

Landscape and Earth in Early Modernity

Picturing Unruly Nature

Edited by
Christine Göttler and
Mia M. Mochizuki

Amsterdam University Press

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	7
Acknowledgments	25
Landscape, Mutability, and the Unruly Earth: An Introduction <i>Christine Göttler</i>	27

Part 1 Latent Landscapes

1. *Waterland* and the Disquiet of the Dutch Landscape
Mia M. Mochizuki 75
2. Landscape and Autography
Victoria Sancho Lobis 123
3. Painted Landscape before Landscape Painting in Early Modern England
Karin Leonhard 153

Part 2 Elemental Resources

4. Unruly Indigo? Plants, Plantations, and Partitions
Romita Ray 181
5. A Natural History in Stone: Medusa's Unruly Gaze on *bardiglio grigio*
Steffen Zierholz 209

6. The Cosmologies of Early Modern Mining Landscapes 239
Tina Asmussen

Part 3 Staged Topographies

7. *Aurea Aetas Antverpiensis*: Land(scapes) in the *Blyde Inkomst* for Ernest of Austria into Antwerp, 1594 269
Ivo Raband
8. An Overlooked Landscape Installation: The Winter Room at Copenhagen's Rosenborg Castle 293
Michèle Seehafer
9. Insidious Images: Veiled Sight and Insight in Pieter Bruegel's Landscapes 323
Michel Weemans

Part 4 Fragile Ecologies

10. "In einem Augenblick": Leveling Landscapes in Seventeenth-Century Disaster Flap Prints 353
Suzanne Karr Schmidt
11. Performative Landscapes: A Paradigm for Mediating the Ecological Imperative? 393
Peter J. Schneemann
- Index 415

List of Illustrations

- Figure o.1 Song Dong, *Doing Nothing Garden*, 2010–2012. Daily-life rubbish and building rubbish with plants and neon signs, 7 × 32.5 × 23.5 m, Kassel, dOCUMENTA (13) (shown shortly before the opening of the exhibition). Image: © Song Dong, courtesy of Pace Gallery. 28
- Figure o.2 Crispijn de Passe the Elder after Theodorus Graminaeus, *Catena aurea Platonis*, before 1593 (title page of the series *The Seven Planets*). Engraving, 24.3 × 18.6 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. RP-P-1981-186. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 35
- Figure o.3 Crispijn de Passe the Elder after Maarten de Vos, Landscape with the Chariot of Venus, ca. 1600 (from the series *The Seven Planets and the Catena aurea*). Engraving, 24.5 × 18.7 cm (sheet), London, The British Museum, inv. no. 1862,0712.331. Image: © The Trustees of the British Museum. 37
- Figure o.4 Crispijn de Passe the Elder after Maarten de Vos, Landscape with the Chariot of Mars, before 1593 (from the series *The Seven Planets and the Catena aurea*). Engraving, 24.6 × 18.3 cm (sheet), Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. RP-P-1981-188. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 38
- Figure o.5 Crispijn de Passe the Elder after Maarten de Vos, Landscape with the Chariot of Jupiter, before 1593 (from the series *The Seven Planets and the Catena aurea*). Engraving, 23.7 × 18.1 cm (sheet), Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. RP-P-1981-190. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 39
- Figure o.6 Crispijn de Passe the Elder after Maarten de Vos, Landscape with the Chariot of Saturn, before 1593 (from the series *The Seven Planets and the Catena aurea*). Engraving, 23.5 × 18 cm (sheet), Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. RP-P-1981-187. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 40
- Figure o.7 Johannes Sadeler I after Maarten de Vos, The Sun and the Moon and Their Influences on the Provinces, Regions, and Cities, 1585 (from the series *Planetarum effectus et eorum in signis zodiaci*). Engravings, each ca. 23.5 × 24 cm, both cut within borders; hand-colored and glued onto a sheet of parchment (53.9 × 3.5 cm), Album Jean de Poligny,

- Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. RP-P-2005-214.
Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 42
- Figure 0.8 Adriaen Huybrechts after Andrea Bacci, *Ordo universi et humanarum scientiarum prima monumenta*, 1585. Engraving, 60.3 × 42.7 cm, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, RES QB-201 (170, 1)-FT 4. Image: © BnF. 44
- Figure 0.9 Nature in Her Workshop, in *Cy comme[n]ce le roma[n]t de la rose. Ou tout lart damours est enclose* (Geneva: Jean Croquet, ca. 1481), fol. 133r. Colored woodcut, 6.7 × 5.9 cm, with commentary by François Rasse des Neux, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, call no. M: Lm 4° 3d. Image: © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. 46
- Figure 0.10 Matthäus Merian the Elder, "His Nurse Is the Earth," in Michael Maier, *Atalanta fugiens* (Oppenheim: Hieronymus Galler and Johann Theodor de Bry, 1618), 17. Engraving, 9.3 × 10.1 cm, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, call no. A:196 Quod. (1). Image: © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. 48
- Figure 0.11 Hendrick Goltzius, *Demogorgon in the Cave of Eternity* (first print of the series of *Demogorgon and the Deities*), ca. 1586–1590. Chiaroscuro woodcut from one line block and two tone blocks in tan and dark grey, 35 × 26.3 cm, Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. VII.31.183. Image: © Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg. 49
- Figure 0.12 Nature Nurturing the Growth of Metals, in Antonio Neri, *Il tesoro del mondo (The Treasure of the World)*, fol. 2r. Pen and watercolor, 17 × 11 cm, Glasgow, University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections, MS Ferguson 67. Image: © University of Glasgow. 51
- Figure 0.13 Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, *Man Born to Toil*, 1572. Part of an album with prints by Maarten van Heemskerck and other artists, fol. 202r. Engraving, 20.9 × 24.8 cm (plate); 26.3 × 34.3 cm (sheet). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. RP-P-1988-297-202. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 52
- Figure 0.14 Peter Candid, *Vision of St. Willibald of Malavalle*, ca. 1600 (from the Chapel of St. Willibald at Schleissheim). Oil on canvas, 306.5 × 174.5 cm, Munich, Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, Nymphenburg.

