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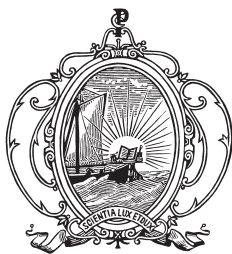
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BRUEGEL & L'ITALIA
BRUEGEL AND ITALY

Proceedings of the International Conference held in the
Academia Belgica in Rome, 27–28 September 2019

Edited by

TINE LUK MEGANCK and SABINE VAN SPRANG
in collaboration with MARIA CLELIA GALASSI



PEETERS

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Bruegel as a Landscape Draughtsman, and His Italian Connections

New Observations on Stream with an Angler from the 'Lugt Group'

Dominique ALLART

During the past decades, our vision of Bruegel's drawing style underwent a profound change. Several sheets revealing a Venetian influence were incorporated in the catalogue of his oeuvre. They question the image of an artist supposedly insensitive to the charms of the peninsula's art during his stay there between 1552 and 1554. The present essay focuses on one of the most famous among them, *Stream with an Angler* in the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels (KBR) (*Fig. 1*).¹ It will lead us to reconsider the links that Bruegel forged with his Italian counterparts and the impact of his *inventiones* on Italian production.

Stream with an Angler is part of a group of sheets, all vertical in format, showing lush, wooded landscapes. There are five different compositions of this kind. Three of them have been preserved in several copies (up to five); two survived with just one copy each. The set is stylistically quite homogeneous but clearly reveals different identifiable hands.² Fritz Lugt, the legendary art collector and expert in the field of drawings, brought to light three of these sheets in 1927, which is why the expression 'Lugt group' is still used today to describe the series. He associated them with Pieter Bruegel the Elder's artworks.³ Indeed, some drawings are inscribed with the artist's name, the date 1554, and the annotation *Roma* or *in Roma*. In fact, none of these inscriptions are in Bruegel's handwriting. However, they are consistent with solidly established biographical data: the artist was in Italy around 1552–54.⁴ Lugt believed

1. Brussels, KBR, Print Room, inv. S.II 113 145, folio C, pen and red-brown ink, 345 × 235 mm. LUGT 1927, p. 123 and fig. 9; ARNDT 1972, no. K5a; *Berlin* 1975, no. 47; MIELKE 1996, no. 19; *New York-Rotterdam* 2001, no. 18; SELLINK 2007, no. 19; *Wien* 2018–2019, no. 9.

2. On this group, see esp. LUGT 1927, pp. 123–127; MIELKE 1996, pp. 16–17; WOOD RUBY 2012; *New York-Rotterdam* 2001, nos. 18 and 119; SELLINK 2007, nos. 19–20; *Wien* 2018–2019, nos. 9–10 (and additional bibliography below).

3. LUGT 1927, esp. pp. 123–129.

4. On Bruegel's journey in Italy, see esp. ALLART 1997; LICHTERT 2015 (though not without errors in her understanding of previous literature). See also the updated contribution of Nils Büttner in this volume.



Fig. 1. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Stream with an Angler*, c. 1554,
pen and brown ink. Brussels, KBR, Print Room
Photograph by the author

this group of works was a privileged testimony to Venetian influence on the young Bruegel. He mentioned the name of Girolamo Muziano as a possible vector of this influence. He thought this might be a clue to Bruegel's network of relationships in Italy.⁵ Perhaps we never realised just how insightful he was.

In the short term, Lugt's views were hardly followed. Most scholars argued that the sheets in question were not by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, but by his younger son, Jan, or his entourage. This led to the drawings being dated much later, around 1600. For example, Jan Brueghel's authorship was suggested for the beautiful *Wooded Landscape with Wild Animals* in Paris (Fondation Custodia) in the catalogue of the Berlin exhibition in 1975.⁶ However, in the meantime, Karl Arndt had made an important discovery. In 1966, he brought to light the Prague *Landscape with Bears*.⁷ Although this drawing was unsigned, it was immediately and unanimously recognised as an original work by Bruegel. Its horizontal format was in line with Bruegel's preferred formats, but it was also undeniably related to the Lugt group's compositions, since it was dated 1554 and showed a wooded landscape. Like four of the Lugt group's sheets, it depicted animals roaming freely in the wild. In this case bears, as in a drawing in the British Museum.⁸

On this basis, Karl Arndt suggested in 1972 that the drawings of the Lugt group be reassessed. He certainly did not consider them to be autograph works by Bruegel, but in his mind, there was no doubt that they were copies of lost Bruegel originals.⁹ A few years later, Karel Boon expressed reservations regarding this hypothesis. He conceded that the Lugt group sheets were derived from Bruegel's drawings, but he viewed them as free interpretations, in a pre-Baroque spirit, typical of the period around 1600.¹⁰

It was then that Hans Mielke undertook his comprehensive critical review of all the artist's drawings. This tremendous work resulted in a catalogue raisonné, posthumously published in 1996. Hans Mielke devoted long and painstaking hours of research to the Lugt group, from which he drew highly

5. LUGT 1927, pp. 124–128.

6. Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. 8025, pen and brown ink, 339 × 243 mm. ARNDT 1972, no. K2e; *Berlin* 1975, no. 42; *Firenze-Paris* 1980–1981, no. 44. The attribution to Jan Brueghel the Elder was reiterated by Louisa Wood Ruby in *Antwerpen* 2019–2020, no. 13.

