciation de genre dans le portrait au XVI^e siècle dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux', in: cat. Brussels 2015, 32-47.

Stoichita 1997

V. Stoichita, *The self-aware image. An insight into early modern meta-painting*, Cambridge 1997.

Stols-Witlox 2017

M. Stols-Witlox, 'From reading to painting. Authors and audiences of Dutch recipes for preparatory layers for oil painting', *Early Modern Low Countries* 1 (2017), 71-134.

Suthor 2013

N. Suthor, 'Transparenz der Mittel. Zur Sichtbarkeit der Imprimatur in einigen Werken Rembrandts', in: G. Boehm & M. Burioni (eds.), *Der Grund. Das Feld des Sichtbaren*, Munich 2013, 223-250.

Wilson 2012

B. Wilson, 'Social networking. The "Album amicorum" and early modern public making', in: M. Rospocher (ed.), *Beyond the public sphere. Opinions, publics, spaces in early modern Europe*, Bologna & Berlin 2012.

Wood 2005

C. Wood, 'Indoor-outdoor. The studio around 1500', in: M. Cole & M. Pardo (eds.), *Inventions of the studio. Renaissance to Romanticism*, Chapel Hill 2005, 36-72.

Woodall 1996

J. Woodall, 'Love is in the air. Amor as motivation and message in seventeenth-century Netherlandish painting', *Art History* 19 (1996), 208-246.

Woodall 2007

J. Woodall, *Anthonis Mor, art and authority*, Zwolle 2007.

Woodall 2017

J. Woodall, 'For love and money. The circulation of value and desire in Abraham Ortelius's *Album amicorum*', in: W. Melion, J. Woodall & M. Zell (eds.), *Ut pictura amor. The reflexive imagery of love in artistic theory and practice, 1500-1700*, Leiden 2017, 649-703.

Wouk 2018

E. Wouk, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570). Imagining a northern Renaissance*, Leiden 2018.

Wouk 2021, forthcoming

E. Wouk (trans.), *The life of Lambert Lombard*, Los Angeles 2021, forthcoming.