	Marstalldepot, inv. no. SAS-G-0001. Image: © Bayerische Schlösserverwaltung.	
Figure 0.15	Johannes Sadeler I after Dirck Barendsz., <i>Mankind Awaiting the Last Judgement</i> ("Ita erit et adventus filii hominis"), 1581–1583. Engraving, 35 × 44.2 cm (cut within border), hand-colored in blue, green, red, and brown, glued onto a sheet of parchment (53.9 × 38 cm) in an album from the library of Jean de Poligny, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. RP-P-2005-214-3. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.	54
Figure 0.16	Herri met de Bles (circle of), <i>Landscape with Lot and His Daughters in Front of the Burning Sodom</i> , sixteenth century. Oil on panel, 33.2 × 45.2 cm, Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, inv. no. M.Ob.600 MNW. Image: © Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie / Piotr Ligier.	55
Figure 0.17	Herri met de Bles (or workshop of), <i>Landscape with Lot and His Daughters</i> , second third of the sixteenth century. Oil on panel, 26 × 40 cm, Namur, TreM.a, Musée des arts anciens, inv. no. 245C. Image: © Coll. Province de Namur / G. Focant.	57
Figure 1.1	Jan van Goyen, <i>Landscape with Two Oaks</i> , 1641. Oil on canvas, 88.5 × 110.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-123. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.	76
Figure 1.2	Hendrick Goltzius, <i>Dune Landscape</i> , 1603. Pen and brown ink on paper, 9.1 × 15.4 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. H253 (PK), on loan from Stichting Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen 1940 (formerly Collection Koenigs). Image: © Collection Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Photo: Studio Buitenhof.	78
Figure 1.3	Hendrick Goltzius, <i>Cliff on a Seashore</i> , ca. 1592–1595. Chiaroscuro woodcut in sepia-ochre, green, and black ink on paper, 11.4 × 14.4 cm, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, inv. no. 1943.3.4628. Image: © National Gallery of Art.	80
Figure 1.4	Leonardo da Vinci, <i>Study of Rock Formations</i> , ca. 1510–1515. Black chalk on paper, 16.4 × 20.1 cm, Windsor, Windsor Castle, Royal Library, inv. no. RCIN 912397. Image: © Royal Collection Trust / Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2021.	81
Figure 1.5	Hendrick Cornelisz. Vroom, <i>Battle between Dutch and Spanish Ships on the Haarlemmermeer (26 May 1573)</i> , ca. 1629. Oil on canvas, 190 × 268 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-602. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.	83

- Figure 1.6 Cornelis Anthonisz., *View of Amsterdam*, 1538. Oil on panel, 116 × 159 cm, Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SA 3009. Image: © Amsterdam Museum. 85
- Figure 1.7 Geography and Chorography, in Petrus Apianus, *Cosmographicus liber* (Landshut: Johann Weissenburger, 1524), part 1, 3–4. Woodcut on paper, 21 × 15 cm, Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Libraries, Burndy Library, Special Collections, Gift of Bern Dibner, call no. GA6.A4X. Image: © Courtesy of the Smithsonian Libraries and Archives. 88
- Figure 1.8 Anonymous, *Cantino Planisphere Portolan Chart*, 1502. Ink on six sheets of glued parchment, 220 × 105 cm, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Gallerie Estensi, Fondo Cartografico / Fondo Estense, inv. no. CGA2. Image: © Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura—Gallerie Estensi, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria. 90
- Figure 1.9 Cornelis Anthonisz., *Caerte van Oostlant*, ca. 1560. Woodcut on nine sheets of mounted paper, 73 × 96.5 cm, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, call no. K1.1. Image: © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. 94
- Figure 1.10 Coastal Profiles of North Holland, in Cornelis Anthonisz., *Caerte van die Oosterse See* (Amsterdam: Jan Ewoutsz., 1558), bound with *Onderwijsinge vander zee, om stuermanschap te leeren*, 3rd ed. (Amsterdam: Jan Ewoutsz., 1558), fol. 2v. Woodcut on paper, 16 × 21 cm, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, call no. NC5. An866.544oc. Image: © Harvard University, Houghton Library. 96
- Figure 1.11 Sea Chart of Portugal, in Lucas Jansz. Waghenraer, *Spieghel der zeevaerd*t (Leiden: Christophe Plantin, 1584), chart 17. Engraving, 32.5 × 51 cm, Utrecht, University Library, call no. P fol 111 Lk (Rariora). Image: © Utrecht University Library. 98
- Figure 1.12 Jan Christiaensz. Micker, *View of Amsterdam*, ca. 1652–1660. Oil on canvas, 100 × 137 cm, Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SA 1531. Image: © Amsterdam Museum. 100
- Figure 1.13 Jacob van Ruisdael, *View of Haarlem with Bleaching Grounds*, ca. 1670–1675. Oil on canvas, 55.5 × 62 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. no. 155. Image: © Mauritshuis. 101
- Figure 1.14 Jan Collaert II, Astrolabe, in Johannes Stradanus, *Nova Reperta* (Antwerp: Philips Galle, [ca. 1580–1605]), plate 18. Engraving on paper, 27 × 33 cm, Chicago, Newberry Library,