7. Prague, Národní Galerie, inv. K4493, pen and brown ink, 273 × 410 mm. ARNDT 1966, p. 207; ARNDT 1972, no. 3; *New York-Rotterdam* 2001, no. 15; SELLINK 2007, no. 15; SELLINK 2013b, p. 299; *Antwerpen* 2019–2020, no. 11b.

8. Given the poor state of the Prague sheet, these details are barely distinguishable. As for the London sheet, see below, note 14.

9. ARNDT 1972, p. 73 and *passim*.

10. Karel Boon in *Firenze-Paris* 1980–1981, pp. 61–62; BOON 1992, vol. 1; pp. 75–78.

nuanced conclusions.¹¹ Of the five compositions in the Lugt group, he claimed that three were based on Bruegel's originals.¹² In this sense, he agreed with Karl Arndt's views. In the other two compositions, he saw much freer interpretations of Bruegelian compositions, already strongly influenced by Baroque aesthetics, as suggested by Karel Boon.¹³ Moreover, he also argued—and this was a decisive twist—that Bruegel's creations had reached us in the form of Bruegel's true original drawings in two cases. He considered *Woodland Scene with Bears* in London and *Stream with an Angler* in Brussels to be autograph works.¹⁴ Previously, in 1981, Konrad Oberhuber had already suggested that these two sheets could be Bruegel's originals and not copies, but in his mind, this was still only a hypothesis.¹⁵

The issue was not really revisited during the major exhibition on Bruegel's drawings held in Rotterdam and New York in 2001. Two sheets from the Lugt group were on display: the one from Brussels that interests us here and the *Landscape with Exotic Animals* now in Cambridge.¹⁶ Mielke's opinion was reiterated, i.e., that *Stream with an Angler* could be attributed to Pieter Bruegel the Elder, whereas the Cambridge drawing was considered a freehand copy after the master, hypothetically by his younger son and dating from around 1600. Since then, the only progress made on the Lugt group has been the attribution of the Cambridge sheet. Louisa Wood Ruby identified Paul Bril's hand, a very convincing suggestion that should encourage us to reconsider the attribution of all the late copies in the Lugt group.¹⁷

Returning to the *Stream with an Angler* in Brussels, let us examine the question of its attribution to Bruegel. Recently, the drawing was examined using sophisticated methods by interdisciplinary teams from the KULeuven and the

11. MIELKE 1994; MIELKE 1996, pp. 16–17.

12. A. *Group of Trees with Donkeys and Goats*, 345 × 246 mm, Chicago, Art Institute (ARNDT 1972, no. K3a); second version: New York, Peter Dreyer (ARNDT 1972, no. K3b); B. *Woodland Scene with Bears*, London, British Museum (ARNDT 1972, no. K1; see below, note 14), only known version; C. *Stream with an Angler*, Brussels, KBR; two additional versions: Paris, Louvre, and Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (ARNDT 1972, nos. K5a–c, see also below).

13. A. *Forest Landscape with Wild Animals*, 337 × 247 mm, Paris, Fondation Custodia; four additional versions: two versions in Paris, Louvre; one version in London, British Museum; one version in Chicago, Art Institute (ARNDT 1972, nos. K2a–e); B. *Landscape with Exotic Animals*, 307 × 202 mm, Cambridge (Mass.), Fogg Art Museum (ARNDT 1972, no. K.4; WOOD RUBY 2012; only known version).

14. *Woodland Scene with Bears*, pen and brown ink, 337 × 232 mm, London, The British Museum, inv. 1872.1012.3344. LUGT 1927, p. 128 and fig. 15; ARNDT 1972, no. K1; MIELKE 1996, no. 18; SELLINK 2007, no. 20; WIEN 2018–2019, no. 10.

15. OBERHUBER 1981, n. 40. Shortly before, Matthias Winner had cautiously suggested an attribution of *Woodland Scene with Bears* (London, British Museum) to Bruegel in *Berlin* 1975, no. 41.

16. *New York-Rotterdam* 2001, respectively nos. 18 and 119.

17. WOOD RUBY 2012.

KBR in order to determine its technical characteristics and especially the composition of the inks used by Bruegel.¹⁸ Alternatively, my own study is based on the classical methods of connoisseurship.