- call no. VAULT Case Wing oversize Z412.85. Image: © Newberry Library, Chicago. Photo: Catherine Gass. 103
- Figure 1.15 Title Page, in Reinerus Gemma Frisius, *De principiis astronomiae et cosmographiae* ([Antwerp]: Joannes Grapheus for Servatio Zassenso, 1530). Woodcut on paper, 20.2 × 13.8 cm, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Rare Books, call no. LP3.012A. Image: © Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. 105
- Figure 1.16 Gualterus Arsenius, *Armillary Sphere*, 1568. Brass, 36 × 26 cm, 4.2 kg, Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, Caird Collection, inv. no. AST 0618. Image: © National Maritime Museum. 107
- Figure 1.17 François van Knibbergen, *Panoramic Dune Landscape around Kleve*, ca. 1655–1665. Oil on canvas, 97.3 × 139.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-2361. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 109
- Figure 1.18 Jan Porcellis, *Shipwreck off the Coast*, 1631. Oil on panel, 36.5 × 66.5 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. no. 969. Image: © Mauritshuis. 110
- Figure 2.1 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Wooded Landscape with Mills*, 1552. Pen and brown ink on paper, 21.3 × 28.1 cm, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, inv. no. F245 inf np. Image: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana / Mondadori Portfolio. 125
- Figure 2.2 Nicolò Boldrini (attributed), *Two Goats at the Foot of a Tree*, ca. 1550–1570. Woodcut in light brown ink, 50 × 21.7 cm, London, The British Museum, inv. no. 1881,0709.80. Image: © The Trustees of the British Museum. 127
- Figure 2.3 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Wooded Landscape with a Family of Bears, Deer, and Other Wild Animals*, ca. 1595. Pen and brown ink on paper, 33.9 × 24.3 cm, Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. no. 8025. Image: © Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris. 130
- Figure 2.4 Pieter Bruegel the Elder (after), *Forest Landscape with Wild Animals*, ca. 1545–1599. Pen and brown ink on buff laid paper, laid down on card, 36 × 24.4 cm, Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 1922.1932. Image: © The Art Institute of Chicago / Art Resource, NY. 130
- Figure 2.5 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Woodland Scene with Bears*, ca. 1540–1569. Pen and brown ink over black chalk, 33.7 × 23.2 cm, London, The British Museum, inv. no. 1872,1012.3344. Image: © The Trustees of the British Museum. 131

- Figure 2.6 Roelandt Savery, *Mountainous Landscape with a Draftsman*, ca. 1606. Pen and brown ink, 51.3 × 48.2 cm, Paris, Département des arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 20721–recto. Image: © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY. Photo: Thierry Ollivier. 134
- Figure 2.7 Roelandt Savery, *Houses behind the Lobkowitz Palace in Prague*, ca. 1604–1605. Pen and brown ink on laid paper, 24.8 × 22.4 cm, Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, inv. no. 5524. Image: © National Gallery of Canada / Musée des beaux-arts du Canada. 136
- Figure 2.8 Anthony van Dyck, *Straits of Messina, Sicily, or Liguria, with Cumulus Clouds Above*; leaf from the Italian Sketchbook, ca. 1621–1627. Pen and brown ink on paper, 19.4 × 15.5 cm, London, The British Museum, inv. no. 1957,1214.207.1. Image: © The Trustees of the British Museum. 138
- Figure 2.9 Jan van de Velde I, *Design for a Writing Exemplum with an Admiral Ship*, 1605. Pen and brown ink, 21 × 30.9 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1896-A-1924-8(V). Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 140
- Figure 2.10 Jacques de Gheyn II, *Mountain Landscape*, ca. 1600. Pen and brown ink, over black chalk, on paper, 29.2 × 38.9 cm, New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, inv. no. 1967.12. Image: © The Morgan Library and Museum. 142
- Figure 2.11 Peter Paul Rubens, *Trees Reflected in Water at Sunset*, ca. 1635–1638. Black, red, and orange chalks, heightened with white, on buff paper, 27.6 × 45.4 cm, London, The British Museum, inv. no. Gg.2.229. Image: © The Trustees of the British Museum. 145
- Figure 3.1 Peter Paul Rubens, *Landscape with St. George and the Dragon*, 1630–1635. Oil on canvas, 152.5 × 226.9 cm, Windsor, Royal Collection, inv. no. RCIN 405356. Image: Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022. 154
- Figure 3.2 Nathaniel Bacon, *Landscape*, 1656. Oil on unprimed copper, backed with oak panel, 7 × 11 cm, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. WA1908.224. Image: © Ashmolean Museum. 155
- Figure 3.3 Wolf Huber, *Large Landscape with Golgotha*, 1525–1530. Pen and brown ink, watercolor, and gouache, 32.7 × 44.5 cm, Erlangen-Nürnberg, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, Graphische Sammlung der Universitätsbibliothek, inv.

	no. B822. Image: © Graphische Sammlung der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, B822.	160
Figure 3.4	Albrecht Altdorfer, <i>St. George in the Woods</i> , ca. 1510. Oil on parchment on linden wood, 28.2 × 22.5 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. no. WAF 29. Image: © bpk Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung.	161
Figure 3.5	Anglo-Dutch School, <i>London from Southwark</i> , ca. 1630. Oil on oak panel, 57.7 × 85.7 cm, London, Museum of London, inv. no. 001697. Image: © Museum of London.	163
Figure 3.6	Claude de Jongh, <i>View of Old London Bridge</i> , ca. 1630. Oil on panel, 48.9 × 109.2 cm, London, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. no. 7129–1860. Image: © Victoria & Albert Museum, London.	163
Figure 3.7	Jan Siberechts, <i>Wollaton Hall</i> , 1690s. Oil on canvas, 191.8 × 138.4 cm, New Haven, CT, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, inv. no. B1973.1.52. Image: © Yale Center for British Art.	167
Figure 3.8	Robert Streeter, <i>Boscobel House and White Ladies</i> , ca. 1670. Oil on canvas, 136.7 × 211.5 cm, Windsor, Royal Collection, inv. no. RCIN 404761. Image: Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.	172
Figure 3.9	Sir Peter Lely, <i>Diana Kirke, later Countess of Oxford</i> , ca. 1665. Oil on canvas, 132.1 × 104.1 cm, New Haven, CT, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, inv. no. B1981.25.756. Image: © Yale Center for British Art.	174
Figure 3.10	Thomas Gainsborough, <i>Mrs. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Aged 31</i> , 1785–1787. Oil on canvas, 219.7 × 153.7 cm, Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection, inv. no. 1937.1.92. Image: © National Gallery of Art.	175
Figure 4.1	Johann Zoffany, <i>The Auriol and Dashwood Families</i> , about 1783–1787. Oil on canvas, 142 × 198 cm (unframed), Bath, The Holburne Museum. Image: © The Holburne Museum.	185
Figure 4.2	Captain R. B. Hill, <i>Botanical Gardens, Calcutta</i> , 1850s. Albumen silver print, 19.6 × 24.3 cm (image), New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gilman Collection, inv. no. 2005.100.948.2 (25). Image: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.	186
Figure 4.3	Company School, <i>Nerium tinctorium</i> , in William Roxburgh, <i>Icones Roxburghianae, or Drawings of Indian Plants</i> , 1785–1791, no. 18 (K). Watercolor, graphite, and ink on paper, 51.5 × 35.7 cm (sheet), 47.2 × 30.5 cm (image), Kew, Royal	

- Botanic Gardens. Image: © Board of Trustees of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. 190
- Figure 4.4 *Indigofera caerulea Roxb.*, specimen no. K001121003, collected Patna, April 9, 1812. Indigo plant on paper, 26.7 × 42.6 cm (sheet), Kew, Royal Botanic Gardens, cat. no. 5460, <http://specimens.kew.org/herbarium/K001121003>. Image: © Board of Trustees of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. 190
- Figure 4.5 Krishnanagar Artist, *Model of an Indigo Factory*, detail, 1883–1884. Clay, paint, glass, bamboo, and other materials, 203.2 × 101.6 × 30.48 cm, Kolkata, Botanical Survey of India, Industrial Section Indian Museum (BSI ISIM). Image: © Botanical Survey of India, Kolkata. 193
- Figure 4.6 “Indigo Cultivation in Tirhoot, Bengal,” *The Graphic* (February 12, 1881), 165. Engraving, 29.3 × 40 cm, Syracuse, NY, Author’s Collection. Image: © Author. 195
- Figure 4.7 Oscar Mallitte, “Beating a Vat by Hand,” in *The Planting & Manufacture of Indigo in India: 29 Photographic Views*, Allahabad, India, 1877. Album with albumen silver print, 18.3 × 23.7 cm (image), Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 84.XO.876.8.9. Image: © Getty Open Content Program. 196
- Figure 4.8 Piece of Indigo Dye from India, 6.35 × 6.35 cm. Image: © Wikimedia Creative Commons. Photo: Evan Izer. 197
- Figure 5.1 Anonymous, *Perseus Transforming Atlas*, first half of the seventeenth century. Oil on bardiglio grigio, 27 × 23 cm, Isola Bella, Lago Maggiore, Palazzo Borromeo, inv. no. PIT-01048. Image: © Archivio Fotografico Borromeo Isola Bella. 210
- Figure 5.2 Johann Wilhelm Bauer, Perseus Transforming Atlas, in Johann Wilhelm Bauer, *Imagines sive illustrationes ad Publii Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon libros XV* (Vienna: [s. n.], 1641), fol. 42r. Etching, 13 × 20.5 cm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, call no. Res/4 A.lat.a.451y. Image: © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. 212
- Figure 5.3 Carlo Simonetta (attributed), *Teatro Massimo*, 1667–1677. Isola Bella, Lago Maggiore. Image: © Roberto Crepaldi, Italy. 214
- Figure 5.4 Jacques Callot, “Effigia impressa de la natura a un bianco marmo dicono che sia S. Girolamo,” in Bernardino d’Amico, *Trattato delle piante, & immagini de sacri edifizi di Terra Santa* (Florence: Pietro Ceccarelli, 1620), fig. 8. Engraving, 26.7 × 19.2 cm, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, call no. 84-B29370. Image: © Public Domain. 218