Two other drawings display the same composition, one in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin¹⁹ and the other in the Louvre (*Fig. 2*).²⁰ The Berlin version has always been considered weaker, and rightly so.²¹ Detailed examination reveals a rather crude copy: some motifs were evidently misunderstood, especially the angler. He is depicted here without his fishing rod, so that the movement of his arm loses all meaning. Conversely, the Paris version of the composition is of very high quality.²² Its drawing style combines a sense of liveliness and subtlety. After scrupulous examination, one can only conclude that it was executed after the Brussels sheet. Indeed, the latter reveals traces of searching and small adjustments, as we will see below. These traces are not present in the Paris sheet, where the outlines of some shapes are made more precise, whereas in the Brussels version they are muddled (*Fig. 3*). In the Paris sheet, the articulations between motifs, particularly the branches, are more coherent. All this indicates that the Paris sheet was based directly on the Brussels sheet, of which it offers a sort of tidy version. Comparative analysis thus confirms that the Brussels drawing is the prototype.

As for attributing the latter to Bruegel, the inscription in the lower-left corner of the sheet is of no help in making a decision, as it is apocryphal, as are similar inscriptions that appear on several sheets of the Lugt group. It is in a darker ink, perhaps the same ink used to draw a frame around the composition. Moreover, the spelling of the name is the one that Bruegel adopted only from 1559 onwards (previously he signed 'Brueghel' with an 'h').²³

The drawing is executed with a quill using diluted inks in order to create different shades of brown, apparently over a preliminary sketch in charcoal or black chalk, which has left some very faint traces. It does not present any major changes in composition. On the contrary, it shows all the signs of a

18. WATTEEUW *ET AL.* 2019, esp. p. 57. In this drawing, Bruegel used a carbon ink mixed with iron-gall ink as usual, mixed with a small amount of nickel, which seems more exceptional and might be related to his discovery of Italian drawing practice.

19. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 11739, pen and brown ink, 334 × 226 mm. ARNDT 1972, no. K5c; *Berlin* 1975, no. 49; MIELKE 1996, p. 42, under no. 19.

20. Paris, Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. 20726, pen and brown ink, 343 × 240 mm. LUGT 1927, p. 123 and fig. 10; ARNDT 1972, no. K5b; *Berlin* 1975, no. 48; MIELKE 1996, p. 42, under no. 19.

21. Fritz Lugt already described it as a 'schlechtere Wiederholung' (LUGT 1927, pp. 123). The same opinion was expressed by Matthias Winner in *Berlin* 1975, nos. 47 and 49.

22. It was considered better than the Brussels version by Frits Lugt (LUGT 1927, p. 128) and Matthias Winner (*Berlin* 1975, no. 48).

23. On the changes in Bruegel's signatures over time, see CURRIE, ALLART 2012, 1, pp. 74–75.



Fig. 2. *Stream with an Angler* (replica, possibly by Pieter Bruegel the Elder himself),
c. 1554 (?), pen, brown ink and black chalk. Paris, musée du Louvre,
Département des Arts graphiques
Photograph by the author



Fig. 3. *Stream with an Angler* (details). On the left: Paris (Louvre) version.

On the right: Brussels (KBR) version

Photograph by the author

confident, vigorous performance based on a precise compositional project, but free and nervous in the details, where trial and error and approximations are perceptible. Double outlines are noticeable, especially in the branches: they correspond to rectifications. Some elements are accentuated; some shaded areas are reinforced by darker brown lines. This retouching, scattered throughout the composition, is well integrated into the whole and can be considered autograph.

In fact, *Stream with an Angler* is close to many drawings Bruegel produced while in Italy between 1552 and 1554.²⁴ Because of similarities in the drawing style and technique, these sheets can be seen as a coherent production. For instance, the representation of the angler is comparable to the character sitting at the foot of the tree, pointing to his companions in the *Mountain Landscape with River and Travellers* in London.²⁵ The figures are similar in both, with stocky builds and slender limbs, and an identical way of shading the character's

24. For an overview on Bruegel's drawings in Italy, see esp. MIELKE 1996, pp. 5–17; Martin Royalton-Kisch in *New York-Rotterdam* 2001, pp. 12–39, esp. pp. 14–26. See also the stimulating critical remarks made by Manfred Sellink (SELLINK 2013, pp. 299–303).

25. London, The British Museum, inv. O.o.9–9 (P. 2), pen and red-brown ink, with light wash, 228 × 328 mm, dated 1553. MIELKE 1996, no. 10; *New York-Rotterdam* 2001, no. 9; SELLINK 2007, no. 8.