- Figure 5.5 Bernard Palissy (attributed), *Oval Plate*, mid-sixteenth century. Lead-glazed earthenware, 6.2 × 33 × 25.3 cm, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alain Moatti in honor of Peter Fusco, inv. no. 97.DE.46. Image: © The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. 219
- Figure 5.6 Antonio Tempesta (attributed), *Conquest of Jerusalem*, 1615–1630. Oil on *pietra paesina*, 24 × 37 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese, inv. no. 520. Image: © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo—Galleria Borghese. 221
- Figure 5.7 Dionisio Maniggio, *Title Page of the Feather Book*, 1618. Feathers on paper, 47.6 × 30.5 cm, Montreal, McGill University Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Blacker Wood Natural History Collection, call no. folio ORHQ M66. Image: © Public Domain. 222
- Figure 5.8 Anonymous, Perseus with Medusa's head, detail of Fig. 5.1. 224
- Figure 5.9 Giovanni Battista Coriolano, I. "Tabella in qua visuntur homines, et iumenta petrificata," in Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Musaeum metallicum in libros IV distributum Bartholomaeus Ambrosinus* (Bologna: Giovanni Battista Ferroni, 1648), 823. Engraving, 35 × 22.7 cm, Zurich, ETH-Bibliothek, call no. Rar 1027. Image: © ETH-Bibliothek. 225
- Figure 5.10 Anonymous, Veins of Petrified Wood, in Francesco Stelluti, *Trattato del legno fossile minerale nuovamente scoperto* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1637), plate 5. Engraving, 33 × 23 cm, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, call no. 1364–392. Image: © Public Domain. 229
- Figure 5.11 Anonymous, Ammonites and Fragments of Ammonites, in Francesco Stelluti, *Trattato del legno fossile minerale nuovamente scoperto* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1637), plate 13. Engraving, 33 × 23 cm, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, call no. 1364–392. Image: © Public Domain. 230
- Figure 6.1 Anonymous, Mining Landscape, in Georg Agricola, *De re metallica libri XII* (Basel: Froben, 1556), 74. Woodcut, 21 × 33 cm, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, call no. hv I.22. Image: © Public Domain. 242
- Figure 6.2 St. Daniel Receiving an Ore Specimen, in *Schwazer Bergbuch* (1556), fol. 1r. Colored drawing, 21 × 33 cm, Leoben, Bibliothek der Montanuniversität Leoben, codex 1556, call no. 2737 Direktion. Image: © Bibliothek der Montanuniversität Leoben. 244

- Figure 6.3 Artist "L.A." *Matercia (St. Anne, the Virgin Mary, and the Baby Jesus in a Mining Scene)*, 1513. Oil on canvas, 170 × 125 cm, Rožňava (Slovakia), Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Image: © Institute for Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture, University of Salzburg. Photo: Peter Böttcher. 249
- Figure 6.4 Divine Agency in the Formation of Minerals, in Martin Stürz, *Speculum metallorum* (1575), fols. 20r, 70v. Drawing, 31.7 × 19.5 cm, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, codex 11.134. Image: © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. 251
- Figure 6.5 Caspar Ulich, *Handstein* with Mine and Crucifixion, third quarter of the sixteenth century. Gold-plated silver, argen-tite, minerals, enamel, and glass, 30 × 14 × 11 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. Kunstkammer 4157. Image: © Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. 252
- Figure 6.6 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Arch of the Mint from the Entry of Charles V and Prince Philip into Antwerp in 1549, in Cornelius Grapheus, *Le triumphe d'Anuers, faict en la suspicion du Prince Philips, Prince d'Espaigne* (Antwerp: P. De Lens, 1550). Woodcut, 29 × 22 cm, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, call no. A:289.4 Hist. 2°. Image: © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. 254
- Figure 6.7 Lazarus Ercker, Frontispiece, in *Aula subterranea domina dominantium subdita subditorum* (Frankfurt: P. Humm, 1673). Engraving, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Digitale Sammlungen, call no. Metall.12. Image: © Public Domain. 257
- Figure 6.8 Anonymous, *Mining Landscape in Markirch (Vosges)*, late sixteenth century. Copper engraving on laid paper, 24.8 × 36.2 cm, Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. An 1848. Image: © Staatsgalerie Stuttgart. 259
- Figure 7.1 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Harvesters*, 1565. Oil on panel, 119 × 162 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 19.164. Image: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. 270
- Figure 7.2 Pieter van der Borcht after Joos de Momper II and Cornelis Floris III, Stage of Agriculture, in *Descriptio publicae gratulationis spectaculorum et ludorum in adventu Serenissimi Principis Ernesti* (Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana, 1595), 54–55. Engraving, 32.6 × 20.2 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. Bl-1953-0546B-09. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 273

- Figure 7.3 Pieter van der Borcht after Joos de Momper II and Cornelis Floris III, Arrival of Archduke Ernest outside of Antwerp, in *Descriptio publicae gratulationis spectaculorum et ludorum in adventu Serenissimi Principis Ernesti* (Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana, 1595), 71. Engraving, 33.1 × 43.2 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. BI-1953-0546B-03. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 275
- Figure 7.4 Abraham de Bruyn (attributed to), Arrival of the Duke of Anjou and William the Silent outside of Antwerp, in *La joyeuse et magnifique entrée de Françoys [...] Duc de Brabant, d'Anjou* (Antwerp: Christoffel Plantijn, 1582), after 14. Etching, 29.7 × 39.4 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. BI-B-FM-001-2. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 277
- Figure 7.5 Pieter van der Borcht after Joos de Momper II and Cornelis Floris III, Central *tableau vivant* of the Stage of Agriculture, detail of Fig. 7.2. 278
- Figure 7.6 Pieter van der Borcht after Joos de Momper II and Cornelis Floris III, Painted frieze with agricultural tools, products, and a bucranium on the front of the Stage of Agriculture, detail of Fig. 7.2. 278
- Figure 7.7 Pieter van der Borcht after Joos de Momper II and Cornelis Floris III, Coat of arms on top of the Stage of Agriculture, detail of Fig. 7.2. 278
- Figure 8.1 The Winter Room, Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen. Image: © The Royal Danish Collection, Rosenborg Castle. 294
- Figure 8.2 The south wall of the Winter Room, Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen. Image: © The Royal Danish Collection, Rosenborg Castle. 296
- Figure 8.3 Fluted column with ionic capitals in the Winter Room, Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen. Image: © The Royal Danish Collection, Rosenborg Castle. 298
- Figure 8.4 Carved column base with ornamental mask in the Winter Room, Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen. Image: © Photo: Author. 299
- Figure 8.5 Joos de Momper II and Jan Brueghel I, *Mountainous Landscape with Travelers on a Hilly Road*, 1610–1615. Oil on oak panel, 43 × 66 cm, Copenhagen, Rosenborg Castle, Winter Room. Image: © Photo Collection RKD–Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague, inv. no. 0001326397. 301

Figure 8.6	Baldassare Peruzzi, Sala delle Prospettive, 1517–1519, Rome, Villa Farnesina. Image: © Wikimedia Creative Commons. Photo: Miguel Hermoso Cuesta.	303
Figure 8.7	Frames used in the Winter Room, Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen. Image: © Photo: Author.	303
Figure 8.8	Otto Heiden, <i>Castle of Rosenborg</i> , seventeenth century. Drawing, 21.8 × 29.8 cm, London, The British Museum, inv. no. 1868,0612.1603. Image: © The Trustees of the British Museum.	306
Figure 8.9	Anonymous, <i>Personification of Hope (Spes)</i> , ca. 1614–1615. Oil on oak panel, Copenhagen, Rosenborg Castle, Winter Room. Image: © Photo Collection RKD–Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague, inv. no. ooo01326398.	308
Figure 8.10	Floor opening in the Winter Room leading to the musicians' cellar, Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen. Image: © The Royal Danish Collection, Rosenborg Castle. Photo: Peter Nørby.	310
Figure 8.11	Section of the eastern wall of the Winter Room with Sebastiaan Vrancx (circle of), <i>A Picnic in a Park</i> , ca. 1617–1620, oil on oak panel, 49 × 64 cm; and Osias Beert I (circle of), <i>Still Life with Drinking Vessels, Fruit and Pastries</i> , ca. 1617–1620, oil on oak panel, 51.5 × 66 cm, Copenhagen, Rosenborg Castle. Image: © Photo Collection RKD–Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague, inv. nos. oooo0381787 and oooo0381788.	312
Figure 9.1	Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum after Pieter Bruegel, <i>View of the Tiber at Tivoli (Prospectus Tiburtinus)</i> , 1555–1556. Etching and engraving, 39.8 × 42 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. RP-P-OB-7351. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.	325
Figure 9.2	Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum after Pieter Bruegel, <i>Anthropomorphic rocks</i> , detail of Fig. 9.1.	327
Figure 9.3	Jacques de Gheyn, <i>Anthropomorphic Rocks</i> , early seventeenth century. Drawing, brown ink on paper, 26.6 × 17.5 cm, Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. no. 5094. Image: © The Fondation Custodia.	328
Figure 9.4	Jan Brueghel, <i>Ponte San Rocco</i> , early seventeenth century. Drawing, brown ink on paper, 38.1 × 27.2 cm, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1954–56. Image: © The Cleveland Museum of Art.	330

- Figure 9.5 Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel, *Invidia (Envy)*, 1557. Engraving, 22.5 × 29.6 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. RP-P-1887-A-12303. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 333
- Figure 9.6 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Superbia (Pride)*, 1557. Drawing, brown ink on paper, 22.9 × 30 cm, Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. no. 465. Image: © The Fondation Custodia. 334
- Figure 9.7 Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum, after Pieter Bruegel, *Insidiosus Auceps (The Crafty Bird Catcher)*, 1555–1556. Etching and engraving, 42.5 × 32.1 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. RP-P-H-T-31. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 335
- Figure 9.8 Hans Sebald Beham, The Devil as Bird Trapper, in Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Die Beschwerung der alten Teufelischen Schlangen mit dem Göttlichen Wort* (Nuremberg: Steiner, 1525), fol. 106r. Woodcut, 9.8 × 9.7 cm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, inv. no. Res/4 Polem. 382. Image: © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. 336
- Figure 9.9 Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum, after Pieter Bruegel, Anthropomorphic rock, detail of Fig. 9.7. 337
- Figure 9.10 Matthäus Merian, *Anthropomorphic Landscape*, early seventeenth century. Engraving, 17.2 × 12.9 cm, Private Collection. Image: © Private Collection. 338
- Figure 9.11 Pieter Bruegel, *The Rabbit Hunt*, 1560. Etching, 21.3 × 19.2 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. RP-P-OB-2141. Image: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 340
- Figure 9.12 Pieter Bruegel, The hunter and the solider, detail of Fig. 9.11. 341
- Figure 9.13 Pieter Bruegel, *The Rabbit Hunt*, 1560. Drawing, pen, brown ink, and black chalk, 21.3 × 19.6 cm, Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. no. 6959. Image: © The Fondation Custodia. 343
- Figure 10.1 Anonymous, *Warhaffte abbildung deß fläckens PLURS, in den Grawen Pündten gelagen* (Zurich: Johann Hardmeyer, 1618). Flap broadside with etching and letterpress, 54 × 42 cm (sheet), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, call no. IP 18. Image: © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. 354
- Figure 10.2 Anonymous, Flap down, detail of Fig. 10.1. 357
- Figure 10.3 Anonymous, Flap lifted, detail of Fig. 10.1. 358