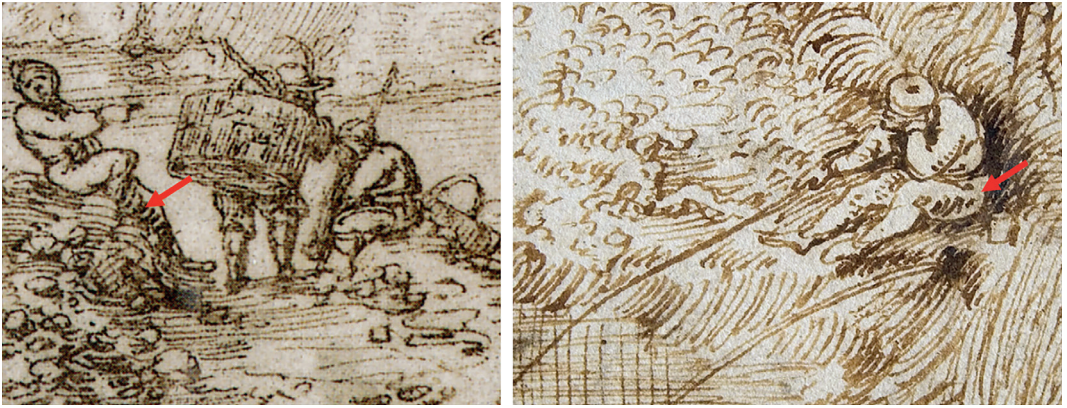


Fig. 4. Details of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Mountain Landscape with River and Travellers*, 1553, pen and brown ink (London, The British Museum), on the left, and *Stream with an Angler*, c. 1554, pen and brown ink (Brussels, KBR) on the right
Photographs by the author



Fig. 5. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Peasants and Cattle near a Farmhouse*, c. 1554, pen and brown ink. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund
© Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington

leg is noticeable (*Fig. 4*). Similarly, the rider on his mule in the Brussels sheet can be compared with an analogous motif in the *Pastoral Landscape* in Oslo²⁶: the animal's silhouette is represented in the same fashion, and the way in which its body is shaded is highly similar. More generally, the landscapes drawn by Bruegel at that time render tree foliage in the same way: leaves are suggested by small lines forming loops and volume is provided by large parallel hatching arranged more or less horizontally and vigorously. Based on these comparisons, one can only agree with the opinion of Mielke, who considered the Brussels sheet to be an autograph drawing by Bruegel. One should ask the same question about the Louvre version: Could Bruegel have made a copy of his own composition? The issue has never been addressed and deserves to be examined in more detail.

What is striking in this composition, as in all those in the Lugt group, is how the panoramic vistas so dear to Flemish landscape artists have been abandoned and replaced by more restricted views, and how the focus has shifted to the foreground. This feature is linked to the prominent role given to tall trees: a cluster of trees, mainly in the foreground, is a common feature among all the sheets in the Lugt group. The choice of a vertical format is partly related to this option. However, this feature is also found in horizontal drawings produced by Bruegel, such as *Wooded Landscape with Mills* in Milan,²⁷ *Pastoral Landscape* in Oslo,²⁸ *Landscape with Bears* in Prague,²⁹ and *Peasants and Cattle near a Farmhouse* in Washington³⁰ (*Fig. 5*). In these drawings, trees also play a major role in structuring the composition and highlighting the contrast between the foreground and the landscape beyond.

Of course, trees were widely used as pivoting devices in Flemish landscape art in the first half of the sixteenth century. But what connects Bruegel's drawings to those of the Venetian school is a conception of nature as a life force, reflected in the dynamic approach instilled in all its components. Vegetation is plentiful. Trees are strong, with tortuous trunks that seem to be twirling around their own axis. Their roots are entangled. Their branches split into multiple ramifications, and the lush foliage spreads in all directions.

26. Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet, NG.K&H.B. 15647, pen and brown ink, 215 × 310 mm, signed and dated 1552. MIELKE 1996, no. 7; *New York-Rotterdam* 2001, no. 3; SELLINK 2007, no. 4.

27. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, inv. F.245, INF. N.9, pen and brown ink, 213 × 281 mm, signed and dated 1552. MIELKE 1996, no. 3; *New York-Rotterdam* 2001, no. 2; SELLINK 2007, no. 3.

28. See above, note 26.

29. See above, note 7.

30. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, 1973, inv. 1973.21.1, pen and red-brown ink, 235 × 343 mm. MIELKE 1996, no. 8; *New York-Rotterdam* 2001, no. 19; SELLINK 2007, no. 18; *Wien* 2018–2019, no. 6.



Fig. 6. Niccolò Boldrini after Titian, *Landscape with a Milkmaid*, 1530s, woodcut.
Washington, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection
© Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington

Those who have pointed out Bruegel's receptivity to Venetian influence invoke a famous *chiaroscuro* woodcut after Titian or Domenico Campagnola showing goats at the foot of a tree as a key piece of comparison.³¹ And it is true that one of the Bruegelian compositions of the Lugt group, known from a copy in Chicago, is close to this woodcut.³² There are many other points of comparison among the Venetians, such as the *Landscape with Sleeping Shepherd* drawn by Titian (Paris, Louvre³³), or a woodcut by Niccolò Boldrini after Titian, *Landscape with a Milkmaid*³⁴ (Fig. 6), that can be compared with Bruegel's *Peasants and Cattle near a Farmhouse* in Washington³⁵ (Fig. 5). The works in question represent undergrowth and rural landscapes with no narrative subject, or rustic scenes with shepherds and peasants.

31. *Two Goats under a Tree*, c. 1530–35, *chiaroscuro* woodcut (Bartsch 12, p. 151, no. 20). On the influence of this woodcut on Bruegel, see especially MIELKE 1996, p. 7; Martin Royalton-Kisch in *New York-Rotterdam* 2001, p. 16 and idem, cat. no. 2 and fig. 79.

32. Chicago, The Art Institute, inv. 1922.1926 (Leonora Hall Gurley Memorial Collection), pen and brown ink, 345 × 245 mm. MIELKE 1996, no. 20 (as a faithful copy after Pieter Bruegel).

33. Paris, Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. 5534, pen and dark brow ink, 250 × 399 mm. CHIARI MORETTO WIEL 1989, pp. 17–18.

34. *Washington-Dallas-Detroit* 1976–1977, no. 21.

35. See note 30.

Fritz Lugt had already observed that Bruegel showed signs of imitating the Venetian landscape masters. He had discovered that a drawing by Bruegel kept in Berlin³⁶ reproduced a composition attributed to Domenico Campagnola, of which the original seems to have disappeared, but which is known from a nineteenth-century lithograph.³⁷ This example confirms that Bruegel carefully studied Venetian works, but it also shows that, far from creating a servile copy of a model he admired, the young artist already had a strong enough personality to reinterpret the scene and, to a degree, adapt it to the norms of Flemish taste. Indeed, he introduced a Brabantine church in this landscape on the right, and on the left, a river winding towards the horizon, a common feature in the landscape art of the Low Countries.

However, the most obvious similarities are to be found between Bruegel's drawings and Girolamo Muziano's landscapes. Lugt had already sensed this connection, but the comparison between the works of the two artists was never fully developed due to a lack of knowledge of Muziano's production. Things changed with Patrizia Tosini's in-depth research on the Brescian artist. In the monograph she published in 2008, Muziano's career is described step by step. Muziano is followed from his beginnings in the Veneto under the influence of Domenico Campagnola, Paolo Veronese, and the Dutchman Lambert Sustris until he settled in Rome in 1549, where he quickly established himself as one of the major figures in the art of the Counter-Reformation.³⁸ Although landscapes were far from being his exclusive speciality, Muziano played an important role in this field in Rome and in the Lazio, which earned him the nickname of 'giovane dei paesi', according to Giovanni Baglione.³⁹ His talents as a landscapist were also praised by Karel van Mander. In his *Schilder-Boeck* (1604), Van Mander stresses Muziano's typical manner, which he considered 'different from that of the Flemish artists and something rarely found in other Italian painters'. According to him, Muziano 'was also skilful in representing trees, which he rendered with great art and in a beautiful manner, imaginatively creating trunks and roots, and cladding them with ivy and other plants'.⁴⁰

36. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 1202, pen and red-brown ink, 333 × 466 mm, dated 1554. MIELKE 1996, no. 21; *New York-Rotterdam* 2001, no. 13; SELLINK 2007, no. 13; SELLINK 2013b, p. 299; *Wien* 2018–2019, no. 5.

37. This lithograph was published in *Monuments des arts du dessin chez les peuples tant anciens que modernes, recueillis par le Baron Vivant Denon ... pour servir à l'histoire des arts, lithographiés par ses soins et sous ses yeux, décrits et expliqués par Amaury Duval*, vol. 2, 1829, pl. 128bis.

38. TOSINI 2008, esp. pp. 9–65.

39. TOSINI 1999, p. 200; HOCHMANN 2003, p. 245 and n. 1; TOSINI 2019, pp. 175–176 (esp. n. 7). On Muziano as a landscape painter, see esp. TOSINI 1999; TOSINI 2008, pp. 17 and *passim*; HOCHMANN 2003; TOSINI 2019.

40. See esp. TOSINI 1999, p. 201; TOSINI 2019, p. 175, n. 5 (the quotation is taken from her).



Fig. 7. Girolamo Muziano, *Rural Landscape with Mills*, c.1550–55, pen and brown ink. Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi
© GDSU

Muziano had been in Rome for about three years when Bruegel arrived there around 1552.⁴¹ The Brescian artist was only twenty years old at the time. Bruegel was five or six years older.⁴² As Lugt did nearly a century ago, I would argue that it was Muziano who guided the Flemish artist towards Venetian models.⁴³

Several landscapes drawn by Muziano in the early 1550s, such as one in the Uffizi (Fig. 7), show just how much he himself was a follower of Domenico Campagnola.⁴⁴ Their compositional pattern is centred on one or more tall,

41. For a *status quaestionis* on the chronology of Bruegel's trip to Italy, see the essay by Nils Büttner in this volume.