Figure 10.4 Jacopo Ligozzi (after), Before and After Views of Mountain, in Lino Moroni, *Descrizione del sacro monte della Vernia* (Florence: [s. n.], 1612). Engraving, etching, and letterpress, with flaps, 44 x 31 cm (sheet), plate I, Chicago, Newberry Library, call no. Wing ZP 6351.12. Image: © Newberry Library, Chicago.

359

Figure 10.5 Daniel Mannasser (engraver), *Warhafftige und erschröckliche Neue Zeitung, Von dem plötzlichen undergang, daß wolbekandten Flecken Plurs in Bergel, und gemeinen dreyen Bünten gelegen, Wie ein blötzlich Ruina anderseytes daß Berges sich herab gelassen, und den gantzen Flecken in einem Augenblick überfallen, von grund aufgehebt, verdeckt, verworffen und hingerichtet hat, geschehen in disem 1618. Jahr* (Augsburg: Lucas Schultes, 1618). Engraving with letterpress, 37 x 31 cm (sheet), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, call no. 38–25–Aug–2F–809. Image: © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel.

363

Figure 10.6 Wilhelm Peter Zimmerman (engraver), Title Page, in *Il Compassionevole Infortunio, Occurso alli 4 di Settembre del presente anno 1618 all infelice Terra di Piure; quale è restata somersa sotto parte d'una Montagna, con perdita di tutte le gente, e robbe. Descritto dall' Orviet. Ad instanza del Verona. Beschreibung des Flecken Plurs Undergang, den vierdten Septembris 1618* (Augsburg: Sara Mang, 1618). Etched and letterpress, 9.8 x 12.2 cm (plate), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, call no. 4 Helv. 300. Image: © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

364

Figure 10.7 Wilhelm Peter Zimmerman, Before the Plurs Disaster, in *Il Compassionevole Infortunio*. Fold-out etching, 24.1 x 33.5 cm (plate), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, call no. 4 Helv. 300. Image: © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

365

Figure 10.8 Johann Philipp Walch, *Warhaffte Abbildung daß Flecken Plurs, in Grawen Bündten gelegen* (Nuremberg: Hans Philip Walch, 1619). Etching and letterpress with rockslide on flap, 41.2 x 33.5 cm (sheet), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, call no. Einblatt V, 8. Image: © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

367

Figure 10.9 Jacob van der Heyden, *Warhaffte abbildung daß fläckens PLURS, in den Grawen Pündten gelägen* (Strasbourg: [Jacob] van der Heyden, 1619). Etching with letterpress,

- 48.5 × 40.1 cm (sheet), Halle an der Saale, Kulturstiftung Sachsen-Anhalt, Kunstmuseum Moritzburg, call no. F789.
Image: © Kulturstiftung Sachsen-Anhalt, Kunstmuseum Moritzburg, Halle an der Saale. 368
- Figure 10.10 Johann Philipp Walch, *Warhafftige Abbildung deß Flecken Plurs, in Gräwen Bündten gelegen, wie solcher noch in Flor gewesen, und auch, wie solcher nach seinem schröklichen Untergang anzusehen* (Nuremberg: Hans Philip Walch, 1619). Etching and letterpress with rockslide flap, approx. 40 × 30 cm (sheet), Kunstsammlungen Waldburg-Wolfegg, call no. Album 128, 67. Image: © Kunstsammlungen Waldburg-Wolfegg. Photo: Author. 370
- Figure 10.11 Johann Philipp Walch, *Warhafftige Abbildung deß Flecken Plurs, in Gräwen Bündten gelegen: wie solcher noch in Flor gewesen, und auch, wie solcher nach seinem schröklichen Untergang anzusehen* (Nuremberg: Hans Philip Walch, 1619). Etching and letterpress with no flap, 39.9 × 30 cm (sheet), Chicago, Newberry Library, call no. map2F G6714.P715A3 1619.W35. Image: © Newberry Library, Chicago. Photo: Catherine Gass. 372
- Figure 10.12 Johann Philipp Walch, Etched flap remnant and red wax (in place of missing flap), detail of Fig. 11. 373
- Figure 10.13 Michael Wolgemut and workshop, Destruction of Burgundian Mountain, in *Das Buch der Chroniken und Geschichten* (Nuremberg: Hartmann Schedel, 1493), fol. 212v. Woodcut and letterpress, 10 × 8 cm (block), Chicago, Newberry Library, call no. Inc.2086a. Image: © Newberry Library, Chicago. Photo: Author. 377
- Figure 10.14 Balthasar Schwan, *Warhafftige abbildung des fleckens Plürs, in Grauenbünden gelegen, wie solcher Flecken noch in Esse und Flor gewesen Anno 1618, Warhaffte abbildung des orhts da der flecken Plurs gestanden, wie solcher nach seinem schröklichen untergang anzusehen, in Relationis historicae semestralis continuatio* (Frankfurt am Main: [Sigismundus Latomus], 1619). Etching, 40.8 × 31.6 cm (sheet), Chicago, Newberry Library, call no. map2F G6714.P715A3 1619.W37. Image: © Newberry Library, Chicago. Photo: Catherine Gass. 379
- Figure 10.15 Anonymous, *Eigentlicher Abriß, Auch Waarhaftiger Bericht, wie es mit Eroberung der uhralten, Weitberühmbten Stadt Magdeburg hergangen... Der 10 oder 30 Mai, 1631* ([Strasbourg]:

- Jacob van der Heyden?], 1631). Etching with letterpress on two attached sheets: upper part 29 × 37 cm, lower part approx. 29 × 36 cm, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, call no. 219-1-Quod-25. Image: © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. 384
- Figure 10.16 Jacob van der Heyden, *Eigentlicher Bericht, So wol auch Abcontrafeytung, welcher gestalt die weitberühmte unnd mächtige Hense Statt Magdeburg von dem Käyserlichen General Herrn Serclas Grafen von Tilly, a. den 20 Tag Maij dieses jetzkauffenden 1631. Jahres mit gewehrter und stürmender Hand erobert worden* ([Strasbourg: Jacob van der Heyden?], 1631). Etching with letterpress on two attached sheets: 58 × 40 cm (two sheets together), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, call no. IH 546.1. Image: © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. 385
- Figure 10.17 Jacob van der Heyden, Flap lifted, detail of Fig. 10.16. 386
- Figure 10.18 Anonymous, *Warhaffte abbildung des fläckens Plurs, in den Grawen Pündten gelagen* (Zurich: Johann Hardmeyer, 1618). Flap broadside with etching and letterpress, hand-colored, 52 × 39.5 cm (sheet), Zurich, Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum, call no. LM 62228. Image: © Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum, Zurich. 387
- Figure 11.1 Anna Halprin, *Dancers at Halprin's Driftwood Beach Summer Event Joint Workshop*, 1966. Still image. Image: © Anna Halprin, courtesy of the Museum of Performance and Design, San Francisco. Photo: Constance Beeson. 394
- Figure 11.2 Anna and Lawrence Halprin, Scores and Documentation, Installation view, documenta 14, Athens, 2017. Image: © Anna and Lawrence Halprin. 394
- Figure 11.3 Anna and Lawrence Halprin, Scores and Documentation, Installation view, documenta 14, Athens, 2017. Image: © Anna and Lawrence Halprin. 395
- Figure 11.4 Lawrence Halprin, *Sea Ranch Ecoscore*, ca. 1968, in Lawrence Halprin, *The RSVP Cycles* (New York: George Braziller, 1970), 122–23. Image: © The Halprin Estate. 396
- Figure 11.5 Pierre Huyghe, *After A Life Ahead*, temporary installation for the duration of the exhibition Skulptur Projekte, Münster, 2017. Concrete floor of ice rink, logic game, ammoniac, sand, clay, phreatic water, bacteria, algae, bees, aquarium, black switchable glass, Conus textile, GloFish, incubator, human

- cancer cells, genetic algorithm, augmented reality, automated ceiling structure, and rain. Location: former ice rink, Münster, Steinfurterstraße 113–115. Image: © ProLitteris, Zurich, 2021. 398
- Figure 11.6 Edward Burtynsky, *Phosphor Tailings Pond #4*, near Lakeland, Florida, 2012. Archival pigment print. Image: © Edward Burtynsky, courtesy of Flowers Gallery, London / Nicholas Metivier Gallery, Toronto. 401
- Figure 11.7 Richard Serra, *Sawing Device: Base Plate Measure*, 1970, in Richard Serra, ed., *Richard Serra* (Pasadena: Pasadena Art Museum, 1970), [14]. Image: © ProLitteris, Zurich, 2021. 403
- Figure 11.8 Richard Serra, *Sawing Device: Base Plate Measure*, 1970, in Richard Serra, ed., *Richard Serra* (Pasadena: Pasadena Art Museum, 1970), [18]. Image: © ProLitteris, Zurich, 2021. 404
- Figure 11.9 Regina José Galindo, *Tierra*, 2013, Moulins, France. Video, color, and sound, 33 min 56 sec. Image: © Regina José Galindo, courtesy of Prometeo Gallery Ida Pisani Milan-Lucca. Credits: Regina José Galindo, Lucy + Jorge Orta (producers), Bertrand Huet (photographer and cameraman), Didier Martial (cameraman), Pascal Pauger (driver), Studio Orta assistants: Tiziana Abretti, Sofia Cavicchini, Andrea Rinaudo, Alberto Orta. Realized during the Les Moulins Residency Program 2013, with the support of the University of the Arts London and La Maréchalerie centre d'art Versailles. 405
- Figure 11.10 Hamish Fulton, *Limmat Art Walk*, Zurich, 2012. Performance art. Image: Courtesy of Häusler Contemporary. Photo: Barbora Gerny. 406
- Figure 11.11 Mai-Thu Perret, *And Every Woman Will Be a Walking Synthesis of the Universe*, 2006. Installation view. Image: © Renaissance Society at the University of Chicago. Photo: Tom Van Eynde. 409
- Figure 11.12 Andrea Zittel, *A-Z Wagon Stations: Second Generation*, California, 2012–present. Powder coated steel, aluminum, plexiglass, wood, canvas, futon, pillow, hand brush, and straw hat, 91.4 × 228.6 × 228.6 cm. Image: © Andrea Zittel, courtesy of the artist and Sprüth Magers Gallery. Photo: Lance Brewer. 410