42. On the most recent biographical data on Bruegel's birth (c. 1526–27), see VAN DER STOCK 2019, pp. 12–14.

43. In her monograph on Muziano, Patrizia Tosini acknowledges the question but with reservations, noting that it was impossible to confirm direct links between them on any objective basis (TOSINI 2008, pp. 62–64). See also TOSINI 2019, p. 189.

44. Among the examples of these first landscape drawings by Muziano, see *River Landscape with a Viola Player* (formerly attributed to Domenico Campagnola) in Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, inv. Dis. A 183 (TOSINI 2014, pp. 181–184, fig. 1; TOSINI 2019, pp. 177–178, fig. 8.2), *River Landscape with a Mill* in Chatsworth, Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, inv. 229 (TOSINI 2008, pp. 21–22, fig. 13; TOSINI 2014, p. 181, fig. 2; TOSINI 2019, fig. 8.1) and the *Rural Landscape with Mills* (formerly attributed to Domenico Campagnola) in Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. P495 (TOSINI 2008, p. 21, fig. 14; TOSINI 2019, fig. 8.8, here Fig. 7).

vigorous trees located laterally to form an eye-catching feature in the foreground. This compositional scheme, which has also been observed in several landscapes drawn by Bruegel during his stay in Italy, could have been inspired by Muziano's drawings. Moreover, the lively and nervous strokes that characterise Bruegel's landscapes between 1552 and 1554 show some similarities to Muziano's.

However, it is highly likely that the exchange that took place between the two young artists was two-way. In this regard, it is interesting to note that at a later stage, in the 1560s, Muziano made a series of drawings showing vertically framed landscapes, quite unusual among Venetian landscape drawings, as Tosini has observed.⁴⁵ Some of them show striking similarities to sheets from the Lugt group and could be reminiscent of Bruegel's drawings (Fig. 8). Another case in point is the obvious relationship between several landscapes from this series (see for example Fig. 9) and the *Prospectus Tyburtinus* (View of Tiber), the print after Bruegel from the set of *The Large Landscapes* published by Hieronymus Cock c. 1555–1556 (see Fig. 4, p. 34).⁴⁶ With their sinuous lines, Muziano's drawings, in which even the rocks themselves have strange, bulbous shapes that merge with the waterfall's waves, have much in common with Bruegel's expressive style in the *Prospectus Tyburtinus*. Might they recall artistic experiences that the two young painters shared in the early 1550s?

The *Prospectus Tyburtinus* takes us to the Villa d'Este in Tivoli, which adds another piece to the puzzle. The print evinces that Bruegel visited Tivoli when the cardinal of Ferrara, Ippolito II d'Este, owned the property. He planned to build a villa on the site of the monastery in which he had his apartments.⁴⁷ However, the works had not yet begun. The building of the villa and the layout of its famous gardens were undertaken from 1555 onwards.⁴⁸

The same is true, of course, for the interior decoration of the villa with frescoes, executed by large teams of painters, largely in the 1560s. The villa's accounts indicate there were over forty artists—Italian, but also German and Flemish.⁴⁹ In the sumptuous rooms on the lower floor, notably the room

45. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. P503–P520. These drawings apparently come from a sketchbook. They are included in an album (TOSINI 2008, p. 139, ill. 121–122, 126, 129, 131, 133; TOSINI 2019, pp. 186–192). Many thanks to Lucia Aquino for checking the watermarks on the sheets of paper on which these drawings were executed. They support a date in the 1560s, as suggested by Patrizia Tosini (2008, p. 139, n. 160; 2019, p. 186, n. 32). I would also like to thank Dr Laura Donati, curator of the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, for allowing me to examine these drawings in optimal conditions.

46. *New York-Rotterdam* 2001, no. 24; SELLINK 2007, no. 23; *Brussels* 2019–2020, no. 2.a.

47. The bibliography on the Villa d'Este in Tivoli is huge. For the purposes of the present study, I have used COFFIN 1960 and BARISI, FAGIOLO, MADONNA 2003.

48. On the building phases of the palace: BARISI, FAGIOLO, MADONNA 2003, p. 23.

49. For a thorough re-examination of Ippolito's accounts, see TOSINI 1999, pp. 219–221. See also Dora Catalano's contribution to BARISI, FAGIOLO, MADONNA 2003, pp. 38–43.



Fig. 8. Girolamo Muziano, *Wooded Landscape*, 1560s, pen and brown ink.
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi
© GDSU



Fig. 9. Girolamo Muziano, *Rocky Landscape*, 1560s, pen and brown ink.
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi
© GDSU

known as the 'Fountain Hall' (*Sala della Fontana*), the decoration was executed under the direction of Muziano, who became Ippolito II d'Este's official painter in 1560.⁵⁰ On this floor, the landscapes that adorn the walls reflect close and profound interaction between Italian and Flemish aesthetics, as in the so-called second Tiburtine room, where, besides views of Tivoli, rural and wooded landscapes are represented. But it is on the upper floor of the villa, the *piano nobile*, that the true surprise awaits us. The cardinal's private apartment was located there. In the large living room (*Grande Salone*), which offers the most beautiful view of the gardens, decoration begun in 1568 under the direction of Livio Agresti da Forlì remained unfinished because the work was interrupted by the death of Ippolito II d'Este in 1572.⁵¹ There, in the lower part of the vault, on the long sides of the room, large compartments left empty are framed by four landscapes. Once again, three of them evoke Tivoli. But the fourth is different (*Fig. 10*). It betrays a patent kinship with the composition of the Brussels drawing (*Fig. 11a-b*). The most obvious similarities are the mound with two large trees, their bare roots sinking into the river; the fisherman holding his rod in one hand, his head resting on the other, a second rod lying next to him; a little further, two trunks leaning against the bank; on the left, a boat where two fishermen (in Tivoli; there is only one in Bruegel's drawing) use fish traps; a water mill located on the right; and finally, in front of the mill wheel, two slender trees. Although there are also differences, the points of convergence are too many and too significant to be fortuitous.

We are therefore confronted with a testimony concerning the circulation of models that is as glaringly obvious as it is unexpected. But how should it be interpreted? It has been suggested that the painter responsible for the landscapes in the *Grande Salone* under the supervision of Livio Agresti was a certain Cornelio Fiammingo, whose name appears in the villa's accounts. He has been tentatively identified as Cornelis Loots, a painter from Mechelen who had a successful career in Italy as a fresco artist specialising in landscape painting.⁵²

However, the decoration of the upper lounge of the Villa d'Este was carried out about ten to fifteen years after Bruegel's stay in the region. Cornelis Loots could not have crossed paths with Bruegel in Italy. He seems to have made a

50. TOSINI 1999, p. 190; TOSINI 2008, pp. 106–109, 351. On the decoration of the most important rooms on the lower floor, see especially: COFFIN 1960, pp. 41–68; Dora Catalano's contribution to BARISI, FAGIOLO, MADONNA 2003, pp. 38–43; TOSINI 2008, pp. 114–155 and pp. 350–359 (cat. A14, with extensive bibliography).

51. Catalano in BARISI, FAGIOLO, MADONNA 2003, pp. 34, 48. On the *Salone delle Virtù*, see also TOSINI 2010, pp. 25–27.

52. On this attribution: GIANNATTASIO 1999, esp. p. 53; TOSINI 2008, pp. 108, 126.



Fig. 10. Fresco paintings of the ceiling of the *Grande Salone* (upper floor), 1568-1572. Tivoli, Villa d'Este
Photograph by the author

first sojourn in Rome in the 1540s. After returning to his homeland, he settled permanently in Italy in the 1560s, long after Bruegel himself had returned to the Low Countries.⁵³ Loots worked in Parma in 1563, then in Rome from 1566 onwards. How could he have known about the composition that interests us? Different hypotheses should be considered. He could have discovered the Bruegelian composition while he was still in the Low Countries. After Bruegel's return to his homeland around 1555, Loots could have made or acquired a copy and then taken it to Italy, where this copy might have been used as a model. Indeed, it is not unlikely that Bruegel's composition was circulating in the Low Countries. The existence of replicas of the Brussels drawing (Berlin, Paris) makes this a plausible scenario.

A distant echo of it may appear in an early painting by Lucas van Valckenborch, quite atypical amongst his oeuvre and in landscape painting generally in the second half of the sixteenth century (Fig. 12).⁵⁴ In the early seventeenth

53. On Loots's work in Lazio, see esp. GIANNATTASIO 1999, DACOS 2006 pp. 51–56, and TOSINI 2008, pp. 126 and 151 (with interesting suggestions for new attributions).

54. Tempera on panel, 35 × 30.7 cm, monogrammed VVL, Christie's London, 5 July 2018, lot. 8 (present location unknown). WIED 1990, no.1 (as an early work by the artist). GERSZI 1976, p. 225.



Fig. 11a. Detail of a fresco painting attributed to Cornelis Loots, 1568-1572
(Tivoli, Villa d'Este, *Grande Salone*)

Photograph by the author



Fig. 11b. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Stream with an Angler*, c. 1554,
pen and brown ink (Brussels, KBR)
Photograph by the author



Fig. 12. Lucas van Valckenborch, *Wooded Landscape with an Angler*, signed VVL, 1560s, oil on panel. Present location unknown
© Christie's

century, the foreground with its two fishermen was also freely repeated by an artist from the circle of Jan Brueghel the Elder in a small *tondo* painting representing the *Parting of Tobias and his Mother* (Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum).⁵⁵

Conversely, Loots might have been aware of Bruegel's composition once he moved to Rome. The Mechelen artist frequently worked for Alessandro

55. Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, no. 431 (as Jan Brueghel II), oil painting on panel, diam. 18.3 cm. The similarity was first noticed by Matthias Winner. See esp. ARNDT 1972, pp. 80 and 109, fig. 19 (as Jan Brueghel the Elder) and *Berlin* 1975, under no. 47. Of course, if the attribution to Jan Brueghel the Elder or his circle is correct, the kinship of this painting with Bruegel the Elder's drawing could also be explained by the possibility that Jan Brueghel discovered the latter or a copy of it, not in the Low Countries but during his own stay in Italy.

Farnese, *il Gran Cardinale*. He painted frescoes for him in Grottaferrata Abbey and Caprarola in 1567–1570⁵⁶. We know that during his own stay in Italy—or during his journey to Italy, as Stefano Onofri argues in this volume—Bruegel collaborated with the cardinal's official painter, Giulio Clovio.⁵⁷ The *post-mortem* inventory of Clovio's property, compiled in 1577, shows that some of Bruegel's works remained in Rome after his return to his homeland. This inventory does not mention any drawings, but there is 'un quadro di un albero a guazzo di Mro Pietro Brugole' (a tree painted by Mr Bruegel on canvas),⁵⁸ which could indicate a landscape with a composition comparable to those in the Lugt sheets. In addition to the works by Bruegel that were in Giulio Clovio's house, it is likely that there were others that circulated among the artists in Cardinal Farnese's milieu. We could imagine that this is how Cornelis Loots gained access to the drawing that interests us here, or one of its copies.

However, a third hypothesis also deserves consideration. Loots and Muziano worked closely together. They were part of the same network of artists that Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este of Ferrara and Cardinal Farnese fought over in the 1560s.⁵⁹ Loots worked for the Cardinal of Ferrara not only on the *piano nobile* of the Villa d'Este, under Livio Agresti, but apparently also on the lower floor, under Muziano's direction.⁶⁰ It is therefore quite possible that Loots became aware of Bruegel's composition through Muziano. This third hypothesis is in line with the similarities we have found between some of Muziano's and Bruegel's drawings. If we accept that the two artists rubbed shoulders and influenced each other in their youth, and that the *Stream with an Angler* is one of the drawings that reflects these exchanges, the reappearance of the composition on a vault in the Villa d'Este around 1568 is no longer surprising.

56. GIANNATTASIO 1999. See also TOSINI 2019, pp. 192–193.

57. A miniature painted jointly by the two artists is quoted in the inventory of the goods of Giulio Clovio in 1577: BERTOLOTTI 1882, pp. 11–12. On the enigmatic circumstances of the meeting between Bruegel and Clovio: ALLART 1997, pp. 93–94 and the contribution of Stefano Onofri in the present volume.

58. BERTOLOTTI 1882, pp. 11–12; ALLART 1997, n. 103.

59. TOSINI 2008 pp. 107–108.

60. On the likely collaboration of Loots with Muziano on the lower floor at the Villa d'Este, see TOSINI 2008, pp. 126–129, 357–359. The team working under Muziano's direction included also other Flemish painters. Although he is not mentioned in the account books from the Villa d'Este, we know from Van Mander that Pieter Vlerick (1539–1581) was one of these painters. As he had been Vlerick's pupil, Van Mander was well informed about his activity in Italy. He reports that Vlerick enjoyed much success in Venice, where he was close to Tintoretto. Then Vlerick went to Rome and worked in the Villa d'Este in Tivoli, where he painted the figures and the stories in Muziano's landscapes (VAN MANDER 1604, fol. 249; text and English translation from VAN MANDER, MIEDEMA 1994–1999, pp. 255–273). Actually, Muziano might already have met Vlerick or heard about him during his Venetian period, as suggested by Patrizia Tosini (TOSINI 2008, p. 138).

It is difficult to decide between the three hypotheses at this stage. What is certain, however, is that they open up new horizons for research. This case may not be unique. Other frescoes in the Lazio by Loots, Muziano, and their entourage may also be related to the drawings Bruegel made in Italy. Besides, many questions arise: How extensive was the exchange between Muziano and Bruegel? What were the results of the emulation we can surmise between these two artists in the 1550s: Did they collaborate? Did they compete on the same topics? Did they exchange models? How can we distinguish, in this case, their respective contributions in the conception of certain landscapes in which their kinship seems particularly pronounced?

Finally, given the similarities between Bruegel's drawings in Rome and several Venetian drawings, it is possible that there are still anonymous sheets in collections of Old Master drawings that until now have been associated with the Venetian school, but ought to be re-examined in light of a possible attribution to Bruegel. These are the promising avenues that will now have to be explored.

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